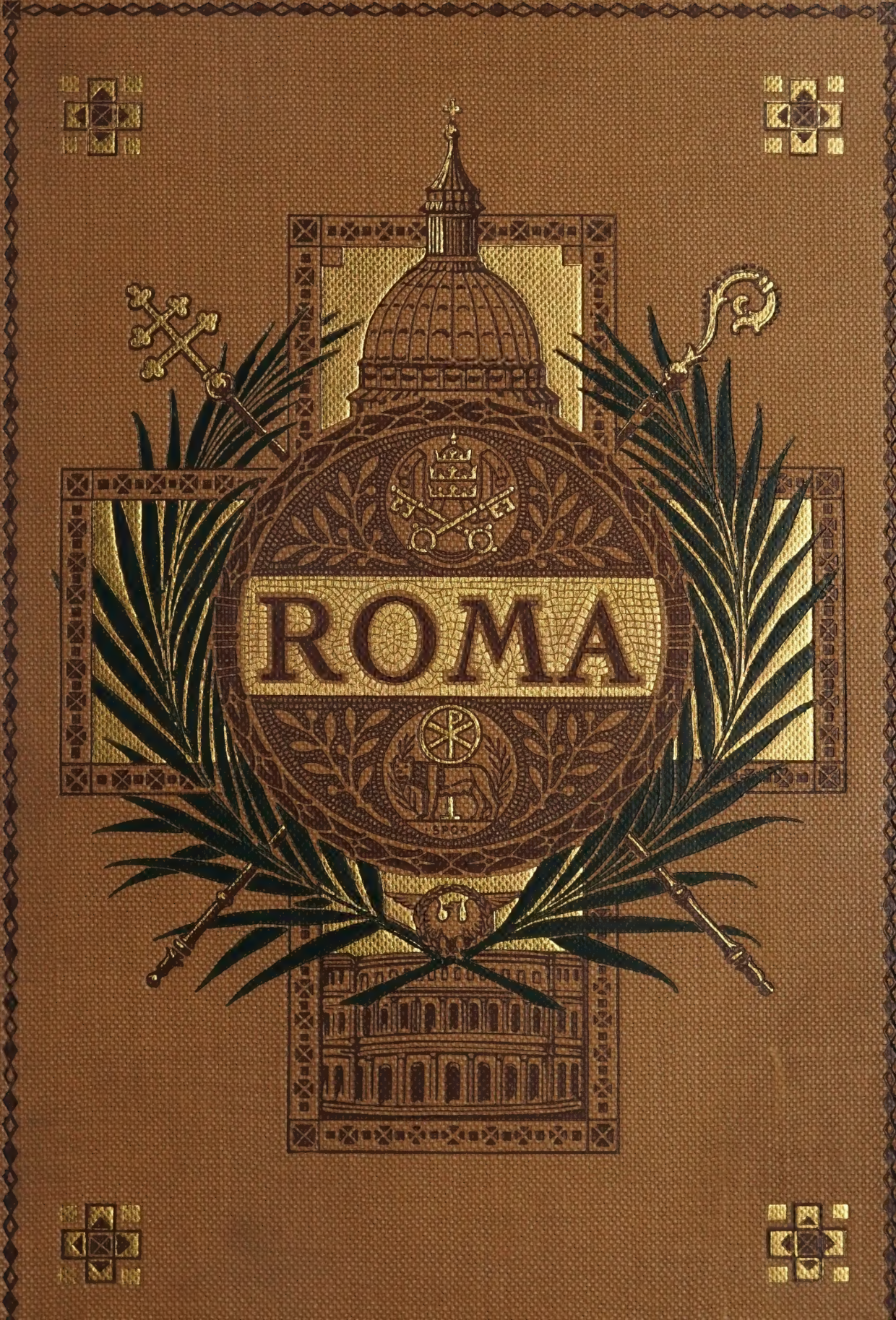
ROMA

SPQR

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# ROMA

G. Szoldatics, pinx., Vatican, 1915. © Benziger Brothers, New York, Cincinnati, Chicago

*In te, Domine, speravi: non confundar in aeternum*

*Benedictus PP. XV*

# ROMA

## Ancient, Subterranean, and Modern Rome

IN WORD AND PICTURE

BY

Rev. Albert Kuhn, O.S.B., D.D.

With a Preface by

HIS EMINENCE CARDINAL GIBBONS

Archbishop of Baltimore

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# Preface

Among all the cities raised by the cunning of man Rome stands foremost. Its charm is infinite, and forever it attracts mankind as the mighty seat of ancient empire, the mother and nurse of all modern nations, and the center of Catholicism. Nowhere has man left more durable and impressive monuments, nowhere does he stand forth so clearly the lord of creation as on the banks of the yellow Tiber, where for nearly three thousand years the proofs of his genius have multiplied, until there is nothing to surpass them in statesmanship, arms, legislation, letters, and those noble arts by which man rises above the animal world and touches on his heavenly home.

Its happy position and its climate, no less than the rude and simple virtues of its first inhabitants, made it one day the mistress of the world's most historic peninsula. The story of her political growth fascinates us forever, as it did Polybius and St. Augustine. The very wreckage of her splendor, palaces, baths, porticos, theaters, obelisks, arches, still encumbers the sites of departed greatness, and our eyes may richly feast on the sites where Cicero spoke to the masters of this earth, and where Augustus ruled with firm hand the enormous mass of empire that God had permitted to gradually coalesce around the Mediterranean into a compact unity, the divinely preordained basis and conditions of the new spiritual empire that was to rise amid the ruins of its political forerunner and herald.

For the Christian, after all, the chief interest of Rome is precisely the new spiritual and religious life of which it became at once the center and the driving force, and whose monuments and evidences are now commingled with the marbles of imperial palaces, or connote far and wide the resistless spread of the powerful ideas which, like new wine poured into old bottles, the Gospel of Jesus Christ made known to a world sated and disgusted with material greatness and temporal felicity. The Catacombs, silent and deserted, are the first marvelous battleground of the Christian faith, and their very ruins, reminiscent yet in many ways of the daily Roman life, are forever a glorious battle-cry of victory, but of the new love and virtue over the old hatred and sin, of the redeemed spirit over the bound flesh, of the City of God over the City of Man. Rome is at all times the guarantee, measure, and index of that Catholic faith which to-day, as in the past, binds in religious unity so many millions of our fellow-beings in all parts of the world. The visible "notes" or evidences of that beloved faith appeal to us here as nowhere else. It holds the earthly remains of Sts. Peter and Paul, the apostolic champions who brought the Catholic faith to the peoples of the West and by their lives and deaths planted securely the good seed in the most favorable soil. It has ever been known as the Apostolic See par excellence, and cherishes yet many touching local memories of their sojourn. What Christian city can show such and so great evidences of Gospel sanctity as Rome? Every century has left the most touching memorials of holy lives, martyrs, confessors, doctors, virgins, widows, persons of every age and both sexes, the product of various social conditions, to whom Rome was, in life or in death, their final holy refuge, and to which, with their virtues, they bequeathed their eternal fame. Around this city as nowhere else has waged the conflict of Christian unity from the most obscure days of primitive Christendom down to our own time. Finally, among all cities, it shines by its universality, and with the broadest hospitality welcomes to the common fold Christians of every nation, race, and tongue, a mirror to-day of that wonderful hour in Jerusalem (Acts ii. 8) when every man heard the message of Jesus Christ in the tongue wherein he was born.

After the holy places of Judea, Rome claims rightly the allegiance of the West-

ern heart. She preached the Christian faith to the wandering tribes that broke her political mastery; she civilized and elevated them, gave them her law and taught them respect for order, reverence for authority, and consideration for the rights of others. The hand that was accustomed to the spear only or the battle-ax learned to write, and thereby was laid the basis of a native civilization. The Roman arts and sciences found a home in the monasteries of Teuton and Celt, wherein for centuries busy fingers transcribed the remnants of Roman wisdom. Gradually, as in a political nursery, the Western genius, with all its larger freedom and dynamism, grew in conscious vigor, and as it grew, ensouled the peoples of Europe with that high religious and patriotic spirit peculiar to their frankly Catholic period. It may be said with truth that Christian Rome is the cradle of all European greatness worthy of the name.

A close and affectionate study of this glorious site of human endeavor, natural and supernatural, is a liberal education, and must be highly commended to our Catholic people, especially since modern progress has made it comparatively easy to visit Rome. All the great philosophers of history have recognized in the city of the Cæsars and the Popes the highest theme of human contemplation, nor have the world's sweetest singers failed to pay their melodious tributes to that spot where every human emotion found at some time its perfect expression. The architect, the painter, the sculptor, the musician, artistic craftsmen of all kinds, behold in it the native home of their supreme gifts and the museum and treasury where, almost unconsciously, the great arts have stored their masterpieces. Nowhere can one study with better results the close relations between the Catholic religion and the fine arts than in this great stronghold of Catholicism, where from time immemorial every art and craft has found welcome, encouragement and inspiration.

It is, therefore, at once a pleasure and a duty to welcome a work so nobly planned and so splendidly executed as the "Roma" of Dr. Kuhn. It is deserving of a place in the library of every Catholic family, and should be in every Catholic institution of education or of charity. Non-Catholics, moreover, can read it with profit and delight, since it is thoroughly scientific and written in a broad and liberal spirit, while its illustrations, numerous, well chosen, and artistically finished, lend it a universal value for old and young, for rich and poor, for artists and scholars, and for that large class of plain, every-day people who are content to enjoy the rich treasures that learning and art have piled up in this remarkable work.

James Card. Gibbons

# PART I

# PAGAN ROME

Fig. 1. Pagan and Christian Rome. By J. Führich

Fig. 2. The Roman Eagle. In the Vestibule of the Church of the Holy Apostles, Rome

# I. Historical Survey

## 1. ROME UNDER THE KINGS

In the time of the ancient Romans central Italy was divided into six different states, three on the west, bordering on the Mediterranean, namely, Etruria, which nearly corresponded to the Tuscany of the present day; Latium, with its capital, Rome; and Campania, the maritime country extending as far north as Naples. Of the three on the east, on the Adriatic, Umbria lay to the north, Samnium in the south, and Picenia between them. All these regions, with the exception of Etruria, were inhabited by tribes in some wise related to the Teutonic race, but at what time they migrated into the Peninsula is matter of conjecture only. Tradition tells us that the Latins, the inhabitants of Latium, were the first settlers in central Italy. Their name has for many centuries been closely connected with the fortunes and the history of Italy; their land is the heart of the peninsula, whence their own peculiar civil and social life flowed out into all countries—the heart of the peninsula, which drew to and absorbed in itself the vital strength, not of Italy alone, but of all the world.

The marches of Latium originally embraced a domain of some four square miles; later on, in historic times, its circumference was enlarged. It is bounded on the west by the sea, on the south by the fertile maritime country of Campania; on the east its farthest boundary stones reach halfway across the peninsula; in the north, for a considerable distance, the Tiber forms the line of demarcation from Etruria. The northwest portion is a level plain, traversed by a line of undulating hills; in the other districts are numerous hills and mountain ranges branching out from the Apennines; of these, the best known are the Alban and Sabine ranges, the spurs of which reach to within a few miles of Rome.

In the dim twilight of primeval history we find the Latins established in the hill country of Albania, where they founded several towns. There, situated beside the Albanian lake, which lies in the crater of an extinct volcano, was the famous city Alba, called long, on account of its wide extent. Alba Longa was the parent city of Rome.

The legend of Rome's foundation is as follows:

Numitor, the King of Alba, was dispossessed of his throne by his younger brother, Amulius; his son was murdered while hunting, and his daughter was compelled to enter among the virginal priestesses of Vesta. Nevertheless, she became the mother of the twins Romulus and Remus,

by Mars. Amulius, jealous of his brother's posterity, caused the infants to be cast adrift on the Tiber; they were miraculously saved, being carried down the river and cast ashore at the foot of the Palatine, where they were suckled by a wolf and brought up by a shepherd. Almost before they were of an age to bear arms, their true descent having been disclosed to them, these sons of Mars attacked and slew Amulius and restored Numitor to the throne of his forefathers. They themselves went forth, and on the spot where they had been saved from a watery grave

Fig. 3. An Altar from Ostia. In the National Museum, Rome

they built a new city on the banks of the Tiber, where, on the two sides of the river, eleven hills rise. A furrow drawn by a plow marked its future site and formed its first moat and wall. The brothers having drawn lots, it was thus decided that Romulus should give his name to the city; from that time forth, according to the usual acceptation, it was called Rome, and from its foundation, 753 years before the birth of Christ, the posterity of the brothers reckoned their chronology. But the wolfish ferocity, sucked in with their foster-mother's milk, soon demanded bloodshed. While Romulus was erecting a low wall beside the furrow he had traced, Remus scornfully leaped over it, and Romulus in his wrath slew him, and thus the foundation-stones of Rome were cemented with his blood. In order to populate the city when built, Romulus established a refuge or asylum for homeless foreigners or fugitives. But in vain did these freebooters court the daughters of neighboring tribes; their advances were repulsed. At last, in order to obtain wives, a raid was made on the Sabine women, who were forcibly carried off. Acron, King of the Sabines, took up arms to avenge the insult, but Romulus slew him in single combat and stripped off his armor, which he offered as a trophy to Jupiter Feretrius. Other opponents fared no better, and Romulus reigned as King of Rome, respected and feared, until he suddenly disappeared during an eclipse of the sun, and was thought to have been taken up to the immortal gods.

For long centuries the Romans believed this legend; it was carved and immortalized in stone and bronze, but it lacks all historic foundation and cannot be considered authentic. It was probably invented at a subsequent period to account for the foundation of Rome on a flat, barren plain, often wrapped in miasmatic exhalations. Romulus did not give his name to Rome, but rather his name is derived from it; the alleged descent from Mars and the suckling of the twins by a wolf are intended symbolically to indicate the characteristic features of the ancient Romans, whose practical sense caused them to wield the sword or handle the plow, because from war and agriculture came booty and profit. Rome at its commencement was not a free city. This may be seen by the character of the population, their unity and strength of purpose; and that the year 753 was that of its foundation is an arbitrary assertion unsupported or verified by historic data.

Rome is situated close to the Tiber, at the spot where the river ceases to be navigable for small craft. Thus at first the city was little else than a mart for the inland trade of Latium. Tradition affirms that Romulus fixed his abode on the Palatine hill, where, within the limits of the furrow he originally traced, he built the so-called square town, *Roma quadrata;* in

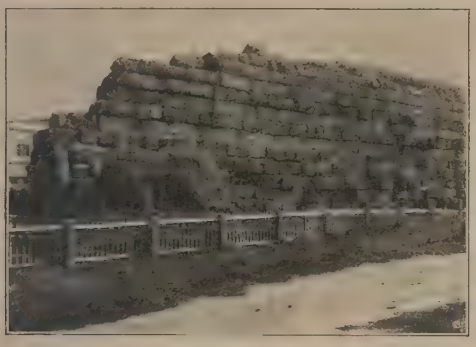

Fig. 4. Wall of Servius Tullius, Rome

recent times some mural foundations of a peculiar construction, belonging to prehistoric ages, were discovered on that hill. In its greatest antiquity Rome stood on that Palatine; a small city crowned with pinnacles and crenellated towers similar to those which are yet seen in Italy on the summits of numerous mountains and hill-tops, enhancing the beauty of the scenery and the picturesque charm of that incomparable country. Gradually other hills were colonized and peopled; first the Capitol, then, after peace was made between the Latins and the Sabines, the Quirinal, the Cœlian, the Aventine, each hill having its own walls and ramparts. Tarquinius the Elder, the fifth King of Rome, formed the design of incorporating all the hills in the primitive city by a single wall; his successor, Servius Tullius, carried out the plan, enclosing all the hills, including the Esquiline and the Viminal, with a solid line of fortifications. Hence the city derived her name of *urbs septemcollis,* the city of seven hills. In the course of building on the Aventine and the Quirinal some fragmentary remains of the Servian circumvallation have been brought to light. The enlargement of the railway station in yet more recent times led to similar discoveries.

For eight hundred years no other city wall was built by the Romans, although the space enclosed by Servius Tullius had long proved too circumscribed, and suburbs had arisen without the walls. The Emperor Aurelian was the first who commenced the construction of the fine, picturesque city wall, as a defense against the threatened invasion of the northern Teuton tribes. It was repaired under the Emperors Honorius and Arcadius; parts of it are still standing.

After Romulus legendary lore tells of

Fig. 5. The Ancient Entrance to the Palatine (The Wall of Romulus' City?)

six kings who successively reigned: Numa, to whom the regulation of the worship of the gods and religious ordinances is ascribed; then Tullus Hostilius, under whose rule the jealousy between Alba Longa and Rome broke out into open warfare. The poetry of a later age relates that in each army there were three brothers, triplets; the three Romans were the Horatii, the three Albans the Curiatii, six valiant youths, equals in strength and courage. These were chosen to be champions, and the result of their conflict was to decide the question at issue: which city and people was to be declared victorious, which was thenceforth to rule and which to be subservient. The trumpets gave the signal for the fight; long and bravely the combatants fought; at length two of the Horatii boys lay dead on the plain; the third took to flight. The Albanians rejoiced, deeming their victory assured. The Curiatii all pursued the fugitive as well as their wounds would allow, but at unequal distances, the most vigorous being foremost. When the Roman perceived that his opponents were separated, he suddenly turned, smote the nearest of his pursuers, then the second, and lastly the third. Rome had conquered; Alba was destroyed.

Tullus was succeeded on the throne by Ancus Martius, Tarquinius Priscus, Servius Tullius, and finally Tarquinius II, surnamed the Proud. Tradition describes him as a haughty, despotic monarch. Sextus, one of his sons, had forcibly seduced the wife of a noble Roman during the absence of her husband at the camp. Lucretia (such was her name) immediately sent for her father and her husband to come to her. They came in haste, accompanied by Publius Valerius and Junius Brutus. To them Lucretia told her tale of sorrow and shame, and calling on them to avenge the wrong done her she drew forth a knife from her robe and stabbed herself to the heart. This incident gave rise to the abolition of the monarchy. Brutus swore, and his friends did the same, to take vengeance on Tarquinius and throw off the yoke of the licentious tyrants. At Lucretia's obsequies Brutus showed the dagger to the assembled people, and told of the violence committed against the deceased. The

Fig. 6. The Oath of the Horatii. By David. In the Louvre, Paris

people took up arms; Tarquinius was banished with all his family; they spent the rest of their lives in exile in Etruria. Rome became a republic about the year 510 B.C.

In all these narratives there is a mixture of legend and history. The names and number of the kings and the principal events are not assured facts; but the destruction of Alba, the forcible expulsion of the last king, and the erection of some noteworthy buildings (of which we shall speak later on) about that time may be accepted as authentic history.

The first kings of Rome were doubtless mild, patriarchal rulers. The Senate, the Council of Elders (*Seniores or Senatores*), were the advisers of the king. Although chosen by the king, its members were all representatives of the noble houses, the *Gentes*. From the very commencement Roman history shows a marked distinction of classes, a sharp contrast between Patricians and Plebeians. The former were the descendants of the first founders, colonists, and conquerors, and therefore alone possessed of all civil and political rights. Only by intermarriage among themselves did they confer upon their offspring the full rights of citizenship, the status of patricians. All the other inhabitants of Rome formed the great mass of the people, the *Plebs*, whence they were called Plebeians. They had no political rights, nor, at the outset, any political burdens.

In the last days of regal government a new regulation was enacted, which was chiefly of military import and importance, but which was, however, the first step toward political equality, toward the admission of Plebeians to full citizenship.

Fig. 7. Lucius Junius Brutus. In the Capitol, Rome

All the citizens and inhabitants, Patricians and Plebeians alike, were in future pledged to serve in the army from the age of seventeen to that of sixty. The allotment to the different branches of military service and the armor to be furnished by each warrior were determined by the amount of his landed property. Members of the wealthiest Patrician families served in the cavalry; the others were divided into five classes of foot-soldiers in the army organization of the Romans, according to their means.

## 2. THE RISE OF THE REPUBLIC

510 (?)-264 B.C.

THIS period is one of foreign warfare and internecine strife. In order to understand its full importance, we will pass rapidly to its close and give in outline the constitution of the Republic.

Patricians and Plebeians had become citizens of the state with equal rights and equal duties. In the place of a king, elected for his lifetime, two magistrates, known by the name of Consuls, were appointed by the people; during the time of their rule, which was only for one year, they exercised sovereign power. They governed in time of peace, commanded the army in war, convoked the Assembly of the People, and summoned the Senate to meet. As an external sign of their dignity they were attended by twelve lictors, who carried *fasces*, bundles of rods of birch or elm, out of which an ax projected. Other officials enjoyed a like distinction, but the number of the attendant lictors was smaller. The Senate

was the seat of authority whence Rome's power of world-wide conquest was developed. Neither birth nor the votes of the people gave admission to this State Council; the right rested with the Consuls, later on the two Censors, whose duty was to make valuation or assessment of property, to watch over the administration of the public funds, and safeguard the public morals. They filled up the number of the Senators by the addition of citizens who had held high offices in the State. The Senators were appointed for life, yet every four or five years a kind of scrutiny took place, or fresh elections were made, members who proved themselves unworthy of their privilege being expelled—a blot which could not be effaced. The Senator was independent both of popular caprice and of any pressure which the highest public functionaries might exercise.

In times of great danger, when it was necessary that the management of affairs should be in the hands of one person, the Consuls laid down their command, and a Dictator, with almost sovereign power, took their place; he was appointed by the Consuls, the people having no voice in the choice. This extraordinary measure was only called for under extraordinary circumstances; as soon as the peril was past, the Dictator resigned his office. He could, at any rate, only hold his office for six months, as it might prove dangerous for the State and the liberty of the people if a citizen was for too long a time invested with supreme power, and grew accustomed to wield it.

The administration of justice was placed in the hands of the Praetors, who also represented the Consuls during the absence of the latter. As Rome's greatness and might owed its development to the Senate, so the Praetorate served preeminently to establish intercourse with strangers on a more friendly footing, and gradually do away with the prejudices and ill-feeling of centuries. Another magistracy was created, that of the Aediles, whose duty was to act as police, to superintend the markets, and arrange the great public games.

The actual sovereign prerogatives in the state were exercised by the self-governing people in the Comitia, or Assembly of the People, in which every citizen, whether Patrician or Plebeian, could claim a seat and a vote. This sovereign Assembly was of a twofold sort. The older was of a more aristocratic character; it was the Comitia of Centuries, the members voting according to their division into classes, determined by the amount of their property. It has already been said that this classification was originally for military purposes; it afterward assumed a political character. The Comitia of Centuries elected the highest dignitaries, decided whether laws should be passed or rejected, whether there should be peace or war, and solved difficult questions of jurisdiction. At the outset the votes were given orally, at a later period by writing on tablets. The Comitia of Tribes, in which votes were given according to urban or rural districts, was of a more democratic nature. By it lower officials were appointed, laws were proposed, and a limited judicial power was exercised. It was the duty of the Tribunes to preside over this Assembly; it was the most dangerous to the peace of Rome on account of its democratic coloring. When in the year 494 B.C. the Plebeians, who had not the suffrage, rebelled against the oppression of the Patricians and Consuls, and quitting Rome, occupied a hill near the city called the *Mons Sacer* (the sacred hill), assuming a threatening attitude, the institution of the Tribunate was accorded to them. Plebeians alone at first were eligible to the office, since the object of it was to defend them against unjust measures. The Tribunes had the right to protest against such measures; their veto either suspended their execution or annulled them altogether. In course of time the right of opposing any administrative measure or act of the higher functionaries of the state or the Senate was evolved out of that means of redress, and even an extensive right to exercise criminal jurisdiction over municipal authorities who proved recalcitrant, not excepting the Consuls. The government of the Tribunes was often arbitrary, tyrannical, unjust; born of revolution, the institution retained throughout a revolutionary character. The worst ex-

cesses and public disorders occurred in later times, when the Tribunes allowed different factions to take them into their pay. Their power was temporarily curtailed, yet with slight result; in the time of the emperors the authority of the Tribunes was merged in that of the sovereign.

Thus the Roman constitution preserved a wise medium between monarchical and democratic tendencies. The rights and the duties of both the governor and the governed are alike great. The people who but yesterday exercised high prerogatives in the Comitia to-day yield all the more strict obedience, and the officials who to-day are raised to posts of honor by the voice of the people—high functionaries drew no salary—to-morrow exercise a far-reaching and extensive power over the electors. Republics might learn weighty lessons and warnings from this constitution.

Until the year 451 Rome had no written code of laws. That most useful, necessary restraint upon the arbitrary exercise of power, especially that of judges, was wanting. In that year a fresh Council of ten men, the Decemvirs, was appointed, which for two years replaced the usual public functionaries. They were commissioned to commit to writing the common laws in use until that time, and especially to define public, personal, and religious rights. The legal code of the first year was accepted, engraved on ten copper plates and posted publicly in the Forum. Before the end of the next year two supplementary tables were added to them. These twelve tables contained the whole code of civic and common law for Rome, which was the basis of all judicial proceedings; the later additions and amplifications were in harmony with its provisions.

This legal code, by which equal justice was to be dealt out to all Roman citizens, and by which the authority to be exercised by the Consuls or chief magistrates was clearly defined, marks an era in the rise of the republic. But this state of affairs was the outcome of a long and hard-fought struggle, in which the Plebeians—at first without recognized rights—succeeded in raising themselves step by step and gaining their rights. Twice they quitted Rome, establishing themselves on the Mons Sacer and the Aventine, threatening either to wrest by force what a sense of justice on the part of their fellow-citizens would not concede to them or to found another town without the walls of Rome. In the year 494 they obtained the institution of the Tribunate; in 451, the code of written laws drawn up by the Decemvirs; in 448, admission to the Senate; in 445, the legitimization of intermarriage between Patricians and Plebeians, so that the children born of such alliances should be entitled to take their father's rank; in 366, eligibility to the Consulate and the higher sacerdotal offices; in 356, to the Dictatorship; in 351, to the Censorship; in 337, to the Praetorship, and so on. After the class distinctions and disabilities had been abolished by law, a new nobility arose in Rome, resting on the right to have ancestral images; those families of which one or more members had in times past filled one of the highest offices of the state were

Fig. 8. Death of the Consul Papirius. By Maccari. In the Palazzo Madama (Senate Palace), Rome

Fig. 9. Lucius Junius Brutus Condemning His Sons to Death. By Lethière. In the Louvre

privileged to set up waxen images of those ancestors in their houses.

Roman poets are fond of asserting that their state grew to be great and mighty through conflict and battles, in victory and in defeat, like a tree, which, when pruned, sends out new and more vigorous offshoots and branches, or fabled hydra, which, if one head be cut off, two others grow in its place. It was thus particularly in these first centuries of Rome's history. The infant state tested its strength in warfare. Although before external danger menaced, and after it was over, strife of parties prevailed in the city, yet the inhabitants united as one man to oppose the attacking foe, brave, steadfast, shrinking from no sacrifice. Valor, engendered by intense love of their country, was a national heritage of the ancient Romans. There was no lack of enemies to combat; they themselves called them into the field. Their alleged descent from the god of war, and the nourishment afforded to their progenitors by the milk of a wolf, is said to account for their eagerness for conquest and desire of dominion. This love of conflict brought dire disaster upon them when the Gallic hordes overran the north of Italy (390). Some Roman envoys could not refrain from taking part, contrary to the law of nations, in a battle between the Etruscans and the invading barbarians. The latter, enraged at this breach of fidelity, shortly after entered Latium. On the banks of the small river Allia, about three miles north of Rome, they gained a complete and easy victory over the Roman army. The soldiers took to flight. The inhabitants of Rome surrendered the city and abandoned it, only leaving a strong garrison in the fortress on the Capitol. When the Gauls entered the gates, they found the streets of Rome desolate and deserted. They pillaged and partly burned the city, but in vain they assailed the Capitol; it was situated on steep, scarped cliffs, difficult to climb, and the garrison held out bravely. For seven months the Gauls under Brennus, their leader, blockaded the fortress. On one occasion they nearly gained their end. Under cover of night, the most valiant of the besiegers climbed the steep rocks one by one. The garrison, suspecting nothing, were asleep. But the sacred geese in the temple of Juno, disturbed by the nocturnal assailants, began to cackle loudly, and by that unwonted noise Manlius, one of the bravest of the Roman warriors, was aroused. He rushed to the spot, flung over the parapet the first Gaul who had climbed the wall, and roused his comrades. Thus the Capitol was saved. The Gauls were persuaded to withdraw

THE ARCH OF CONSTANTINE AND THE ARCH OF SEPTIMUS SEVERUS, ROME

from Latium on the payment of a large ransom.

The Romans were more often than not engaged in war with the neighboring tribes, and they were generally victorious: the Etruscans, Sabines, Campanians, Samnites, the Greek settlers in southern Italy —all these were conquered. The hardest fight was with the brave Samnites, who entered upon hostilities three times, and gained several victories. They also formed a league with the other Italian peoples, but all in vain! At the close of this period Rome held sway over the whole of the territory from the southern shore of the peninsula up to the Rubicon, a small river now called the Pisatello, between Rimini and Ravenna.

In the early history of Rome a considerable amount of legendary narrative meets us. Although the Roman could not prove these legends to be historic truth, yet he believed them and loved to dwell on them, as typical of Roman thought and Roman character. Many of them are, in fact, of an historic value, as they give an insight into the genius of the people; how they regarded themselves and wished others to regard them.

After the expulsion of the kings, Junius Brutus, who had been the chief factor in their dethronement, and Tarquinius Collatinus were chosen as the first Consuls. Meanwhile the creatures and agents of the banished Tarquinius formed a plot for his restoration, in which four nephews of the second Consul and the two sons of Brutus were involved. The conspiracy was discovered and the culprits were arrested. The next day the Assembly of the People met, and the traitors were brought up for judgment. Brutus presided. All the people, as the historian Livy relates, grieved over the crimes of which his sons were guilty, and yet more because he who ought not to be present even as a spectator would have to pronounce sentence on them. Brutus, calm and unflinching, bade the lictors do what their duty required of them. His sons were stripped, scourged, and executed before his eyes. Such self-control and heroic self-sacrifice was the fruit of true patriotism and regard for the common weal.

In the commencement of the sixth century Lars Porsena, king of the Etruscans, advanced with an army from Clusium to the walls of Rome. The Roman warriors could not resist the charge of his troops; they fled in confusion back to the city over a wooden bridge. Yet three courageous Romans saved their country's honor; they

Fig. 10. Horatius Cocles Defending the Bridge against the Etruscans

posted themselves at the far end of the bridge, and defended it against the enemy who came in pursuit, while it was being broken down in their rear. Before their retreat was quite cut off two of the defenders hastened back to join their comrades. Horatius Cocles was alone left to bear the onslaught of the enemy. He held his ground until the last beams of the bridge fell into the river with a crash; he then plunged into the water and reached the other side in safety, covered with wounds. The Romans honored him greatly and richly rewarded his courage. Thereupon a Roman youth formed the rash resolution to make his way into the hostile camp and assassinate Porsena. But he mistook the king's secretary for the king, and stabbed him to the heart. When brought before the king he betrayed no fear, saying: "I am a Roman citizen; Mucius is my name. I came as an enemy to slay an enemy; the same courage will enable me to bear the death blow as to deal the death blow. Valor in action, valor in suffering alike belong to the Roman. Nor am I alone; there remain three hundred youths who seek the same glory that I sought." Porsena threatened to have him burned alive if he did not reveal who were his confederates; thereupon Mucius thrust his left hand into the fire burning upon the altar, saying: "See how little those care for bodily pain who seek high renown." The king bade him depart: "Thou hast done more harm to thyself than to me," he said. "I should admire and praise thy courage if it were exhibited in the service of my country. Depart, return to thy people free, unhurt, unpunished." From this incident Mucius acquired the surname of *Scævola*—left-hand.

The Romans were obliged to give hostages to the king as a pledge that they would restore the lands taken from the Etruscans. Among the hostages were a number of noble maidens, at whose head was one named *Clœlia,* who, when the enemy was encamped beside the Tiber, eluded the guards, and, with some of her companions, swam back to the town amid a shower of arrows from the enemy. Porsena demanded that the hostages should be sent back, and this was done; but he immediately let them go free, so greatly did he admire their bravery and love of their country. This was said to have taken place on the Janiculum hill, addressing which the poet says:

"Thou sawest Cocles the earth, Clœlia the water, Mucius the fire defy,
Sawest man o'ercome the elements, and spirit conquer matter."

Another legendary incident of much romantic interest is said to have occurred in the year 362.

In consequence of earthquakes which shook the city, a vast gulf opened in the Forum, the meeting-place of the Roman people, which no amount of rubbish that was thrown in could fill up. The seers said that the fissure would not close until that which Rome held most valuable was thrown into it. The Senate debated as to what that might be, but they came to no conclusion. Then a noble and stately youth, named Marcus Curtius, clad in complete armor, rode into the Forum, saying aloud that Rome's true riches were brave warriors, and nothing else so worthy could be sacrificed to the gods. Then he put spurs to his horse and leaped into the gulf, and straightway, says the legend, the earth closed and became solid as before. In the same way, in the war with the Latins, the Consul Decius Mus delivered himself voluntarily to death, because it was revealed to him in a dream that on that condition his army should be victorious. And in the war with the Samnites his son followed his example, thereby inspiring the soldiery with fresh courage and enthusiasm.

When the Romans sought for the most illustrious representatives of their name and nation, they looked back to these first centuries of national existence. Curius Dentatus figures among the noblest types; although of plebeian birth, he was twice elected to the dignity of the Consulate. While holding this high office, he gained signal victories over Rome's most powerful foes, the Samnites and their ally, King Pyrrhus of Macedonia; over the Sabines and Lucanians; four times he made a triumphant entry into Rome as conqueror. After filling high posts in the state, he re-

tired into private life. On the allotment of the land taken from the Sabines he refused to accept more than any other poor citizen, nor did he appropriate any part of the rich booty which, taken from King Pyrrhus, brought wealth to the city. And when he was accused of embezzling a portion he was able to swear that he had retained nothing for himself but a wooden water vessel to be used in offering sacrifices. He cultivated the land apportioned to him in the Sabine country himself, sharing in the field labor. On one occasion the Samnites sent messengers to tempt him with costly presents. They found him roasting turnips at the hearth. He rejected their gifts, saying it was better to rule over those who possessed gold than to own it one's self. To this republican simplicity he united an inflexible severity when duty required it. When in the Sabine war he ordered a military levy, he commanded the first man who did not obey the summons to be sold, with all that he possessed, to the highest bidder.

Fig. 11. Curius Dentatus Refusing the Gifts of the Samnite Embassy. By Maccari. In the Senate Palace, Rome

## 3. THE GOLDEN AGE OF THE REPUBLIC

(264-146)

IN THE second half of this period there lived in Rome a man who may be called a chip of the old block, Marcus Porcius Cato, and who, at the close of each session of the Senate, was wont to repeat: "Carthage must be destroyed." What was the Carthage of which he spoke? What right or what reason did Rome have to destroy it?

Carthage was an ancient colony of the Phœnicians not far from where Tunis now stands, a powerful and opulent mercantile seaport, the mistress of the sea in the west. Her population commanded the naval trade of the Mediterranean, and had planted numerous colonies on the African coast and on numerous islands, where they formed trading-marts and conquered extensive domains, for example, in Sicily, Sardinia, Corsica, Spain, and elsewhere. Rome was the greatest power by land, while Carthage ruled the sea in the west. The two powers were bound sooner or later to meet as irreconcilable rivals. Rome rested her claim to destroy Carthage on the fact that she was its rival; that is, she asserted the right of the stronger, or might rather than right. The chief interest in the history of Rome during the period from 264-146 consists in the conflict with Carthage. The fluctuations of fortune brought the city on the banks of the Tiber to the verge of ruin; but adversity served to call out the courage, the judgment, the greatness of her Senators and Consuls, her soldiers and generals; in the last battle Rome was victorious, and with the victory came the thought, the anticipation of universal dominion.

It would be impossible in a few pages to give even a succinct account of the three Punic wars; it will be sufficient for the object of this introduction and survey to sketch their course in outline. The first war lasted from the year 264 to 241. The

Fig. 12. Part of an Ancient Ship. Relief from the Temple of Praeneste, in the Vatican

forces of Rome and Carthage first met in Sicily, before Messana, the Messina of today, for a portion of the inhabitants of that town in stress of war called upon the Romans for aid, while others invoked the help of Carthage. At first Sicily remained the seat of war; the Romans gained the advantage on land, but they were no match for the Carthaginians on the sea. Therefore they immediately (260) constructed a fleet of over a hundred quinqueremes, on the model of a Carthaginian ship which was stranded on the coast. Since their seamen were less skilled in the management of the vessels than their adversaries, the Roman generals invented certain engines called *crows*, consisting of a wide gangway, which could be hauled up and fastened to a mast until it was let fall on the fore part of the enemy's ship. Then the Roman men-at-arms poured across the gangway, and a stand-up fight ensued just as if on terra firma, onward from one vessel to another. This device proved most successful. In the same year Rome recorded her first naval victory. Public honors were awarded to the commander of the fleet, Duilius by name, and a pillar was erected in the Forum ornamented with the beak-like prows of the captured ships. The further progress of this first war was chiefly marked by naval conquests gained by Rome, but her forces were no less successful by land. Her troops landed in Africa, and Carthage asked for peace, but the Roman general demanded the most extravagant concessions. The Carthaginians were to cede Sicily, Sardinia, and Corsica, to give up their fleet, all but one ship, and to acknowledge the supremacy of Rome. Such arrogance on the part of the invaders inspired the Carthaginians with fresh courage. Moreover, the elements, which had hitherto been propitious to the Romans, seemed leagued against them. Four times their fleet was destroyed by terrific storms, so that twice the Senate determined to give up naval warfare. Another fleet was, however, fitted out at the expense of some wealthy citizens, and a brilliant victory was gained off the coast of Sicily, which led to the conclusion of peace, by the terms of which the Carthaginians evacuated Sicily and agreed to pay a war

Fig. 13. The Return of Regulus to Carthage. By Maccari. In the Senate Palace, Rome

indemnity of 3,200 talents, more than $4,000,000.

In the year 218 the second Punic war broke out. During the later years of the first war a Carthaginian general, named Hamilcar, had offered obstinate resistance to the Romans in Sicily, and only the conclusion of peace compelled him to surrender the island. In order to compensate to his native city for the loss of Sicily, Hamilcar, who was surnamed Barcas, *i.e.*, lightning, conquered a considerable part of the south of Spain, abounding in gold and silver mines and in brave soldiers. Carthage quickly recovered from her defeat, and by her prosperity again aroused swear eternal enmity to the Romans. Hannibal took the oath and kept it until his last breath. Soon after his father's death he assumed command of the army in Spain, being then twenty-eight years of age. In order to render war with Rome inevitable, against the desire of the Carthaginian government, he crossed the Ebro, thus violating the treaty the Romans had forced from their rivals. His fixed purpose was to destroy Rome, but that was only feasible in Italy, not in Spain or elsewhere. He therefore resolved to transport his army of 100,000 men and 37 elephants to Italy. In the spring of 218 he set out on the way, crossed the sun-clad crests of the Pyrenees,

Fig. 14. Filling the Public Treasury. By Sciuti. In the Gallery of Modern Art, Rome

Rome's jealousy; therefore an agreement was entered into that the Carthaginian army should not pursue its conquests beyond the river Ebro. Now the great Hamilcar had a son named Hannibal, who was destined to become a still greater general than his father; nay, to be one of the most illustrious commanders the world has ever known. Before Hamilcar left his country to conquer Spain, he offered sacrifice to the gods, and asked his son, then nine years old, whether he would go with him to the camp. The boy assented, and begged his father to take him. Hamilcar said he would do so provided his son would promise what he asked of him. He led him to the altar of sacrifice and bade him and marched through the southern provinces of Gaul, meeting with constant opposition from savage tribes. The Roman army awaited his coming on the shores of the Mediterranean, but Hannibal ventured upon a bold move, which outdid even Roman daring. Amid indescribable perils and hardships, he crossed the Alps, probably by the little St. Bernard. We quote a few details given by the historian Livy. The greatest danger arose from the hostility and treachery of the mountain tribes. Once, at the commencement of the ascent, Hannibal outwitted them, and climbed the first heights. When the enemy perceived this, they stood for a while as if rooted to the spot. But when they saw the army

Fig. 15. Hannibal. In the Museum, Naples

passing onward through a narrow pass, and in their haste getting into confusion, principally on account of the timidity of the horses, they ran forward by a more circuitous route and byways over the crags, imagining that a fresh alarm would suffice to accomplish the destruction of the army. Thus the Carthaginians had to struggle at one and the same time against their foes and with the difficulties of the route, and they were delayed by the disputes among the men, each one striving to insure his own safety, more than by the opposition of the barbarians. The horses, too, impeded the progress of the troops, since they took fright at the noise and shouting, re-echoed by mountain and forest, and if accidentally hurt caused terrible disorder among the soldiers and baggage-wagons. Many armed men, as they crowded along the narrow path, fell over the side into the precipice. The beasts of burden rolled down into the abyss like masses of rock. So terrible was the scene that Hannibal halted a while and collected his troops round him, in order to lessen the confusion and pressure. But when he saw that the line of march would be interrupted, and that his forces could gain the pass only with loss of their baggage, he descended from the eminence and drove off the enemy, although this increased the general confusion. Once the adversaries succeeded in breaking through the ranks, and for a whole night the cavalry and baggage-wagons were separated from the army. Such were the difficulties and dangers daily encountered. On the ninth day after the ascent was begun the army reached the summit, often having taken a wrong road or indirect way, for no dependance could be placed on the natives as guides, and so a road through ravine or valley had to be followed at haphazard. The heights were covered with snow; it was about the end of September. Hannibal sought to cheer his soldiers, discouraged by the innumerable obstacles they encountered, by leading them on to a shoulder of the mountain, whence he pointed out to them Italy and the smiling plains of northern Italy. Now, he said to them, they had scaled the walls of Italy, the walls of Rome; the chief difficulties were surmounted, soon they would be rewarded with the spoil of Italy, of Rome.

The descent into the plain at first proved worse than the ascent of the mountain; the road was narrow, steep, and slippery; men and horses lost their footing and were precipitated into the abyss. In some places they had to cling to bushes and roots; and what was yet worse, on one naturally steep spot, a landslide had recently occurred, causing a chasm a hundred feet wide. It appeared necessary to make a new road for the army, but that was impossible. As a fresh but not deep fall of snow lay on the as yet untrodden surface of the past year's fall, the infantry were able at first to proceed over the soft snow, but when that slight covering disappeared in consequence of the trampling of so many feet, the march had to be continued over slippery ice and sodden slush. The exertion was terrible, as there was no firm foothold on the smooth ice, and since the road was on a decline, the men slipped and fell, and in the endeavor to recover their feet fell again. Nowhere was there the trunk of a tree or a projecting root to which to cling; there was nothing for it but to roll down the surface of the ice and snow drifts. The beasts of burden broke through the lower layer of ice with their hoofs, and in their struggles to rise, only stuck yet more fast in the solid masses. At last the army had to climb over the steep wall of rock,

which they sought to soften by huge fires, and by pouring vinegar on it. In this laborious manner a road was at last made.

When Hannibal reached the lowland traversed by the river Po, he had still a force of 30,000 men. The Gallic tribes of upper Italy joined him, and his progress through the peninsula was one long victory. In two sanguinary battles he defeated Rome's veteran generals in northern Italy (218); he gained one in central Italy at Lake Trasimene (217), and the most brilliant victory of all at Cannae (216). Never before had Rome suffered such a defeat: her loss amounted to 70,000 men, among whom were eighty of senatorial rank. The Carthaginian generals wished to advance at once upon Rome—many persons are of opinion that had Hannibal taken the city it would have been utterly destroyed. But he thought that Rome was still too strong, and deemed it wiser first to detach the nations of southern Italy from her alliance. In this season of tribulation and distress the Senate of Rome displayed admirable calmness, firmness, and wisdom. They would not even admit into the city the envoys sent by Hannibal to negotiate the exchange of prisoners. Fresh troops were levied, and fortune bestowed on Rome generals such as Marcus Claudius Marcellus, "the Sword of the Romans," and Publius Cornelius Scipio, who were almost equal to Hannibal. Hannibal's star waned. The long sojourn amid the luxury and abundance of northern and central Italy had enervated his troops; his brother, who was to have brought him reinforcements from Spain, was defeated on the way; Carthage did not afford him the subsidies he needed. The Romans meanwhile made important progress in Spain, Italy, and Sicily. In the year 204 Scipio was elected Consul and given the command of the army in Africa; in the following year Hannibal was recalled, after maintaining himself for fifteen years in Italy. In 202 a decisive battle was fought at Zama; Scipio conquered. He received in consequence the honorable surname of *Africanus,* and on his return to Rome his triumphant entry was the most splendid ever seen. Carthage was compelled to abandon her possessions in Spain and on the islands of the Mediterranean, to pay a yearly tribute amounting to about $260,000, to surrender her whole fleet with the exception of ten vessels, and to

Fig. 16. Hannibal Crossing the Alps into Italy. By Rethel. In the Dresden Museum

agree never to enter upon any war without the consent of Rome.

In the year 149 Carthage, being attacked by the Numidian King Masinissa, and finding Rome deaf to her complaints, was forced to take up arms in self-defence. This was declared to be a violation of the treaty, and two Roman armies immediately landed on the African coast. Carthage made a humble submission, and surrendered all her ships and military accoutrements. But when the haughty conqueror informed the inhabitants that they must leave the city and withdraw to some spot two miles distant from the coast, they prepared for one more desperate struggle. Through the magnanimous self-sacrifice of the inhabitants an army was equipped, ships of war built, every day a hundred shields, three hundred swords, five hundred pikes, a thousand catapults were manufactured. The women cut off their hair to make strings for the bows. The first assault of the Romans was gallantly repulsed. Then the command of the army was given to Cornelius Scipio Aemilianus, a grandson by adoption of the conqueror of Zama. He laid siege to Carthage. He soon took the harbor; the Carthaginians set fire to the arsenal. For six days a terrible conflict ensued. From the market place three streets led to the citadel, consisting of handsome houses seven stories high. The Romans were obliged to conquer each singly. At last the Carthaginians, reduced by famine and overpowered by numbers, held out no longer. Hasdrubal, their general, surrendered to Scipio; whereupon his wife cursed him, and, arrayed in festive garments, threw herself and her children from the pinnacles of the temple. Scipio, surnamed Africanus the Younger, made a grand triumphal entry into Rome, taking with him 50,000 prisoners and 4,470,000 pounds of silver.

By the fall of Carthage Rome acquired her rich territories in Africa, Spain, and the islands of the Mediterranean. At the same period other conquests were made; in four campaigns Macedonia was conquered, and afterward the whole of Greece. A footing was also obtained in another quarter of the world, Asia Minor, through a brilliant victory gained over Antiochus III, King of Syria.

At the close of this period Rome possessed, besides the district governed directly by the civil functionaries of the capital, eight several provinces: Sicily,

FIG. 18. THE BOUNDARIES OF THE ROMAN EMPIRE FROM 264 B.C. TO 305 A.D.

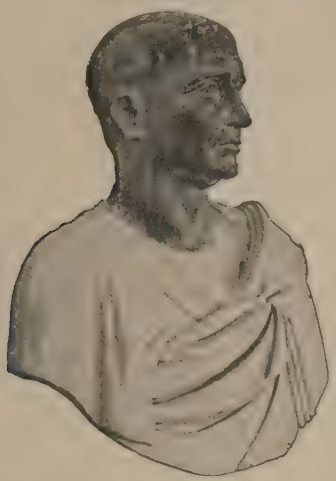

Fig. 17. Scipio Africanus. Sculptor Unknown. In the Vatican

Sardinia, and Corsica, the northeast of Spain, the southwest of Spain, northern Italy, Illyria, Africa, Macedonia, and Greece. These provinces were governed by pro-Praetors and pro-Consuls; that is, by men who had formerly filled the office of Praetors and Consuls in Rome.

When Scipio, the conqueror of Carthage, gazed upon the ruins of that once noble city he stood wrapped in thought, and tears fell from his eyes. And when the friend who stood beside him asked the cause of his grief, he replied that while he looked upon the burning city he remembered Rome, and his heart was filled with sorrow to think of her coming downfall. Scipio's grief was inspired by a presentiment prophetic of the future. Up to the time of Carthage's fall the history of Rome as a republic had been one of continual aggrandizement; she had now reached her zenith, from this time forward the history of the republic was marked by continual decline. It will, it is true, be seen that Rome enlarged her boundaries, carried her victorious arms in all directions, and everywhere her name was associated with world-wide empire; that art and science began to flourish in her midst; yet the state as such and as a whole was in its decadence. A new spirit began to prevail: simplicity and sobriety, obedience and subordination, love of one's country and the spirit of self-sacrifice, discipline and morality—these republican virtues, the basis of the sound, healthy life of a body politic, no longer were prominent characteristics of her citizens, and this was the beginning of her decline.

## 4. THE DECAY OF THE REPUBLIC

(146-31 B.C.)

THIS period of Roman history is characterized by three special notes: the external extension and aggrandizement of the power that was to conquer the then known world; internal civil disturbances, factions, feuds, and conspiracies; finally, the development and florescence of Roman science and art. The reader's attention will in this place be directed to the two first points only.

In the beginning of this period we find Cornelius Scipio, the Conqueror of Carthage, engaged in subduing the insurrections in Spain and Lusitania (143-133); Marius figures as the principal factor in extending and consolidating the Roman dominion in Africa; while Claudius Sulla, Lucius Morena, Lucius Lucullus, and Cneius Pompey vanquished in three victorious campaigns the power of the mighty Mithridates, King of Pontus, whereby Asia Minor, Syria, and anterior Asia became Roman provinces (88-64). Caius Julius Cæsar, the renowned general, during eight years of war, achieved the conquest of Gaul, *i.e.*, the greater part of the France of to-day, of Belgium and Switzerland; he twice passed over into the British Isles and made victorious expeditions into Germany on the right bank of the Rhine. Later on the standard of Rome was carried beyond the boundaries of Egypt and the conquests pushed forward into the interior of Asia.

This successful striving after the empire of the world brought Rome twice in

contact with a formidable enemy. When the Roman generals endeavored, toward the close of the second century, to establish their country's sway on a firm basis in the north of Europe, they clashed with the German or Teutonic tribes. These German tribes, which occupied the north of Europe, far beyond the limits of the Germany of the present day, were broken up into a number of separate races and peoples. Without civilization, without any fixed dwelling-place, they surged restlessly hither and thither like the ocean waves, dislodging, driving out, making war upon one another. The direction of their migration was generally west or south. In the year 113 the Cimbrians, formerly inhabiting the region on the North Sea now known as Schleswig, advanced to the borders of Italy, defeated a Roman army in Carinthia, then turning round, skirted the northern range of the Alps, crossed the Rhine, overthrew a second Roman army, traversed Gaul, inflicted a signal defeat on two other Roman armies near the Adige, crossed the Pyrenees, overran Spain, then returned and allied themselves with the Teuton and Helvetian tribes, and decided to invade Italy in two separate hordes in the west and in the east. Marius was the savior of Rome in this exigency. The son of a humble day laborer of Arpinum, a town in Latium, destitute of education and of wealth, but possessed of boundless ambition and an iron determination, he, a rough soldier, rose from the ranks, was made a general and commander-in-chief, and filled the highest offices in the state. Seven times he was Consul. He won his first laurels in Africa. While still absent from Rome he was appointed to the command of the army to be sent against the Germans, and then (104-100), contrary to the rules of the Constitution, he was elected Consul five consecutive years. He justified the confidence placed in him. The Teutons, who were about to enter by the maritime Alps in the west, were completely routed at Aix in Provence (102), and the Cimbrians, who had already invaded the north of Italy, having come through the Brenner Pass in the east, met with the same fate at Vercellae. Marius was received with a grand ovation on his return, being declared to be Rome's second founder, another Romulus.

Fig. 20. Lucius Cornelius Sulla (?). In the Vatican

In the year 90 a fresh danger threatened Rome. The nations of Italy had for two hundred years tolerated Rome's supremacy; they had helped her to acquire universal dominion in three-quarters of the globe, and they considered themselves justified in desiring to enjoy equal rights and privileges with the Romans. The aristocratic party in Rome always contrived to prevent their enfranchisement. Consequently, in the above-named and the following year, many of the Italian peoples fell away from the confederation, and resolved to form a new republic of their own, to be called Italia. Partly by the concession of the rights they demanded, partly by force of arms, Rome compelled the insurgents to submit. Marius was one of the generals who won renown in this social war, yet he was thrown into the shade by one who had served in his army in Africa and at Aix and Vercellae, the refined and aristocratic Lucius Cornelius Sulla, of whom more will be said presently.

This brief survey shows that Rome had illustrious generals at this time: Marius, Sulla, Pompey, Cæsar, and others. All of these also distinguished themselves as statesmen, but not with the unselfish, patriotic spirit which characterized the heroes of earlier times; each one sought his own advantage, power, and authority for his own party and himself. The two

Fig. 19. Triumphal Procession of Caius Marius. By Altamura. In the Capodimonte Gallery, Naples

most influential factions were the rich, high-born aristocrats and the democrats who were supported by the populace. The latter were mere tools in the hands of those who had purchased their adherence. There was no longer a middle class; the landed property was almost exclusively in the possession of the wealthy aristocracy; in the capital there was an ever-increasing, hungry populace, without means, without employment for the most part. The grandsons of the victor of Zama, Tiberius and Caius Gracchus, who endeavored to introduce new and seasonable measures, although by somewhat unconstitutional means, could accomplish nothing; they were forced to flee, and being overtaken were put to death, Tiberius with three hundred, Caius with three thousand of their partisans.

This is but a prelude to many and yet more terrible civil wars, in which factions in the pay of ambitious, self-seeking leaders were to attack one another. The first civil war of that nature broke out through the dissension between Marius and Sulla, in the year 88. The peasant's son from Arpinium relied on the support of the populace, which was friendly to him; Sulla gave himself out as the leader of the cause of the nobles. An incident of secondary importance sufficed to cause an outbreak of the bitter jealousy wherewith Marius, then sixty-seven years of age, was devoured. Not he, but Sulla, who was Consul at that epoch, was chosen general-in-chief in the first Mithridatic war; then the people, swayed by Marius, took the command from his rival and bestowed it, contrary to all law and justice, on their ambitious favorite. However, Sulla marched with his legions on Rome, took the city by storm, and declared Marius an outlaw. Marius escaped death by flight, passing through a series of strange adventures. At one time he sought refuge in a fisherman's hut, at another time he hid in the marshes near Minturnae. There he was discovered and conveyed as a prisoner, covered with mud, to Minturnae. No one was found willing to execute the sentence of death which had been passed on him; at last a slave was commissioned to slay him. When he entered Marius' presence, the aged hero exclaimed in threatening accents: "Fellow, dost thou dare to kill Marius?" Thereupon the man turned and fled out of the dungeon, crying: "I cannot slay Marius." The inhabitants regarded this as a sign from the gods that his life was to be spared; they gave him money and set him free. Marius escaped to Africa. But the governor sent him orders to quit the province without

Fig. 21. Cornelia, the Mother of the Gracchi

delay. "Go," said Marius to the messenger, "tell Sextilius that thou hast seen Marius a fugitive, sitting among the ruins of Carthage." Meanwhile his antagonist, Sulla, had gone to Asia to wage war with Mithridates. Marius assembled about a thousand desperadoes, landed in Italy, and marched against Rome. The city surrendered to him. Marius' entry was the prelude to scenes of terror and bloodshed. During five days and nights a series of horrible butcheries went on, dictated by revenge, hatred, rapacity. Marius had been Consul six times; an Augur had foretold to him in his youth that he would hold that office seven times. In the year 86 he caused himself to be elected to that dignity, but he did not hold it long, for after eighteen days he expired. In his last agony he imagined himself at the head of the army, the commander-in-chief of the troops at war with Mithridates: ambition, his ruling passion, was thus strong in death. His son and his partisans carried on the work he had begun. Sulla, who during this time was gaining signal victories in Asia, prepared to execute terrible vengeance. In the year 83 he landed in Italy; the following year he advanced upon Rome, overcoming all opposition. In November he entered the city, the authorities trembling before him. He caused the garrison of Praenesté, 12,000 men, to be put to the sword; 8,000 Samnites whom he had taken prisoners before the city gates were massacred in cold blood while Sulla delivered an address to the Senate hard by. The cries of agony being heard, some of the senators sprang to their feet in alarm. "Be seated," Sulla coolly said; "it is but some wretches undergoing punishment by my orders." All were doomed to death who had taken a prominent part against him. Two thousand senators and knights had already been put to death; then Sulla was entreated to issue a proscription list, as no one knew whether he was safe. A formal list of the condemned was then published, but each succeeding day other names were added to it. The first list contained 80, the second 220 names, and so on up to 4,420 names. The atrocities perpetrated in Rome were extended to the provinces, where similar direful scenes were enacted. Sulla caused himself to be declared Dictator. While holding that office he remodelled the Constitution of Rome, giving

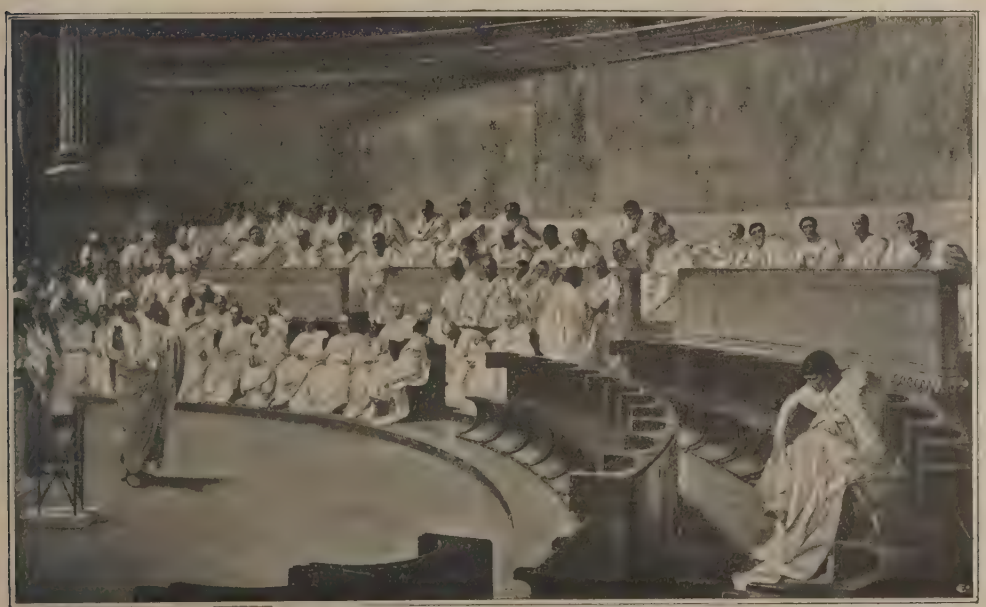

Fig. 22. Cicero Speaking in the Senate against Catiline. By Maccari. In the Senate Palace, Rome

Figs. 23-25. Cæsar, Pompey, and Marcus Brutus. By Imhoof-Blumer. Portraits Taken from Roman Coins

it a thoroughly aristocratic color. In the year 79 of his own accord he resigned the dictatorship and retired into private life. He might have been crowned and proclaimed the first Roman emperor had he so willed. All the new regulations he introduced were one after another repealed.

Since Marius and Sulla were permitted to usurp power and authority by force of arms, by proscriptions and wholesale massacres, no wonder that others thence concluded that any means might be employed to attain the same end. The democratic faction and the needy populace coalesced to form a revolutionary party of the worst description. At its head was Lucius Sergius Catiline, a man sixty years of age; with him were a considerable number of young men, several of them scions of noble and distinguished families, all of whom had degenerated through vice and excesses of every kind. Ambitious men of high—even of the highest rank—knew of their design and promoted it, in the hope that by the upheaval of social order they might further their own selfish aims. A definite conspiracy against the Constitution and the government was organized, and a revolutionary army secretly equipped; the execution of the design was first fixed for the year 66, but afterward postponed until 63. The Consuls and some leading men were to be assassinated and the city set on fire, with a view to producing general confusion. But the Consul Marcus Tullius Cicero, Rome's greatest orator, being apprised of their designs through spies, watched every movement of the conspirators, and at the decisive moment exposed their plot. The ringleaders were strangled in prison, with the exception of Catiline, who fell at the head of an armed force with three hundred of his adherents.

After these petty agitators had come to so miserable an end, great generals in their turn took up the revolutionary cause. One of the leading men who were acquainted with Catiline's conspiracy was Julius Cæsar, the conqueror of Gaul, a man em-

Fig. 26. Group from Cæsar's Triumphal March. By Mantegna. In the Hofmuseum, Vienna

Fig. 27. The Assassination of Julius Cæsar in the Senate. By Rochegrosse

inent in almost every way, as general, statesman, orator, and historian. But his exceptional talents were dimmed by faults, by ambition, greed of power, unscrupulousness in the choice of means to an end. In the year 60 B.C. he concluded what is known as the *Triumvirate,* the league of three men, with the famous commander and statesman, Pompey, and a wealthy citizen named Crassus, who had paid some of his debts, for the purpose by mutual support of securing for themselves the political posts and privileges which they coveted. Crassus, an individual of little note, died on an expedition against the Parthians; Cæsar gained for himself in Gaul the devotion of an army accustomed to victory, attached to his person and his fortunes, while Pompey remained in Rome. A breach between these two was inevitable sooner or later. The increase of power on both sides brought about disunion; Pompey constituted himself more decidedly than ever the leader of the aristocrats, Cæsar of the democrats. Pompey was supported by the Senate and the plutocracy; Cæsar had the populace on his side, but his chief reliance was on his tried veterans. In the year 49 the second civil war broke out. The decisive battle was fought in Thessaly, whither Pompey had withdrawn when Cæsar's legions marched from Gaul southward toward Rome. The armies met on the plain of Pharsalus. The forces Pompey commanded were twice as numerous as the army opposed to them, yet Cæsar gained a splendid victory. Pompey fled to Africa; the conqueror pursued him. On his landing Pompey's head and his signet ring were brought to him. The King of Egypt, or rather his guardian, had treacherously stabbed the distinguished general in order to gain Cæsar's favor; yet that hero with tears in his eyes turned away from the ghastly spectacle of his opponent's head. Until the year 35 Cæsar was engaged in continued warfare with Pompey's sons and partisans in Africa, Asia, and Spain. On his return to Rome he celebrated a fourfold triumph. Where was there a country in which Cæsar had not achieved victories? His triumph lasted forty days. It was made attractive by grand festivities and gladiatorial shows, and the poorer citizens were regaled at a public repast, 22,000 tables being spread for their entertainment.

Hitherto none of those who had attained to the exercise of supreme power had so much as thought of wearing the crown. Cæsar, however, had for many years persistently pursued this design, as he was convinced that Rome could no longer exist as a republic, but was ripe for monarchical government. Unprecedented honors were heaped on him. He was made Dictator for life and Imperator; that is, he was invested with the plenitude of civil and military authority; he had command of the public treasury; as Censor he enlarged and filled up the Senate; as supreme Pontiff he had the direction of all religious matters; his person was inviolable; in a word, Cæsar was sole ruler; King, Emperor in all but name and crown. Several times his friends had in different ways offered him the regal diadem, but he refused it, however much he desired it, because the popular sentiment was averse to the sign of kingly power. Cæsar made preparations to undertake a war of retaliation against the Parthians; an oracle declared that none but a king could conquer the brave Asiatics. Consequently, on March 15, 44 B.C., it was proposed in the Senate that the Dictator should have the title of king in all countries save Italy. An extraordinary meeting of the Council of State was immediately called in consequence of this proposal. It met in a hall of Pompey's Theatre. Unfavorable omens and urgent warnings led to the fear that the worst might happen; Cæsar relinquished his purpose of joining the Assembly. Toward noon, however, he allowed himself to be persuaded by false friends to change his mind, and he went thither. One of the Senators went up to him to present a petition on behalf of his brother, who had been banished, and under the same pretext others crowded round him. A few moments later, pierced by three and twenty daggers, Cæsar fell—at the foot of Pompey's statue. About fifty Senators, some of the aristocratic, some of the republican party, were among the conspirators; Marcus Brutus and Caius Cassius were at

the head of the conspiracy. Both of these men had been spared by Cæsar, although they had espoused the cause of his antagonist, Pompey, and Brutus he had loved and treated as his son. But Brutus was a republican, and imagined that by Cæsar's death he could found a new republic; Cassius was actuated by disappointed ambition. The assassination of Cæsar was a fatal act; the restoration of the republic was impossible, and Rome lost her greatest statesman and general. It is wonderful what grand designs he cherished for the future; he would certainly have carried them out but for the daggers of stupid, obstinate, ambitious malcontents.

A third civil war on a large scale was the inevitable result. Cæsar Octavian, Cæsar's grandnephew and adopted son, with Marcus Antonius and Marcus Lepidus, two adherents of the murdered hero, formed a second Triumvirate, proposing to achieve what might be called a reconstitution of the state. The first thing to be done was to annihilate the republicans and the murderers of Cæsar. A decisive battle took place in the year 42, at Philippi, in Greece; Octavian and Antony were victorious, yet the struggle went on in other countries for many years. After the opposing party was overcome, matters had to be settled between the Triumvirs. Lepidus was already put on one side; the respective fleets of Octavian and Antony met in the year 31 off the promontory of Actium, in Epirus; a battle ensued in which Antony was defeated. Shortly after he put an end to his life. Then Octavian became what his adoptive father had been after the defeat of Pompey—the autocrat of Rome.

A sketch of the characteristic features of these times would be incomplete if men-

Fig. 28. In the Slaves' Quarters. By Baur

tion was not made of the slave-wars and of slavery as practised in Rome. This deplorable system, for which paganism is responsible, took a worse form in Rome than among any other nation of antiquity. It belongs to the nature of the Roman to exploit every idea to its furthest limits. After once assuming—most wrongfully—that mankind is divided into two species, the free and the bondsman, those who rule and those who serve, he went so far as to regard the bondsman and the server as mere animated machines, to deny them the rights of humanity, to look on them as not being of the same human nature as himself. "Three instruments," says a learned and cultured Roman, "are necessary to

render land really productive: the first is dumb—the plow and agricultural implements; the second utters inarticulate noises—the ox, the horse; the third has the use of speech—the slave." The treatment of a slave depends solely upon the will of his master. He can scourge him until he bleeds for the least blunder; he can throw him into the fishpond, because the *muranae* (eels) have a more delicate flavor if fed on human flesh; he can cause him to be hanged, as Augustus did, if out of greediness he eats a quail; and judged by strictest Roman law he will declare that he has a right to act thus. "Let the slave be crucified!" a poet makes a lady say to her husband. "What has he done to deserve death?" the latter inquires. "Who bears witness against him? Who has accused him? One ought not rashly to condemn a man to death." "Nonsense!" retorts the lady; "is the slave to count as a man? Perhaps he has done nothing wrong; it may be so; but I wish him to be put to death; I command it; my will is quite sufficient reason." Who can tell the countless tortures to which a slave might be exposed in the service of such wilful, capricious masters? For the majority life was an unbroken series of miseries.

The slaves of an establishment were divided into the domestic and agricultural; the urban or city slaves and those of the country. The former served in the households of rich patricians and plebeians, the latter on the large estates held by the wealthy. It was considered as appertaining to polite society to have slaves for every office and duty in the household, and this entailed the maintenance of a prodigious number—porters, smiths, carpenters, masons, builders, painters, shoemakers, tailors, cooks, waiters, cupbearers, personal servants, barbers, readers, secretaries, messengers, sedan bearers, grooms, equerries, etc. Still larger was the number of slaves employed on estates and tracts of public land, and their lot was infinitely harder. After arduous labor during the day, they were at night chained together and locked into damp, underground dungeons. Their moral condition was even worse than their bodily state; there was no law to protect them from the most shameful treatment; they were, in fact, thrust down to a condition worse than the oxen that labored on the land.

What was the number of the slaves? In early times they seem not to have been numerous; but in proportion as opulence and luxury increased, and the conquests of Rome were extended, the amount of slaves rapidly became greater, for not only were the prisoners taken in war sold into slavery, but there was also a slave trade systematically carried on in Africa, Asia, and the north of Europe on a large scale. The smallest number of slaves kept by well-to-do persons was ten; Scaurus owned four thousand household and an equal number of agricultural slaves; the builders and carpenters maintained by Crassus alone amounted to five hundred; and five hundred personal attendants was not considered an extraordinary number to be owned. An aggregate statement can scarcely be made; it may, however, safely be asserted that at the time of transition from a republican to a monarchical form of government, for every free man in Rome there were two or three slaves.

What more natural than that these unhappy bondsmen should band together against their oppressors? The first insurrection of slaves broke out in Sicily in the year 135. A certain slave-owner named Damphilus, on being asked by a body of these wretched men for clothing, answered: "What, do not travellers wear clothes on which you could lay hands?" The cruel master was one of the first victims of the slaves' vengeance. Among the slaves of another wealthy proprietor was one named Eunus, who became the leader of the insurgents; he was soon at the head of 20,000 men, and the army of slaves shortly numbered 200,000. The Romans (134) despatched Consuls to crush the insurrection. Not until after three years of varying success did they achieve a complete conquest. Twenty thousand slaves were crucified. In 103 Sicily was again a prey to the horrors of a slave war; it is said that 40,000 slaves fell in battle.

The third and most perilous slave war began in the year 73. The insurrection broke out at Capua, where the gladiators were trained whose destiny it was to make

sport for the people in single combat or in conflict with wild beasts. Spartacus, a Thracian, was chosen to be leader. He was joined by slaves and outlaws, and in a short time his army numbered 120,000 men. Their object was to press northward and cross the Alps, thence to return to their native country. Four Roman armies were successively defeated; finally the Roman general Marcus Crassus vanquished the ill-disciplined host. He took some 10,000 gladiators and slaves prisoners, whom he hung upon crosses erected along the road from Capua to Rome.

## 5. ROME UNDER THE EMPERORS

(From 31 B.C. to 476 A.D.)

### 1. THE FIVE JULIAN EMPERORS, 31 B.C.–68 A.D.

31-14 Augustus—37 Tiberius—41 Caligula—54 Claudius—68 Nero

THE new ruler was satisfied with the possession and execution of an authority more than regal without assuming any title or insignia savoring of royalty. Adroitly and judiciously Octavian gradually accustomed the Romans to regard him as the absolute ruler and governor of the Roman Empire. Thus he cautiously and almost imperceptibly prepared the way for the substitution of imperial rule for the moribund republican government. In the year 27 the Senate conferred on him the title of Augustus. This name, like the title *Imperator* and *Prince,* from that time forth is employed to designate the sole ruler and emperor, while *Cæsar* became later on the usual title given to the destined successor to the throne. Science and art, both in the capital and the provinces, owed much to Augustus. The chief event of political importance in his reign was the war in Germany, conducted principally by his stepsons, Drusus and Tiberius Nero. The southern nations submitted to the Roman Eagle. Their territory was made into two Roman provinces, Rhaetia, with its chief town, Augusta Vindelicorum, the Augsburg of the present day, and Noricum, including upper and lower Austria, with part of Styria and Carinthia. From the Rhineland the two heroes pushed on to the Weser and the Elbe. The Roman dominion in Germany, however, received its death-blow in the ninth year of the Christian era, when three Roman legions were completely overthrown after a terrible battle, which lasted three days. The commander of the Germans was Arminius or Hermann; the Roman general was Quintilius Varus, whose severity and rapacity had caused the Germans to revolt. But Germanicus, Drusus' son, soon advanced with an army which proved victorious. He took Thusnelda, the wife of Arminius, prisoner, and brought her captive to Rome, to enhance the glory of his triumph.

Augustus was not happy in his private life; he had no offspring except one daughter, who caused him so much trouble that he banished her. Nor did either of his four successors on the throne, who were of the race of Julius Cæsar, bequeath their imperial dignity to a son; either they had no male issue, or poison, administered by near relatives or favorites, deprived them of their legitimate or adopted heirs. The art of poisoning was practised with terrible skill in the age of which we speak,

Figs. 29-33. Cæsars Augustus, Tiberius, Caligula, Claudius, and Nero. By Imhoof-Blumer. Portraits on Roman Coins

and the imperial house witnessed atrocities which would not be believed were they not well authenticated.

Although the full light of history beats upon Augustus, yet fables and legends to a great extent surround him. Both his fortunes and his person had something fabulous about them in the eyes of the next generations. Yet he was destined by divine Providence to conduce to the fulfilment of the prophecy: "And thou Bethlehem, the land of Juda, art not the least among the princes of Juda; for out of thee shall come forth the Captain that shall rule my people Israel." In consequence of the imperial decree that a census should be made throughout the Roman Empire, Joseph and Mary went up to Bethlehem, the city of their ancestor David, and there Our Lord Jesus Christ was born. Thus the event, the most rich in blessings that history records, took place in the fulness of time, in the reign of Cæsar Augustus.

Many pictures, statues, and busts have served to make the features of the first emperor known to posterity. The best and handsomest of these is a statue in the Vatican, which was discovered in the year 1863 buried under the ruins of the villa of Livia, the third wife of the emperor. Augustus is represented in his apotheosis as a deified hero; in his left hand he holds the scepter, while the right hand is raised, as though pointing out to his troops the way to victory. His cuirass is ornamented with figures in relief, the folds of his military cloak hang round his hips. His countenance resembles that of the Julian race, whose characteristic features are immortalized in many ancient sculptures; it bears traces of the struggle for universal domination, the cares and troubles which have worn but not disfigured it. The expression is one of noble, unaffected dignity and calm, gentle melancholy. While gazing at this statue one seems to enter into the thoughts and secret aspirations rendered in so lifelike a manner by the sculptor, or rather the features, as one contemplates them, appear to regain vitality and animation, and the voice of the emperor whispers to the spectator: "I have accomplished great things, but I have not found peace; therefore time has not effaced the look of sadness from my countenance."

In spite of the crimes and excesses of which they were guilty, there must have been in the Julian race an innate sense of power, a dominant, all-pervading idea and aspiration, otherwise there would not be so striking a likeness observed among them all; they would not appear to be blood relations, although, as has already been remarked, the succession was kept up by adoption as much as by lineal descent, and blood relationship died out in the third or fourth generation. It is interesting to contemplate and compare the first sixteen busts in the Hall of the Emperors in the Capitol. Julius Cæsar comes first, the bloodthirsty Nero last. The broad forehead, shaded by flowing locks, the deep-set eyes, the square, well-cut facial outline, the aquiline nose, expressive mouth and firmly set lips, the prominent chin with deeply drawn lines are observable in each and all. There certainly exists a remarkable difference between the noble expression on the features of Augustus' successors in their youth and that of the same countenances when debased and disfigured by a course of vice and acts of tyranny that look like madness. Tiberius was a misanthrope, Caligula was half demented, Claudius was a weak-minded tyrant. To relate more about these men would be to specify their crimes, vices, and folly. All three were inclined to despotism, governed by women and favorites. The Court was a hotbed of shame and infamy. In Tiberius' reign the pernicious power of the Praetorian band, or imperial bodyguard, took its rise. For the maintenance of public safety in Rome and throughout Italy, Augustus appointed ten cohorts to every thousand inhabitants. Of these cohorts, three were permanently quartered on the citizens in Rome. Under Tiberius the Praetorians were all domiciled in a fortified camp outside the city walls. The plan of the original structure is still marked by the remains of massive walls. A succession of military revolutions was the result of this ill-advised measure.

The last of the Julian emperors was Nero, whose name we shall frequently

meet with; a name which has attained an unenviable notoriety equalled by few other names in history, as an arbitrary tyrant, the murderer of his mother, his wife, and his tutor, as the first persecutor of the Christians, the devastator of Rome. With him the race of the great Julius Cæsar died out. Augustus alone of all the Julian emperors died a natural death.

FIG. 34. GERMANICUS(?). IN THE LATERAN MUSEUM

FIG. 35. AUGUSTUS. IN THE VATICAN

During the course of a few months three emperors succeeded one another on the throne: Galba, elected by the troops in Spain, Atho by the Praetorians, Vitellius by the legions in the Rhineland. All three made themselves hated for their crimes, and were strangled. Meanwhile Titus Flavius Vespasian, who was in the East laying siege to Jerusalem, was summoned to take the reins of government. Leaving his son Titus to carry on the siege, he hastened to Italy in order to enforce his claim to the imperial dignity.

## 2. THE THREE FLAVIANS, 69-96

69-79 Vespasian—81 Titus—96 Domitian

As soon as Titus had taken Jerusalem, in the year 70, and a revolt in Germany had been suppressed, Vespasian caused the Temple of Janus, the God of War, to be closed for the first time since the reign of Augustus, for he felt that a period of peace was indispensable for the welfare of the empire. He then directed his attention to the internal affairs of the state. Unworthy members of the Senate were expelled from it, regulations were made for the improvement of public morals, and a judicious economy was introduced, although the emperor was ever ready to give pecuniary assistance to any deserving object. He commenced the building of the Flavian amphitheatre and of the Colosseum. That his son Titus governed with equal wisdom and won the affection of his subjects is proved by the name given to him: "The love and joy of the people." Domitian also began well, yet he rapidly degenerated into an inhumane, cruel tyrant, who showed no mercy even to his own

family. From the Dacians on the lower Danube he bought peace with gold, a disgraceful transaction, unknown in Rome for four centuries. He was assassinated with the connivance of his wife, whose life he threatened, and the Senate decreed that all monuments erected in his honor should be demolished and his name effaced from all inscriptions.

### 3. NERVA AND HIS ADOPTED FAMILY, 96-192

96-98 Nerva—117 Trajan—138 Hadrian—161 Antoninus Pius—180 Marcus Aurelius—192 Commodus

This period, with the exception of Commodus' reign, was the golden age of imperial Rome. Almost all her rulers had excellent, generous intentions, and deserved well of their country. This fact renders it all the more remarkable that several of them, Trajan, Hadrian, Marcus Aurelius, were unjust to the Christians and persecuted them cruelly. Trajan, one of the most humane rulers, subdued the Dacians and formed the province of Dacia, which included the present Wallachia, Moldavia and the eastern portion of Austria. In the east the tract of country between the Mediterranean and the Red Sea formed another province, Arabia. Trajan also enriched Rome with magnificent buildings and monuments; his successor, Hadrian, distinguished for his erudition and his vanity, did likewise. Under the rule of Antoninus Pius the vast empire attained a great height of prosperity, for he governed with firmness and equity and was a lover of peace; the beneficial effect of the wisdom he displayed was felt throughout the whole extent of the empire. In the reign of Marcus Aurelius the barbarous tribes of the Marcomanni, the Quadi, etc., again invaded the Roman dominions on the right bank of the Danube. Three times the emperor took the field against them and conquered the savage hordes, yet their inroads were continually repeated. In the last expedition the emperor died at Vindobona, the Vienna of to-day.

### 4. THE SOLDIER-EMPERORS (193-284)

With but few exceptions the emperors of this period, who succeeded one another with extraordinary rapidity, were raised to the throne and deposed therefrom by the legions in the provinces or the Praetorians in Rome. For many of these monarchs the short-lived possession of the imperial dignity was like a dream. Marius, a quondam smith, elected in the year 268 by the troops in Cologne, was, as was supposed, put to death in three days' time; Claudius Quintilius committed suicide seventeen days after his election. Frequently it was those who were best fitted for their post who had to relinquish it most speedily, if they endeavored with the best intentions to enforce order and restrain the turbulent soldiery, as did Helvius Pertinax, an able ruler, who was deposed after eighty-seven days. After him a shameless profligate, Didius Julianus, obtained the crown by the choice of the Praetorians, or rather by purchase, for it was given to him as the highest bidder. Woe betide the man who gave the slightest offence to a Praetorian; his life was not worth a moment's purchase. This installation and coronation, this dethronement and assassination of rulers would appear a ludicrous farce were it not that the drama always commenced with a massacre and ended with a massacre. That such happenings were possible only shows the complete degeneracy of the Roman people. Several of the emperors were not Roman citizens, but were natives of the provinces, such as Thrace, Pannonia, etc. Many of them were men possessing neither noble lineage nor cultivation, who had only made themselves conspicuous through some striking, often anything but regal, quality; for instance, the coarse Thracian, Maximian (235-238), was distinguished only by his gigantic stature; Heliogabalus (218-222), the Oriental, remarkable for his personal beauty, was almost the most dissolute and depraved monarch ever known. The great confusion that pre-

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FIG. 36. HERMANN, LEADER OF THE CHERUSCI. BY GROTEMEYER. IN THE GYMNASIUM, FRAUSTADT

vailed in the metropolis, and indeed throughout the whole empire, can easily be imagined, for it often happened that different emperors were proclaimed at one and the selfsame time by different bodies of soldiery, and each claimant of the throne sought to defeat his rival by force of arms or unscrupulous crimes. Under Didius the Syrian army elected their commander, Pescennius Niger, the British legion chose Clodius Albinus, while on the Danube the brave but cruel African, Septimus Severus, was declared emperor. The confusion reached its climax in the reign of Gallienus (260-268). When on all sides the barbarians crossed the frontier and overran the furthermost provinces of the empire, almost every detachment of troops in distant outposts chose its own Imperator, so that for some time eighteen or nineteen different rulers held power simultaneously.

Among the best and ablest of these emperors we may mention Severus Alexander (222-235); Probus (276-282), a valiant warrior, and his predecessor, Aurelian (270-275), who was justly said to have restored the empire. A man of humble birth, he was in command of the legions on the Danube when he was proclaimed emperor by the troops. To distinguish him from another warrior of the same name he was surnamed Aurelian, "Sword in hand." The empire needed a strong arm at that time, for the Goths and Vandals invaded it in vast hordes. With the former he concluded peace; the latter, who had already advanced into Umbria, he drove back after a signal victory. In order to protect the capital from the incursions of the barbarians, who continually grew bolder, he surrounded it with a wide, massive wall. His next business was to re-establish the unity of the empire. To accomplish this he marched against his imperial rivals in the provinces, Zenobia, Queen of Palmyra, in the east; Pesuvius Tetricus in Gaul. Both of these he vanquished, and both as prisoners, Zenobia being loaded with golden fetters, enhanced the glory of the brilliant triumph of the victor on his return to Rome. While on an expedition against the Parthians he was assassinated by a treacherous courtier. In the midst of these troublous times Rome celebrated, in the year 269, in the reign of Philip the Arabian, the millenary of her foundation by a series of splendid public games.

### 5. THE LAST EMPERORS. THE DIVISION AND DOWNFALL OF THE EMPIRE. (284-476)

In the year 284 the troops in Chalcedon proclaimed Diocletian, the commander of the imperial bodyguard, emperor. He was an Illyrian, of low origin, but possessed of sharp wits and indomitable energy. What he proposed to himself was

to re-establish the ancient Roman empire in its former grandeur and might. All the time-honored traditional external forms of the republic were abolished, the Senate no longer met, the military and civil power were no longer united, the army had lost all martial ardor. The emperor now appeared arrayed in purple and gold, and all who approached him had to bow the knee in acknowledgment of his sovereign majesty. Diocletian was aware that since the bonds that held society together were loosened, none but a ruler whose powers were unlimited could weld into a whole the disintegrated elements. The government by a single monarch of a world-empire disorganized and threatened by foes seemed a task requiring superhuman strength; he therefore associated with himself Maximian, his former comrade in arms, and nominated besides two Cæsars with the right of succession to the throne. The cruel war of extermination which Diocletian carried on against the Christians is partly explained by the unyielding severity of his character and by his political designs and opinions. It seemed to him that the world-wide empire which had risen out of heathendom must with heathendom stand or fall.

To admit several rulers to a share in the government was a dangerous experiment for the upholding of Rome's universal dominion. In the year 307 no less than six emperors claimed the supreme power; but one of them, Constantine the Great, overcame all his rivals and raised himself to be the sole occupant of the imperial throne. Under his rule the Church enjoyed peace, and he himself embraced Christianity. He completed the work Diocletian began—that of restoring order and regulating the affairs of the empire. By the creation of a second metropolis, Byzantium, later on named Constantinople, after its founder, the division of the empire into east and west was definitely declared and soon became an accomplished fact. On Constantine's death a fierce and bloody struggle ensued between his three legitimate sons, until Constantius (353-361) gained sole dominion. Julian, who succeeded him (361-363) persecuted the Christians and endeavored to re-establish the worship of pagan deities as the state religion. In history he is branded as an apostate. Under the second of his successors, Valentinian I (364-375), the division of the empire into east and west was consummated, but Theodosius (379-395) in the latter years of his reign again united all portions of the empire under his sway. The more remote provinces one after the other became the prey of the barbarians. The rulers of the west no longer resided in Rome, but in Milan or Treves. Honorius (395-423) betook himself to Ravenna, a city whose fortifications consisted of morasses and lagoons. Foreigners, barbarians, not the emperor, were in command at the Court; the army likewise was officered by foreigners, if it did not consist of hordes of barbarian mercenaries. In the year 410 Rome was first conquered and pillaged by Alaric, king of the West Goths; in 455 the Vandals from Africa under Genseric plundered Rome and all the coast as far as Naples for four-

Fig. 36. Cameo (Sardonyx with Triple Layers) Representing the Julians. In the National Library, Paris

In the centre, Julius Cæsar; to his right is Drusus, the stepson of Augustus; to the left of the winged horse is Augustus, bringing the earth ball to Julius; in the centre part, before the throne, is Tiberius and his mother, Livia; near them is Germanicus, son of the aforementioned Drusus, and his mother, Antonia; to the right of Germanicus, is Caligula and his mother, Agrippina; behind the throne is Tiberius, the son of Drusus and his wife Julia Livilia. At the bottom are seen Orientals, Gauls, and Germans.

Temple of Jupiter (Capitol) Tabularium
Julian Basilica Temple of Saturn Temple of Vespasian Temple of Concord
Commemorative Columns Rostra, or Platform for Public Speakers Arch of Severus
Column of Duilius

Palatine Julian Basilica
Temple of Julius Cæsar Temple of Vesta House of Vestals Temple of Castor and Pollux
Arch of Fabian Monuments of Honor Equestrian Statue of Vespasian
Commemorative Columns

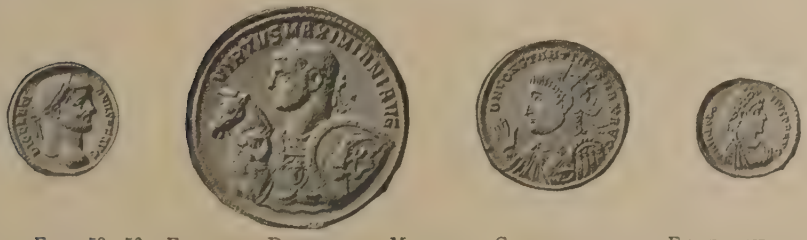
Capitol, Forum, and Palatine. Reconstruction by Prof. E. Becchetti, Rome

teen days. The last emperors had neither power nor prestige; they did not rule even over the whole of Italy. Two military kings of Teuton race governed the tracts occupied by their troops; their names were Odoacer and Orestes. When the latter nominated his son, Romulus Augustus, emperor, Odoacer took up arms against Orestes, conquered Pavia, where he had taken refuge, and having put him to death assumed himself the supreme command in Italy. That occurred in the year 476; and therewith the history of the Roman Empire ends.

Figs. 38—43. Emperors Galba, Otho, Vitellius, Vespasian, Titus, and Domitian

Figs. 44—49. Emperors Nerva, Trajan, Hadrian, Antoninus Pius, Marcus Aurelius, and Commodus

Figs. 50—52. Emperors Pertinax, Septimius Severus, and Aurelian



Figs. 53—56. Emperors Diocletian, Maximian, Constantine the First, and Theodosius the First

## 6. RELIGION, SCIENCE, AND ART OF THE ROMANS

THE religion of the Roman was that of heathendom in general: the worship of false gods. Despite the plurality of the deities he served, the original, primitive belief in one God is distinctly traceable therein, more so than in the religion of any other pagan nation, although he did not know or even suspect this to be the case; and the more as, in the course of time, the birth of his nation and state receded into the shadowy past, so much the more firmly did he believe in the plurality of his divinities, or else believe in nothing at all.

From the outset the Romans were essentially a religiously-minded people. They held the cultus of the gods to be the most

Fig. 57. Aurelian City-wall Outside the Porta S. Paola

important, most sacred, most necessary business of life. Religion was not to them as to the Greeks, their fellow-nation across the Adriatic, a matter of sentiment and poetic fancy; hence the representations of deities as the Romans portrayed them were much more dignified and solemn than those of the Greeks. They did not credit them with human frailties and faults, with human feelings and caprices, any more than at first they thought of them as clothed in human form and figure; and consequently in primitive times they made no images of them, worshipping them only under symbols and signs in their temples. Their gods were strict and just, but also beneficent and bounteous, chastising sin but also rewarding merit. The old Latin pagan did indeed look up to them with fear and trembling, with solemn awe, and timidly offer his prayers, vows, and oblations, for this is a trait common to all heathen religions; but Roman history in later times abounds in instances and proofs that the gods were invoked with trustful, even loving, sentiments and childlike piety. Thus religion had for the Roman a practical meaning; he often did what was right because the gods so willed it, and refrained from sin because the gods would punish it. In the web of his erroneous, false religious notions there was interwoven many an element which recalled the ancient, true, divine revelation made to mankind. These elementary truths, like seeds buried below the soil, germinated and grew during centuries, and brought forth fair fruits, until they were overgrown and choked by weeds. The history of the moral and religious development of the Romans affords proof that a mere fragment of religious truth, when received with faith, brings with it the greatest reward and richest blessings. To this the Romans owed their sterling qualities in the first centuries of their national existence.

Their religious ideas, teaching, and customs underwent many changes. The deities worshipped in the most remote times were those of agricultural and pastoral life. The more definitely politics assumed a prominent place, the more religion became dependent on the state, and actually was made a tool, to further political designs. The auspices or various ways

Fig. 58. The Triumph of Marcus Aurelius. In the Conservatory Palace

of ascertaining the will of the gods offered a most convenient expedient for those in power. At first the patricians assumed the exclusive right of consulting these auspices; the sentences found in the Sibylline books, the signs observed in sacrificial victims, the manner, eager or otherwise, in which the sacred fowls fed—these omens were open to any interpretation that was desired. Another consequence was that religion became wholly external and formal, a strict observance of ceremonial. It is almost incredible to what lengths the Romans went in this respect. A single word wrongly pronounced or uttered in the wrong place necessitated atonement, was regarded as an evil omen, and required the repetition of the whole act. A sacrifice is known to have been recommenced thirty times because of some oversight or mistake. By such painful exactitude it was thought to compel the gods to grant the petition of the suppliant.

What was most prejudicial to the religious system of Rome was the intercourse with the Greeks, especially after the second Punic war. The lower conception of the gods formed by the degenerate Greeks was gradually transferred to the Roman divinities, and the worship of new ones was introduced. For the Greeks religion was an intellectual, poetic pastime, and this it became in Rome. The old, sterner conceptions were scorned, faith in them died out, to be replaced by superstition and unbelief. The worship of the gods became a matter of fashion; high and low, great and small, adopted by preference a new, foreign, sensuous cultus. In the last two centuries of the republic and at the commencement of the monarchy decrees were issued prohibiting the introduction of alien deities; yet this availed nothing; the multitude ran after what was novel, singular, and sensuous. Imperial Rome possessed temples dedicated to Greek, Egyptian, Assyrian gods as well as to the ancient Latin divinities.

The chief and greatest of the gods was Jupiter, the ruler of the celestial sphere, of air and light, of all meteorological changes, hence he was called the giver of rain, Pluvius; the thunderer, Tonans, etc. He was the protecting deity of the old Latin confederation and was worshipped on Monte Cavo, the highest peak of the Alban Mountains; the god of the Roman state; the divine guardian of the city; "the best and highest." The Capitol was crowned by a splendid temple to Jupiter, containing a golden statue of the god. There the Consuls on entering into office took the vows, there the victorious generals offered incense and hung up the armor taken from the foe. In keeping with the character of the state, Jupiter was regarded as a martial deity, and received surnames from the functions over which he presided: Imperator, Stator, Feretrius, etc. Three great feasts, continuing for several days, were celebrated yearly in his honor, with solemn sacrifices and public games. Jupiter is generally represented seated upon a throne, as being the sovereign lord and king of heaven, of nations and of states, holding in one hand a thunderbolt, in the other a scepter. The sculptor aimed at giving to his countenance an expression of majesty combined

Fig. 59. An Offering to Minerva. By Bazzani

Fig. 60. Jupiter Verospi. In the Vatican

with sublime benignity. The royal eagle was dedicated to him, the winged bearer of his thunderbolts. In the sacred temple on the Capitol the two greatest goddesses were also venerated, Juno and Minerva, forming with Jupiter a trinity of the three supreme Roman deities. Juno, the Queen of Heaven, is, together with Jupiter, the patron of Rome and protectress of the state. She is, however, more especially the patroness and guardian of women, who are under her maternal protection from the cradle to the grave, in all the circumstances of life. She presides particularly over espousals, and hence is surnamed Pronuba, Domiduca, etc. On the first of March, the principal of her feasts, it was customary for the Roman women to go crowned with flowers to the temple of the goddess Juno on the Æsquiline, offering flowers and praying for a happy married life. On that day they gave presents to their female slaves and received gifts from their husbands.

Minerva figures as the virginal goddess of wisdom, knowledge, and inventions; all the liberal arts and industries, the teachers and the taught, were under her protection. She was invoked by poets, sculptors, musicians, physicians, and those who pursued humbler callings, such as fullers and shoemakers. The five days' festival celebrated in her honor was solemn and magnificent. It began on March 19th, and in it artists and artisans especially took part. School children had holidays at that time, and it was then that teachers were paid the *minerval* or school-fees. When closer relations were established with the Greeks, many of the characteristics of the Athenian goddess Pallas were transferred to Minerva, from that time forth, as the goddess of war, giving victory and booty. She was usually represented in ancient art as the goddess of battle, with helmet and breastplate, holding in one hand a spear, in the other a shield. The expression given to her features is one of calm, lofty dignity, as befits a virginal deity, superior to the impulses of a lower nature.

Fig. 61. Juno Barberini. In the Vatican

Fig. 62. Head Vestal. Thermae Museum

Mars and Vesta, after the trinity of the Capitol, were the chief national deities. In primitive times Mars was venerated as the patron of agriculture and cattle rearing; later on he was more exclusively the god of war. Since religio-historical tradition asserted him to be the father of Romulus, the inhabitants of Rome considered themselves bound to pay him especial homage and give him thanks for all their martial successes. Vesta figures as the chaste, virginal patroness of the family fireside; the fire that burns on the hearth is her symbol; she is the protecting deity of the household, of family life. And as the state represents one great family, public honor was on this account paid to Vesta as the patroness of the state. Augustus caused her sanctuary to be removed from the site whereon it stood in former times to his house on the Palatine hill, because while he reigned sole and supreme ruler his dwelling was the focus, the center of the Roman state. In that sanctuary the sacred fire was kept constantly burning by six virgins in honor of the goddess. This fire, which was never to be extinguished, was regarded as an emblem of the duration of the eternal city; consequently the most terrible punishment was inflicted on the priestess by whose negligence it died out; she was buried alive in an underground chamber.

Janus was one of the most ancient of the deities revered in Italy; he presided over the beginning of all things. The first dawn of day, the first day of the month, the first month of the year (hence called January), the commencement of each epoch of time was under his gracious patronage. The Consul invoked him when

Fig. 63. Court of the Former Dwelling of the Vestal Virgins in the Roman Forum

Fig. 64. Minerva. In the Villa Albani, Rome

entering upon office, the husbandman at the opening of the harvest. In religious ceremonies Janus was invoked before any other deity, because he opened the gates of heaven so that the prayers of men might reach the immortal gods. All means of ingress and egress were dedicated to him; he was represented frequently on doors and gateways with two faces, because he presided over the past and the future. The temples dedicated to him were passages with high, splendidly decorated portals. The arch of Janus in the vicinity of the Forum was a most remarkable building, the double gates of which stood open during the time of war and were closed during the time of peace.

Few deities had so many temples and sanctuaries erected in their honor as Fortuna, the goddess of good fortune. Rome, the darling of fortune, who from small beginnings had risen to be the ruler of the world, enriched with the plunder of many nations, paid particular attention to this goddess, to whose favor she was so much indebted. In all states and circumstances of life this goddess was invoked under various names.

The most famous of the gods borrowed from Greek mythology by the Romans were Apollo, the god of prophecy, of music, of poetry and medicine; Venus, the goddess of love; Mercury, the god of commerce and money-making; the nine Muses, the patronesses of song and of the fine arts, and the demi-gods Castor and Pollux, two heroic youths deified by the people.

The number of Roman divinities is legion; no one in later times knew them all even by name. For all human acts and transactions, every event or necessity of life, a corresponding deity was conceived. Each change in the manner of life, in trade or traffic, or the introduction of some fresh institution, each new departure witnessed the creation of a new deity to protect and direct, to reward and to punish. Virtue (*virtus*) in general, and each several virtue: Honor, chastity (*pudicitia*), union (*concordia*), etc., were personified and represented as divinities; likewise evils which were to be avoided or averted, *e.g.,* terror (*pavor*), necessity and compulsion (*necessitas*). When in primitive times trade was carried on by barter instead of a coined currency, there was a goddess (Pecunia, from *pecus,* cattle) who presided over the exchange of cattle; and when the use of copper coins, and at a later period of silver, was introduced, two new gods arose: Æsculanus (from *æs,* copper ore) and Argentarius (from *argentum,* silver).

Not until the period when the republic was in a moribund condition does any instance occur of the deification of heroes and the rendering of divine honor to men of renown. Julius Cæsar was the first who, by a decree of the Senate, was raised to a place among the gods, a temple being built in his honor. Octavius was venerated as a deity immediately after his death, and servile Rome conferred the same honor on the worst and most debased of her emperors.

In the last two centuries of the republic all manner of foreign forms of worship

and religious customs already began to prevail in Rome. Those who adopted them were at first punished with imprisonment or death, because the old religion, handed down from their forefathers, was held to be essential to the duration of the state; therefore every new religious observance counted as a crime against the Constitution. With the decline of public morals, however, and in consequence of the transition from a republican form of government to a monarchical, it was impossible any longer to prevent the cultus of other lands being smuggled into Rome. Several of them found special favor with the people or their rulers. The better class of persons who espoused the new religions sought in their mysteries and occult observances—revealed only to the initiated—the knowledge of loftier truths, while others were attracted by the license to which the mysteries mostly led. Of all the foreign gods whose cultus was introduced into Rome, that of the Egyptian deities *Isis* and *Osiris* was the most popular and widespread. The former was worshipped by the Romans as the moon, the goddess of fertility, of navigation, etc. Osiris was adored as the sun-god. The worship of *Mithras* came from Persia; he, too, was the god of light, the sun, etc. He was represented by the Romans under the figure of a youth wearing a Phrygian cap, offering a bull in sacrifice; one knee rests upon the animal as it lies on the ground, with one hand he raises its head, while with the other he plunges a dagger into its neck.

The *Jews* were the most remarkable among the professors of an alien creed. They were not liked because they expressed abhorrence of a plurality of gods, and especially of the divine honor paid to the emperors. Not infrequently they were persecuted, but more generally they were despised and derided. They were considered to be superstitious, and as such to seek to enrich themselves by unlawful means, such as the interpretation of dreams, for instance.

The Romans were originally little inclined to the pursuit of science and art. One of their greatest poets, Virgil, says of them, in lines of which the following are a free rendering:

"Let some men mould the molten ore, and shape it as they will,
Of marble fashion lifelike forms with fine artistic skill,
Or speak with graceful diction, and read the starry sphere,
Predict the time when heavenly orbs shall rise or disappear;
Thy art, O Rome, is to have the whole world in thy sway,
Thy skill to conquer nations, give them laws they must obey;
Spare the submissive foe, the rest thy sword shall slay."

Fig. 65. Isis. In the Capitol, Rome

The ancient Roman was a warrior, a conqueror, a statesman, but he was no scientist, capable of patient, laborious research, nor had he the qualifications of an artist, for he lacked creative imagination and artistic taste. Acute intelligence, cool calculation, practical common-sense are the mental characteristics of the nation. If the Roman was to esteem and value anything, it must be of practical utility, serviceable and profitable. In works of

art he preferred what is showy and brilliant, what is grand and colossal, to what is essentially beautiful and true to nature. For the exquisite symmetry of Greek art he had no appreciation.

As long as the republic was in the noonday of its power and stability no works of art, no scientific discoveries are heard of in Rome; or if some feeble attempts were made in either direction they were poor and untutored, and met with no encouragement or praise, but rather were slighted, if not scorned. It was not until the republic began to decline, and political and moral life to show signs of decay, after the second Punic war, that the love of peaceful arts awoke gradually in the Roman people. In subsequent times the Romans produced much that was great, splendid, imperishable, in the domain of art and science; yet in almost all branches both of art and science they were always pupils of the Greeks, who were their models and examples. Thus Horace, the poet of the Augustan Court, says: "Greece when vanquished conquered her less cultured victor." Greece was deprived of her political independence by Rome, but she bent the stern neck of her conqueror under the gentle yoke of her intellectual cultivation and artistic perfection. In fact, from the time of Sulla's death every educated man was expected to have a thorough acquaintance with the Greek language, to be able to speak and write it correctly and fluently.

What may be termed the golden age of literature and the fine arts was the last century of the republic and the reign of Augustus. The "Augustan age" is spoken of—not quite correctly—as identical with the period when the florescence of letters was at its height. In the last century preceding the Christian era, when the republic was fast approaching dissolution, the art of rhetoric attained in Rome its fullest development, both in theory and practice. Under the republican constitution all the most weighty political questions were proposed for debate in the National Assembly and in the Senate. Judicial proceedings also were carried on publicly, and the people followed them with eager interest. Thus political and forensic oratory became an important factor in influencing the masses, who listened with delight to the fervid eloquence of the speaker who could sway the will of the Senate and calm or rouse the passions of the Forum. With the extension of Roman power and the stronger democratic tendency the influence of the orator increased. Any one who could declaim fluently on a popular subject had the greatest chance of being raised by the voice of the people from the lowest to the highest posts in the state and play a part in politics. The greatest statesmen and principal leaders of the nation in the last years of the republic were almost without exception masters of the art of rhetoric, *e.g.,* Cato, the two Gracchi, Sulla, Antony, etc. It is said of Cæsar that he could use speech with as much dexterity and execution as he could wield the sword and the staff of command. The first emperors were celebrated in after-times for their rhetorical gifts. Tacitus speaks in praise of Augustus' truly regal fluency of speech, Tiberius' well-chosen and often intentionally ambiguous words; of Caligula's vigorous and forcible language; of Claudius' elegant diction, and he censures the youthful Nero for employing the eloquence of strangers in his service. But as an orator addressing the National Assembly and the Senate or pleading in the courts of justice, Marcus Tullius Cicero surpassed all his contemporaries. In proficiency in the art of rhetoric, in the choice of elegant and impassioned language, in the depth of feeling enunciated in his words, in versatility and variety of expression, he was without a rival. Cicero was and ever will remain the model and pattern of every true orator.

With the commencement of monarchical government, when politics were discussed in the palace instead of in the Forum, political oratory was heard no more in public, and declamation was cultivated only in the schools and at the meetings of literary associations. The emperors encouraged the less dangerous art of poetry, which attained its greatest luster in the Augustan age. The most celebrated poets who flourished under the imperial favor

THUSNELDA IN THE TRIUMPHAL MARCH OF GERMANICUS. IN THE NEW PINACOTHECA, MUNICH
Photo by Franz Hanfstaengl, Munich.

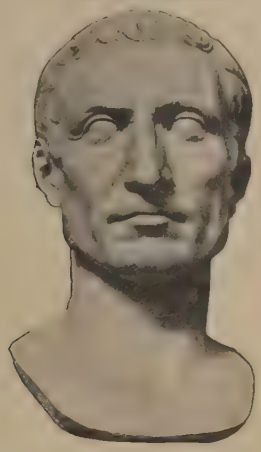


Fig. 66. Julius Cæsar. In the Vatican

were Virgilius Maro, a native of Mantua in northern Italy, and Horatius Flaccus of Venusia in southern Italy. Both resided in Rome. Virgil sang the legendary, primeval history of Rome in an epic of finished style and elaborate beauty of versification; and with natural, gentle feeling he described, in the Bucolics, the labors of the husbandman. Horace is Rome's most popular lyric poet. He borrows much from the Greeks. Though his style is lucid and graceful, he often lacks the stimulus of true, deep feeling and lofty inward inspiration. The most original and characteristic of his works are the Satires, short sketches of social manners as seen in public and home life. They abound in wit and vivacity. Ovidius Naso was one of the most gifted poets, but his writings, like his life, are wanting in moral principle and high aim. Other writers of this period devoted themselves to history. Titus Livius, born at Padua, belongs to the Augustan era. His name is immortalized by his History of Rome in 142 books. His style is lucid and graceful, but he wrote without sufficient previous research. Sallustius Crispus gives an account of the Catiline conspiracy, etc.; Cæsar records the narrative of the Gallic wars and his contest with Pompey; Cornelius Tacitus, who died in Hadrian's reign, bequeathed to posterity the annals of the emperors of the first century and two treatises on the manners of the ancient Germans, admired for the beauty and exactness with which they are executed.

The golden age of the fine arts is to a great extent contemporaneous with that of literature. They attained the highest point of the first period of growth in the lifetime of Cæsar and the reign of Augustus. Under the Flavian emperors the arts awoke to a new and vigorous life, and under Trajan's patronage achieved their greatest triumphs. His noble buildings, and the sculptures and statues wherewith he adorned them, are the finest Rome ever saw. The remains and ruins still existing excite universal wonder and admiration. Under Hadrian's rule art was directed more exclusively to external decoration. Smooth elegance, foreign styles and forms brought from a distance, the use of the most costly materials became the fashion. Creative talent gradually died out and the artist had recourse to cold, lifeless imitation. This narrow view of art was the forerunner of rapid, irresistible decay.

Roman art is but a continuation, elaboration, and fresh application of Greek art. At the time when it began to flourish Greek masters worked in the pay of the Romans. Native talent was in course of time trained and formed; but these artists

Fig. 67. Marcus Tullius Cicero (?)
In the Capitol, Rome

were never otherwise than scholars of the Greeks.

In architecture three distinct stages are to be marked.

The Romans early learned from the Etruscans, a neighboring nation which they had conquered, the art of vaulting, an art highly developed among that people. They availed themselves of it in constructing buildings on a large scale, of public utility, such as gateways, bridges, canals, and the like. The forms that were most fully carried out were, besides the semicircular arch, the cylindrical vault, or the roofing of two continuous parallel walls by a semicircular vaulting spanning the two walls; the groined vault, which is formed by transverse arches springing from an equal height, which intersect one another; the domed, or spherical vaulting, which forms the semispherical roof of a rotunda; the semispherical dome and the canopy over a niche or recess; a half-cupola of small dimensions. These require no explanation.

The second stage includes the buildings in which the Romans imitated the Greek manner of uniting a row of columns with the cornice above by means of the blocks of stone resting horizontally upon them (the architrave). But the perfect symmetry and refined taste exhibited by the Greeks in this style of architecture was beyond the reach of the Romans. They aimed only at solidity, brilliance, and magnificence in their work.

In the third stage of Roman architecture the national character finds its most striking expression. It is the combination of columns with the art of vaulting. In it columnar architecture loses its independent constructive character. Rows of pillars with entablatures were often employed by the Romans rather as a decoration than to give substantial support to their public buildings, as, *e.g.*, in the Colosseum, where the columns of the three Grecian orders and a row of pilasters above constitute a decorative adjunct of remarkable effect. By uniting the employment of columns with the art of vaulting the Romans erected structures of marvelous magnitude, splendor, and massive grandeur, which have never been surpassed.

In regard to the plastic art, or sculpture, the Romans were yet more beholden to the Greeks. Their most independent creations are the portraits or statues of men of note, since these were most conducive to the glory and renown of individual families and the state in general. In works of this kind the principal aim of the Roman artist, in contradistinction to that of the Greek, was to reproduce the personal appearance of the subject in a realistic and lifelike manner, arrayed either in the toga, the

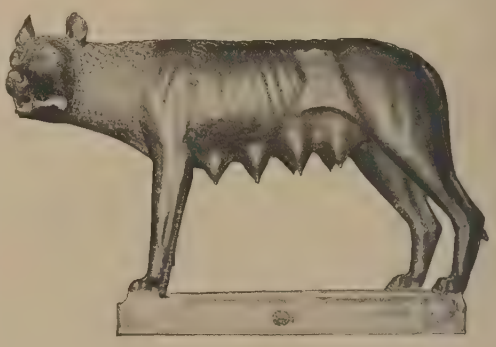


Fig. 68. The Brazen Wolf. In the Capitol, Rome

national dress of the peaceful citizen, a full, flowing robe, or in the shining panoply of the warrior.

The Romans painted, as did the Greeks, on wood, with colors mixed with lime (in distemper), and on the walls on moist or dry plaster, *al fresco* and *al secco*. They were also acquainted with what is known as encaustic painting, in which instead of paint a colored paste made with wax was laid on and removed or melted with small sticks of red-hot metal. Mural decoration in houses was in great request. The walls were overlaid with a uniform ground tint, generally a bright, deep red or warm yellow, sometimes a dark blue, or even black. Below there ran a dado, above a frieze of a color that harmonized with that of the walls. In the middle was a painting, more often than not enclosed by a frame, representing some scenes from legendary lore, family life, the drama, a landscape, sea piece or group of animals or fruit, etc. Paintings and decorations, the subjects of

FIGS. 69—70. CYLINDRICAL VAULT AND CROSS-GROINED VAULT

which were treated in a fantastic or grotesque manner, architectural designs and arabesques were much in vogue for the interior of houses.

The talented artist Führich has admirably depicted in his illustration the relation in which ancient pagan Rome stands to modern Christian Rome. Both as a whole and in every detail the contrast is strongly marked. (See Fig. 1.)

Pagan Rome is represented by the proud woman, the imperious queen who treads the globe under her feet, who holds in her hand the thunderbolt wherewith she crushes and annihilates nations and tribes. Her emblem is the grim wolf, on whose milk her sons and children were nurtured, and whose savage nature they imbibed; heartless, merciless conquerors, they heed no law that would restrain their deeds of violence. From the ends of the earth brave warriors come to lay at the feet of their imperial mistress the spoils of nations, their false gods and false teachings, the crowns of Asiatic kings, the treasures and heroic defenders of liberty from the free states of north and south, the high priest and the seven-branched candlestick of deicidal Israel. And while the victims of her ambition and revenge crouch in the dust before her, with haughty indifference she inhales the incense of homage offered to her by the peoples whom she has subjugated, enslaved beneath her iron yoke. Thus pagan Rome acted, thus she ruled.

How different is Christian Rome, the Ecclesia, the Church of Christ! In a loving, maternal embrace she holds the globe, desirous only to promote its welfare and happiness. Her scepter is the power of the keys wherewith she binds and looses, but loves rather to loose and liberate than to bind and imprison. Her emblem is the Lamb, who offered Himself as a sacrifice for the sinful world, and whose blood ever flows, a perpetual fount of purification and sanctification for mankind. Peter and

FIG. 71. MURAL DECORATIONS IN THE VILLA OF LIVIA, IN THE PRIMA PORTA, NEAR ROME

Paul, the messengers she sends out to achieve her peaceful conquests, are the ancestors of the new Roman race—Peter, the apostle of unwavering faith and guardian of the truth; Paul, the great teacher, who, on the way to Damascus, was transformed in character and nature from a cruel persecutor to a loving, submissive follower of Christ. At the steps of the throne whereon sits Christian Rome all peoples and nations, all tribes and tongues kneel as they formerly did before pagan Rome, but no longer dragged thither by the strong hand of an insolent conqueror, but led and drawn by a holy longing for salvation, by the desire to draw from the sevenfold fount of grace, which, flowing in rich abundance from the tomb of the chief of the Apostles, refreshes the weary traveler and imparts strength for time and eternity. All that was good, pure, and chaste in ancient Rome does not lie buried with her imperial grandeur, but bursting the bonds of the grave, and severing all connection with the ruthless dominator of nations, adds its palm to the triumph of her august successor, Christian Rome. For whatever at any time there has been or shall be truly good on earth derives its virtue from the source of all grace within the Church, redemption by Christ, whether in anticipation and hope or in retrospection and faith. And as of yore Consuls and Prætors went forth to conquer the world, so Christian Rome sends out her evangelists and apostles, armed, not with sword and lance, but with torch and olive branch. The torch is the *Lumen Christi*, the light of the faith of Christ; the olive branch is the emblem of peace, which strikes root and blossoms wherever the Church uplifts her banner, whereon is inscribed her battle-cry: "*Pax vobis*—Peace be unto you." Her emissaries bore this torch, this olive branch, into the depths of the primeval forests of the north, to the lands beyond the sea, and they still continue to bear them to the farthest ends of the earth. Thus modern Christian Rome acts, thus she rules.

Fig. 72. Roma In the Vatican

Fig. 73. Ruins of the Flavian Palace on the Palatine

# II. Ancient Rome in Her Ruins

## 1. A SURVEY OF THE ARCHITECTURE OF ANCIENT ROME

BEFORE contemplating the monuments and remains of ancient Rome, we shall give a brief historical review of the origin of the monuments, and how it came to pass that they fell into ruins. The name, destination, and form of those monuments will, it is true, be especially and fully given and explained in the chapters that will follow after, yet this review appears requisite in order to depict the external features of pagan Rome in as clear and sharp an outline as possible, and to supply beforehand the solution of difficult questions which can not fail to suggest themselves to the mind of the spectator when gazing at the ruins of once stately structures.

In the twilight of legendary lore we discern the city first taking shape in the *Roma quadrata* of Romulus, the primary Roman settlement on the Palatine hill. Some few remains of masonry recently discovered there may perchance have formed part of the foundations of prehistoric Rome.

The second period of the history of Roman architecture embraces the time from the erection of the first city-wall under Tarquin the Elder and Servius Tullius until the burning of Rome by the Gauls in 390 B.C. By the completion of this wall in the reign of Servius Tullius, Rome first became the "city on seven hills." It could boast no architectural beauty. Romulus' palace, long regarded and preserved as a national sanctuary, was a thatched hut. Certainly Romulus never inhabited it in reality, yet the tradition serves to give an idea of what Roman buildings were in primitive ages. The use of stone in building was then exclusively confined to the city-wall, the temple, and a few of the larger public edifices.

Besides the remains of the wall erected by Servius Tullius, two other monuments have been preserved up to the present day: the vaults of the Mamertine prison, of which we shall speak later, and the *cloacæ*, or drains. The low ground between the hills and especially the valley between the Palatine and the Capitoline were marshes, exposed to the inundations of the Tiber, which usually overflowed its banks in the spring and autumn. One of the first great works undertaken in the city was the attempt to drain these swamps by means of canals emptying themselves into the Tiber. This arrangement, however, proving insufficient, the immense *cloacæ*, or underground conduits, were built for the purpose, forming a network beneath the city. The largest of all, the *cloaca maxima*,

was the principal drain, which discharged its waters directly into the river. In the Middle Ages most of these drains fell in, but the two chief conduits, the above-mentioned *cloaca maxima* and one constructed beneath the most populous district of modern Rome, formerly known as the Field of Mars, are still in existence, their masonry as strong as when they were originally built. These massive works are attributed to the two Tarquins, the fifth and the last kings of Rome; they constitute a wonderful achievement. Livy, writing in the age of Augustus, when beautiful and rare marbles were freely used for buildings of every kind, declares their construction to be "an undertaking worthy to rival the magnificence of recent times"; Pliny, who lived in the reign of Vespasian, calls it "an inconceivably great work," because in his day it had already existed for seven hundred years, and since then it has lasted for eighteen centuries more. At one time the Censors decreed a thousand talents, about one million dollars, merely for the cleansing of these drains. They are roofed with semicircular arches formed of rectangular blocks of tufa fitted together without cement. The original height was 3.60 meters (nearly 12 feet); so that a laden hay-wagon might have been easily driven through these huge sewers, as Strabo, the Greek historian, says. Paths at the side were arranged so as to allow of pedestrians passing through dry-foot, but this is no longer possible, owing to the accumulation of mud. The length of the branch, which still serves its original purpose, that of carrying away the drainage of the Palatine and Capitoline, amounts to 320 meters (not quite two and a half miles) to its issue in the Tiber.

On the incursion of the Gauls (390 B.C.) Rome was burned to the ground. After the invaders had withdrawn, a portion of the population proposed to leave the ruined city and emigrate elsewhere. This proposal was negatived. Rome was founded anew and rebuilt, but with over-haste and precipitation. According to Livy's account, every one who accomplished the building of his house within a year's time obtained the materials without payment. The consequence was that a labyrinth of irregular, ugly dwellings was erected; the crooked, winding streets were to a great extent inaccessible to carts. The want of design and arrangement in the construction of the city could never be entirely corrected, and greatly hindered and impeded the plans for its embellishment even in the time of the Emperors.

FIG. 74. MOUTH OF THE PRINCIPAL SEWER EMPTYING IN THE TIBER

Fig. 75. The Second Founding of Rome, after the Retreat of the Gauls. By Sciuti

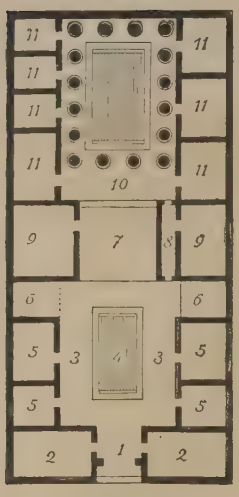



FIG. 76. GROUND PLAN OF A ROMAN HOUSE

1. Protheron (Entrance). 2. Stores. 3. Atrium (Vestibule). 4. Impluvium (Inner Courtyard). 5. Living and Work Rooms. 6. Large Hall (Wing). 7. Tablinum (Office or Room where Records were kept). 8. Fauces (Alley). 9 & 11. Apartments and Dining-Room. 10. Peristyle (Court surrounded by a Colonnade).

The next hundred years of Roman history were too troublous, on account of the internal disturbances occasioned by the struggle for the abolition of class distinctions and the almost continual foreign strife, to allow of time and money being expended on the accomplishment of great architectural projects. In the year 313 B.C. the first aqueduct was constructed by Appius Claudius to supply the fountains in the city with pure water. He also made the first high-road from Rome to Capua, a high causeway which some years later was built up with huge solid blocks of lava, well plastered with cement. Both these undertakings were the models for similar structures at a subsequent period. The Roman roads were made to follow a perfectly straight line as far as was possible; witness the Appian Way, in which there is but one curve, and that a scarcely perceptible one, throughout its whole length. To effect this high hills were often cut through and depressions of surface crossed by means of enormous bridges supported on arches—achievements worthy of Roman greatness.

Gradually a taste awoke for vast and noble buildings, for temples and halls with pillared porticos, which served to honor religion and beautify the public squares. The wars in meridional Italy and in Greece brought the Romans into contact with the art-loving Greeks, and countless treasures of art were presently transferred from the Greek states to the city on the Tiber, not at first by any means to gratify Roman love of art, but to satisfy the national pride and adorn a triumph. At the close of the Macedonian war, when Flaminius made his triumphal entry, a great number of bronze and marble statues were borne in his train, spoils of the conquered nation. Fulvius Nobilior, on the occasion of his conquests in Ætolia somewhat later, brought no less than 285 bronze and 230 marble statues to enhance the glory of his exploits. L. Mummius, the conqueror of Corinth, caused innumerable works of art to be sent to Rome, and Cecilius Metellus did the same at the close of the third Macedonian war. Some fifty years previously Lucius Stertinius, in 196, erected for the first time triumphal arches with gilded carvings and statues out of the spoil taken from the enemy. In 184 Cato built the first basilica, a spacious hall or rectangular structure, which was given over to the Courts of Justice, to the transaction of monetary affairs, and to business connected with commerce.

About this time the dwelling-houses of the wealthier inhabitants assume a more definite shape. The ground floor encloses an oblong space in which three rooms, forming the principal parts of the dwelling, are always found: the *atrium,* the *tablinum,* and the *peristyle;* they are on the ground floor, one behind the other, not as a rule shut in by walls, but mostly separated one from the other by curtains. The atrium is a space partially roofed, the tablinum a hall or room entirely covered, the peristyle an open courtyard with pillars. The atrium is a kind of vestibule, of which the lean-to roof, sloping a long way inward, supported at the corners by pillars, runs round all the four sides, leaving in the center a square opening. Beneath this open part a marble basin of corresponding size is let into the ground, to receive the rain water. The atrium is the habitual living-room of the Roman family; there visitors are received, there in old times was the domestic hearth, there the housewife pursued her customary occupation of spinning and weaving.

Adjoining the atrium was the tablinum, the study or workroom of the master of the house. On each side two narrow passages led into the peristyle, so called from the row of columns which usually were ranged round the square court and served

The Flavian Amphitheater (Colosseum), seen from the Palatine.

to enclose the splendid pleasure-grounds. On both sides of the atrium, the tablinum, and the peristyle was a row of apartments for the various domestic purposes: dining-rooms, recreation-rooms, picture galleries, libraries, bathrooms, sleeping- and store-rooms, the slaves' quarters, etc. In the larger houses a chapel was never wanting, the sanctuary of the household with the altar of sacrifice, where a slave who happened to be caught tripping could find a refuge from the overseer's rod. The floors were not boarded, but paved with slabs of stone fitted together in patterns or cubes of costly marble or bright, many-colored mosaics. The walls also were lined with slabs of marble or decorated with paintings representing landscapes, architectural or *genre* subjects in gay and effective colors. The ceiling was of wood, inlaid with ebony, ivory, and other costly materials. The single rooms were small and comfortable. One of the largest houses in Pompeii[1] contained on the ground floor sixty different chambers within an area of 100 feet wide by 200 feet deep, so that a Roman house did not cover a very large surface. The façade looking onto the street was not decorated, unless by a colonnade, and even then the exterior was plain. But the interior of the long line of apartments on the ground floor, with their magnificent works of art and precious materials, and the sparkling fountains and bright pleasure-grounds beyond, presented a lovely and charming view. The dwell-

Fig. 77. The Sanctuary in a Roman Dwelling

[1] On August 24, 79, the three cities Stabiæ, Herculaneum, and Pompeii were destroyed by an eruption of Vesuvius, the latter town being buried under about seven feet of ashes, sand, and pumice stones. In the year 1689 the ruins of these buried towns were accidentally discovered. Subsequent excavations have laid bare nearly half of this ancient Greco-Roman town. Since for the most part the buildings, with the exception of the roofs and woodwork, are well preserved, the discoveries made by excavation afford most valuable information concerning the manner of life in ancient Italy, and authentic conclusions in regard to the condition of the Romans at that period.

ings of the ancient Romans were only one story high, the flat roof being frequently made into a garden. At a later period they were several stories high; as a measure of safety Augustus limited the height of the houses to seventy feet, and Trajan reduced it again to sixty feet. The lodging-house in particular often attained gigantic proportions. The first house adorned with marble pillars from the quarries of Greece and Egypt was the one built by Crassus, the orator (140-191), on the Palatine. The value of this house, including the ornamental plantations, was estimated at above $200,000. Thirty-five years later there were a hundred others surpassing it in splendor and magnificence. It is said that in the year 78, in the house of Marcus Lepidus, the most sumptuously decorated in Rome, even the thresholds were paved with the then rare and costly Numidian marble. The first who lined the rooms with slabs of marble and adorned the interior of his house with columns hewn out of a single block of stone was one of Cæsar's officers, by name Mamurra, a Roman knight. Cæsar even took mosaics with him on his campaigns, to be laid down in the tent. Toward the close of the Republic immense sums were also expended on public institutions and buildings to provide amusement for the populace; candidates for high official posts were accustomed in this manner to purchase the favor of the capricious mob. In the year 58 the Ædile Scaurus built a theater which was to last only one month. The lower part of the stage was supported by 360 pillars, each 42 feet high. Between them 3,000 bronze statues were placed. The middle part of the stage was of glass, the upper of gilded woodwork; the interior afforded room for eighty thousand spectators, so Pliny states. Three years later Pompey the Great built the first stone theater, which was surrounded by splendid pillared porticos and pleasure grounds.

The buildings and designs of Julius Cæsar were worthy of that ancestor of emperors. He founded the basilica named after him, the Julian Basilica, on the Roman Forum at the foot of the Palatine; besides this he began the erection of a new forum, Cæsar's Forum, the site of which alone cost at least $4,500,000. He founded a new theater, constructed of stone, called the Theater of Marcellus, after a nephew of Augustus, the ruins of which are yet to be seen. He it was also who gave Rome the first Stadium for Grecian prize-fights, and the first amphitheater, but these buildings were only temporary ones, intended for special games; on the other hand, he caused a *naumachia*[1] to be constructed of stone, a vast basin in the vicinity of the Tiber, for the exhibition of mock sea-fights.

As the inner life of the state assumed a different character, so it also underwent an external change; when less value was attached to sterling republican qualities, the greater was the display made of outward splendor. The Romans required that the buildings and places where the people and the officials they appointed passed decrees affecting the world-empire, administered justice, and granted favors should be of a magnificence corresponding to their importance. Consequently forum was added to forum, temple to temple, basilica to basilica. It was fitting that Rome should proclaim herself, by her grandeur and splendor, to be the metropolis of the world, the center of national and international commerce, and let every stranger as well as her own citizens see how the treasures and riches of the universe were poured into her lap. This new phase of life created new needs, demanded new enjoyments, new festivities, new games. Magnates who owed their elevation to good fortune or the caprice of the populace, for whom what was ordinary and of every-day occurrence had no attraction, were obliged to build shady halls and colonnades, theaters and amphitheaters, circuses and baths for their admirers. The succeeding Emperors did this from motives of policy, with a view of stifling by means of entertainments any political movements of an insurrectionary nature.

Under the Emperors a new era of Roman building began. Everything was

[1] According to Suetonius, the place in which the spectacle was exhibited.

on a grand scale, colossal, brilliant, magnificent. The starting point was the new division of the city by Augustus, in the seventh year before the Christian era. Since that time the number of regions or districts has been fourteen, of which each contains seventeen quarters or nineteen parishes. Each quarter of the town contains about 230 ordinary dwelling-houses, among these some ten *domui* or palaces. The latter were built after the manner described above, while the other many-storied lodging-houses and more humble dwellings were occupied by persons of limited means. The total number of dwelling-houses is estimated at 46,600, and of palaces at 1,790, in the relative proportion, therefore, of 25 or 30 to 1.

The number of the population of Rome under the Emperors is extremely difficult to calculate. The estimates given by the most reliable authorities on the subject vary from a million and a half to two millions.

In Augustus' reign building was carried on in Rome with immense activity, and toward the close of his life the Emperor was able to say with a certain degree of justice that he had found Rome a city of brick and had left it a city of marble. He himself built a new forum of great magnificence, called by his name, erected many new temples and restored no less than eighty-eight old ones; he also built a handsome mausoleum for himself and his family; he set up the first obelisks that were seen in Rome, which he had brought from the East, and in his reign a large number of valuable works of art were conveyed from Greece to Rome.

Wealthy and noble Romans followed the Emperor's example, for, as Tacitus asserts, he liked to see them devote the spoil taken from the enemy or the superabundance of their riches to beautifying the city and earning fame for their descendants; and, in general, liberal expenditure for the benefit of the many was no uncommon thing. Thus Statilius Taurus gave Rome her first stone amphitheater; Agrippa, the friend and relative of the Emperor, erected the wondrous Pantheon, which still exists in good preservation, and founded

Fig. 78. Mural Decoration from the House of M. Lucretius, Pompeii

the public baths. Remarkable works were undertaken for supplying the city with water. Five ancient aqueducts were repaired and three new ones built. According to Pliny, Agrippa, when Ædile, constructed 700 fountains whose basins were ornamented with figures of marble and bronze, 500 running fountains, and 130 covered wells, lofty palatial buildings with cupolas, hundreds of marble and bronze

statues and marble pillars being employed for the ornamentation of these works.

The Emperor Tiberius founded the barracks of the Prætorian Guard without the walls of the city, built a palace on the Palatine, erected several temples, and restored others. To what an extent the Romans had learned to appreciate art, and how a taste for the beautiful had spread to all classes, is shown by the fact that when the Emperor transferred to his own palace a Greek statue in bronze famed for its elegance, which stood before Agrippa's baths, the populace complained loudly and demanded that in the interest of the common love of art it should be restored to its former place. Of Caligula's foolish erections on the Palatine, and the bridge which connected that hill with the Capitoline, we shall speak farther on. But even that Emperor sent envoys with full powers to Greece, commissioning them to convey to Rome the most beautiful statues to be found in all the towns of that country.

In Nero's reign Rome again underwent a transformation. We will quote Tacitus' striking and doubtless trustworthy account of the catastrophe which befell the city: "A most disastrous event happened, of which it is impossible to say whether it was the result of accident or the work of our wicked ruler, for some historians say one thing and others another; at any rate, never before had Rome been the prey of so dreadful and destructive a conflagration. The fire broke out in the part of the circus (race-course) which is contiguous to the Palatine and Cœlian hills, where the shops filled with inflammable substances were soon ablaze, and the fire, fanned by the wind, quickly spread through the whole length of the circus. No palace, though doubly protected, no temple, however massive its walls—nothing in fact checked the progress of the flames. After raging furiously in the plain, the conflagration extended to the hills and thence descended to the low-lying quarters of the city, where the flames spread with terrible rapidity, devouring everything that lay in their path, the more easily on account of the vantage given them by the narrow, winding streets and the densely-crowded neighborhood, as these existed in ancient Rome. Everywhere resounded the lamentations of terrified women, infirm old men, and helpless children; the fugitives prevented their own escape, some being bent on securing safety for themselves or for others, some waiting for or carrying away the sick, some hastening away, others standing still as if paralyzed by fear. Often those who stopped to look behind them found themselves encircled by flames; if they sought refuge near, the fire overtook them, nor did those who fled to a distance fare any better; at last, scarcely knowing what they had to avoid or whither they should turn, they remained choking the streets or encamped out in the fields. Many who had lost everything they possessed had not provisions for a single day; others in their anxiety to save their relatives who could not help themselves perished in the flames, although a way of escape was open to them. No one dared attempt to arrest the progress of the conflagration, because loud threats were heard and commands prohibiting its extinction, while some openly flung firebrands about, declaring that they had orders to act thus; whether they were really sent to do so, or merely sought occasion to rob and plunder unhindered, it is impossible to say. Nero, who was in Antium at the time, did not return to Rome until the flames had nearly reached his palace, but nothing could prevent the Palatine, his palace, and all that lay around from being burned to the ground. However, in order to alleviate the general distress, he set open the Field of Mars, the buildings of Agrippa and even his own gardens to the homeless fugitives; he also caused temporary refuges to be erected to shelter the helpless multitude; the most indispensable necessaries were brought from Ostia and the nearest towns, and the price of corn was reduced to three sesterces the bushel. Yet these measures adopted for the public benefit had not the desired effect of rendering Nero popular, since the report got abroad that amid the general consternation he went up to the top of a high tower and sang to his lyre the destruction of Troy, comparing the present

desolation with the sorrowful scenes of the past.

"Not until six days had passed was the progress of the conflagration arrested; at the foot of the Esquiline all the buildings were pulled down, leaving a wide space whereon nothing was left for the devouring element to consume. But scarce was a feeling of relief universally experienced blackened ruins and walls half thrown down were to be seen."

The loss experienced by the destruction of ancient and noble buildings, and still more of Greek art treasures, is incalculable. The conflagration broke out in the year 64, on the same day whereon, 428 years previously, the Gauls reduced the city to ashes. The most reliable historians

Fig. 79. The Arch of Titus to the Left; to the Right the Ruins of the Temple of Venus and Roma in the Roman Forum

before the flames began to blaze afresh, this time, however, in a less thickly populated part of the city, so that fewer lives were lost; while temples of the gods, beautiful porticos, some of Rome's fairest ornaments, were destroyed over a wide circumference. Nero appeared to covet the fame of founding a new Rome, to be called by his name. Rome was divided into fourteen regions, whereof only four were uninjured; three were completely destroyed, in the remaining seven only a few lay the blame of the disaster on Nero; he disliked the sight of the narrow, tortuous streets of republican Rome; vanity, the ambition to have a truly imperial residence, left him no rest. The tyrant himself attributed the guilt to the Christians. Let us again listen to what Tacitus says, but let us remember that it is a stern, staunch pagan of ancient Rome who is speaking: "The originator of this sect (the Christians), Christ by name, was executed by command of the Governor Pon-

tius Pilate in the reign of Tiberius. The wretched fanaticism, suppressed temporarily, broke out anew, not only in Judea, but also in Rome. At first all who professed the Christian belief were arrested, then, through the information they gave, a great number were taken, not so much on the charge of arson as on account of their acknowledged misanthropy. Their execution was attended by great ignominy, for some, wrapped in the skins of animals, were torn to pieces by dogs, others were crucified, or, enveloped in inflammable materials, were set alight when darkness fell, to serve as nocturnal lamps. Nero admitted the populace to his gardens to witness this spectacle."

The rebuilding was furthered in every way, but all was done systematically. The sites for the different buildings were measured and marked off, wide streets were laid out, the rubbish was removed to Ostia by the ships that brought corn; the height of the houses was limited, and stone was to be employed in their construction up to a certain height; a premium was offered for their completion within a fixed time. Thus the new town arose out of the old, of far greater beauty and regularity; yet some were found of opinion that the former arrangements were more conducive to health, because the sun did not penetrate the narrow streets with high houses, whereas in the open, wide spaces no shade could be had, and the heat was very oppressive. Nero built almost a little town for himself, which he called the "Golden House"; we shall have occasion to speak of this edifice farther on. Nero, like his predecessors, robbed Greece of many works of art; out of the town of Delphi alone he carried off five hundred pictures. The population of the new Rome amounted to some 1,700,000 souls.

The Flavian emperors were great builders; they enriched Rome with many magnificent structures. Vespasian founded the Forum and the Temple of Peace and commenced the building of the great amphitheater, the vast Colosseum; Titus acquired renown by erecting handsomely-appointed public baths. In his reign the city was again devastated by a great conflagration, which lasted three days. Many noble buildings between the Field of Mars and the Capitol were thereby destroyed or seriously damaged. Domitian incurred reproach for his lavish expenditure of gold and marbles to adorn his luxurious palaces; the chief of these was his palace on the Palatine. After the fall of the tyrant the enraged mob demolished the greater number of the buildings he erected, destroyed the golden and silver statues of himself, and erased all his inscriptions.

Rome reached the culminating point of her development and world-wide importance under the Emperor Trajan, who also enriched the city with great and splendid structures. His forum with its marvelous marble statues, its colonnades and temples surpassed all else in brilliance and beauty, as will be shown presently. This emperor's name appeared in so many inscriptions on public buildings that the Emperor Constantine jestingly called him a wallflower or houseleek, because his name seemed to take root on every wall. His successor, Hadrian, erected from his own design the largest and most magnificent temple, that dedicated to Venus and Roma; the new bridge he constructed over the Tiber is still the finest in Rome (now known as the Bridge of Sant' Angelo), and the gigantic mausoleum he built for himself is now the fortress Sant' Angelo. His villa in Tivoli is said to have been a compendium of all that was most beautiful and noteworthy in Greece or Rome. After Hadrian came the period of decadence characterized by florid ornamentation and showy magnificence, but, though art declined, excellence in workmanship continued to be displayed in creations of great importance.

Marcus Aurelius is immortalized by the marble column on the Piazza Colonna with its twenty spiral carvings and his fine equestrian statue on the Capitol; Septimius Severus by his triumphal arch at the foot of the Capitoline, and a second arch near it, while all that remains of Caracalla's edifices are the ruins of his baths, witnessing a thousandfold to their former brilliant but now departed splendor.

The dissolute and eccentric Emperor Heliogabalus completed the works begun by his predecessor; of his own erections no remains are left; the hand of time has almost completely destroyed them. Very scanty ruins have come down to us of the thermæ of his successor, Alexander Severus, whereas the aqueduct built by him is still in use. A species of marble pavement, *opus Alexandrinum,* which consists of larger and smaller cubes of red porphyry and green, white, and Numidian marble arranged in designs so as to give the appearance of tapestry, was probably named after this emperor. These Roman mosaic pavements were copied by the builders of churches in the Middle Ages.

As has been already stated, Aurelian constructed the massive walls which still encompass the great city. Among other monuments that have perished, two noteworthy buildings were erected by two of his successors, the baths of Diocletian and the temple built by Maxentius, the so-called Constantine Basilica, remarkable for the bold construction of its vaulting; we shall speak of the grand remains of these structures when treating of modern Rome.

After Constantine the Great had gained his brilliant victory over Maxentius, the triumphal arch which still exists was erected in his honor. So greatly had art and workmanship declined that the splendid carvings on Trajan's arch were torn off and transferred to the new arch, no heed being taken of the fact that the scenes represented were unsuitable for the new monument. Thus Rome began to destroy her own works, and transform her monuments into ruins. Although Constantine's successors on the imperial throne did not entirely neglect the erection of monumental works, yet the battle at the bridge of Milvius marks the close of an epoch, and with it we shall pass on to a brief delineation of the decay of pagan Rome.

## 2. THE DECAY OF PAGAN ROME

IT WOULD indeed present a mournful spectacle were we to delineate minutely the manner in which the glory of ancient Rome paled, waned, and gradually faded away, until at length the tattered robe, so to speak, of her former grandeur and beauty slipped completely from her shoulders, and she herself expired and sank into the grave. The remains of ancient Rome lie deeper down in the bosom of the earth than we are accustomed to deposit the remains of our dead. Space forbids us to give a detailed account of her death agony; a cursory sketch must suffice.

Brief descriptions of the fourteen regions of Rome from the time of Constantine are still extant; they are probably taken from official documents and a plan of the city; in the appendix a concise summary will be given, from which we quote the following statistics: At that period Rome possessed 8 obelisks, 8 bridges, 8 spacious squares, 11 forums, 10 basilicas, 11 thermæ (public baths), 19 aqueducts, 28 highroads or thoroughfares, 2 capitols, 2 race-courses, 2 amphitheaters, 2 colossal statues, 2 columns with spiral carvings, 3 theaters, 2 artificial lakes for mimic sea fights, 28 libraries, 22 equestrian statues, 80 gilded and 74 ivory statues of the gods, 36 marble triumphal arches, 36 gates, 423 city wards, 423 temples, 46,602 lodging-houses, 1,790 palaces, 290 granaries, 856 baths, 1,352 fountains, 254 bakehouses, etc.

These figures and the idea they give of Rome's grandeur, greatness, and magnificence will constitute the starting point of our review of the following centuries, which witnessed her downfall.

Constantine the Great built another capital in the East. This in itself was a fateful event for Rome, because even though a monarch resided temporarily within her precincts, as a rule he took little interest in her monuments, and cared little to maintain, still less to augment, her external brilliance. In order to embellish the new city on the Bosphorus and render it famous and splendid, Constantine transported thither many works of art from the

seven-hilled city on the Tiber, and compelled many noble Roman families to migrate to Byzantium.

Constantine established Christianity as the religion of the state, and thenceforth events took a fresh course, the world moved on new lines. An imperial decree naturally did not in a moment change a pagan city into a Christian one; it will be seen how much was needed to rejuvenate the degenerate Roman nation. Yet a new creed now held sway and with it new modes of thought and feeling; a new culture arose and society itself underwent a change; all was diametrically opposed to the paganism wherein ancient Rome had grown up. A large proportion of her monuments was also the outcome of pagan ideas and pagan life. Thus ancient Rome fell a victim to the disintegrating hand of time, that despot whose power nothing earthly or human can resist, whose right no mortal can dispute; Rome had lost her vigor and vitality, she had outlived herself, before the hordes of barbarians laid her waste.

Instead of acknowledging and submitting to the inevitable consequences and effects of this law of universal history, the inhabitants of Rome continually during the fourth and fifth centuries accused the Christians of recklessly destroying their ancient monuments. This charge would not have been renewed so often had it not apparently been warranted by a natural feeling of indignation. After the Christians had for three centuries suffered more than mortal tongue can tell, they were at last at liberty to lift up their heads and emerge from the obscurity of the catacombs into the full light of day. Who could blame them if, exultant in the consciousness of victory, they had thrown down the images of the false gods, demolished the temples and places where horrible superstitious practices were carried on; and this all the more when long after Constantine's time voices were again heard demanding the extirpation of Christianity and attributing to its followers every public calamity, when the Emperor Julian the Apostate set up the statues of the gods again, burned incense again on the heathen altars, and persecuted the Christians anew! Yet this charge, which if true would have been so excusable, was in reality a false accusation, for only in rare instances did the Christians take this bloodless vengeance on the pagan monuments. It is true that many buildings were destroyed where horrors outraging morality were carried on, many degenerate works of art were demolished: that appeared a sacred duty incumbent on Christian rulers and their subjects. In general, the antique works of art were not destroyed, the statues, even images of the gods, were left standing on their pedestals; the temples were not damaged in any way; they were simply closed. Certainly, in later centuries, when the Romans, after terrible and disastrous happenings, had lost all reverence for the past glory and renown of the city on the Tiber's banks, and had to a great extent become incapable of producing works of art themselves, they defaced and robbed the old monuments in order to decorate basilicas and other modern structures. The emperors issued many an edict for the preservation of the ancient monuments. The Christian poet Prudentius (350-413) represents the Emperor Constantine as addressing some such words as these to the pagan Senators: "Cleanse, ye Fathers, the marble groups from the dust that lies on them; let the statues, the works of famous sculptors, be purified and remain where they are, so that they may continue to contribute in future as heretofore to the embellishment of our city. Henceforth let no misuse or shameful neglect degrade art or spoil the monuments of art."

The Emperors Constantius, Valens, Gratian, Valentinian, and Theodosius continually enforced the existing laws prohibiting the destruction of ancient public buildings, and the employment of the materials for the construction of new edifices, either public or private; they forbade the stones to be removed or the marble casing torn off. This care was not confined to buildings within the town. "Although," we read in an edict of the Emperor Constantius, "every sort of superstition is to

be done away with, yet it is our will that the temples that are without the walls should remain untouched and uninjured." There is not a vestige of truth in what is said concerning the destruction of ancient temples by order of the Popes. The Popes were not at that epoch masters of Rome, and possessed no power to issue such commands. Pope Boniface IV had to ask permission of the Emperor Phocas before converting the Pantheon into a church dedicated to the Blessed Virgin; Honorius I petitioned the Emperor Phocas to allow the decorative bronze tiles to be transferred from the Temple of Venus and Roma to the Basilica of St. Peter; nor could Gregory III remove six columns from an ancient monument for the decoration of the same basilica without the authorization of the imperial governor.

The hand of time together with the causes already mentioned are enough of themselves to account for the ruin of ancient Rome, apart from the terrible calamities which were yet to befall the city. We will now resume the thread of the historical survey subsequent to the reign of Constantine the Great.

It must not be imagined that the downfall of Rome was a sudden event, a rapid and total change to be observed and felt; a century elapsed after Constantine's victory before the signs of decay were discernible. In the year 357 the Emperor Constantius came to Rome. Ammianus Marcellinus gives an account of the impression made on him. "When the Emperor entered Rome, the seat of universal empire and of all real greatness, and, having reached the rostrum, saw before him the Forum, that far-famed center of civic life, of political power, he was struck dumb with amazement and admiration. On every side stupendous buildings met his eye. And when he passed in review the several quarters of the city he was almost bewildered by what he saw; whether on the summit of the hills, on their declivities, or on the level ground, each fresh object on which he gazed appeared more marvelous than the last. The Temple of Jupiter

The Capitol and the Temple of Jupiter — The Tabularium (Hall of Records) — Castle and Temple of Juno
Temples: Saturn, Vespasian, and Concord
Temples of Castor and Vesta — Julian Basilica — Arch to Severus
The Royal Palace — Temple to Faustina — Temple of the City

Fig. 80. The Capitol and Roman Forum as it appeared 300 Years after Christ. Restored by Jos. Gatteschi

Fig. 81. Cæsar Honorius. From the Diptych in the Cathedral of Aosta

on the Tarpeian rock, its glistening tiles and marble walls shining in the sun, seemed more like the work of gods than of men; the baths appeared to him equal to whole provinces in extent; the colossal Flavian amphitheater (the Colosseum), constructed of blocks of Tiburtinian stone, seemed of a height to which his eye could not reach. The superb rotunda of the Pantheon, with its magnificent cupola-shaped dome, the gigantic columns crowned with statues of former emperors, to the top of which one could ascend, the temple of the goddess Roma, the Forum of Peace, Pompey's theater, the Odeum, the race-course, all these grand edifices vied with one another in splendor, beauty, and magnitude. When he came to Trajan's Forum, that unrivalled structure, on which even the gods might look with admiration, he stood as one stupefied, while his eye roamed over the gigantic arches, which can never be described in words, and the like of which mortal man can never again erect."

A considerable proportion of the senators and of the patrician population of Rome continued openly to adhere to paganism, since they were in no wise compelled to profess Christianity. However, the Emperor Gratian (375-383) considered himself bound in duty to forbid all public worship of the gods, especially when it assumed an official and political character. He therefore (in the year 382) caused the image of the goddess of victory, on whose altar sacrifice was offered before deliberations were held, to be removed from the council-room of the Senate. This measure excited a storm of indignation, which proved that paganism still held its head high. The emperors who succeeded Gratian frequently found it necessary to issue more drastic laws. Ancient edifices were restored and new triumphal arches raised in honor of the emperors. A contemporaneous writer (Themistius) designates the city on the Tiber as "a boundless, unspeakably grand ocean of magnificence." The economic decay of Rome was manifested on the surrounding land in a sorrowful manner. It is recorded that in the reign of Theodosius no less than four and twenty square miles in Latium were depopulated and became a swamp, so that the state gave the land free of charge to any one who would occupy and cultivate it.

In the fifth century paganism lost all its outward suzerainty. The old order of things had departed. St. Jerome speaks of the gilded squalor of the Capitol, the temples covered with dust and lined with cobwebs. "The people," he writes, "flock past the temples and wend their way to the tombs of the martyrs." And again: "The Cross is now the device seen on the military standards; that saving sign, once the badge of shame, now adorns the regal robes of Tyrian purple, the sparkling, bejewelled diadem."

In the year 403 the Emperor Honorius made his triumphal entry into Rome. The city was once more, for the last time, arrayed in the gala dress of ancient Rome. The enthusiastic poet Claudian Claudianus, speaking in high-flown and somewhat

exaggerated laudatory language, bids him behold Rome and her splendor: "The lofty, joyous Palatine, the laurel-crowned statues and columns reaching to the clouds, the countless triumphal arches, glittering with the spoils of war; while the astonished eye, dazzled by the fiery bronze, is fain to avert its gaze from the shining masses of gold." In the previous year the city wall of Aurelian was repaired and extended in view of the threatened approach of the Goths. The circumference of the wall measured 21 Roman miles; 16 principal gates afforded access to the open country; 28 highroads led out into the provinces, many of which were already ruled by foreign governors. Claudian thus sang the praise of the new city wall:

"See Rome in her pristine glory, the seven-hilled city once more,
Greater, more beauteous now, by a new wall enclosed as of yore;
This is raised up in dread of the onslaught of barbarian rage.
Fear helped to accomplish the work, and indolent age,
Long accustomed to peace, seeks the stir of war to avoid.
Towers were speedily raised, and now for centuries hence
The seven fair hills will not lack an enclosing wall of defense."

This wall with its towers and battlements still exists, an ornament rather than a protection to the city. "Its somber, gray, and massive masonry, in the lapse of ages so often stormed, broken down, and renewed, yet not diverging essentially from the original lines, fills the spectator with awe and admiration, compared, as it may be, to a gigantic stone frieze, whereon bygone centuries have recorded the names of Consuls, of Emperors, and of Popes, besides a thousand other memories."—Gregorovius.

In the year 408 the Emperor Honorius suppressed the endowments and revenues appropriated to the upholding of the temples. Rulers and subjects, the state and the citizens were impoverished and could no longer supply the funds needed to preserve the monuments from dilapidation. A later decree ordered the destruction of the temples or their purification and consecration by the erection of the cross. Would that this had been done everywhere! Many an ancient edifice defied the

Fig. 82. Pope Gregory the Great. S. Gregorio, Rome

action of time for centuries under the protection of the sign of our salvation.

St. Benedict once predicted: "Rome will not be destroyed by barbarians, but scourged by thunder and lightning, by hurricanes and earthquakes; she will of herself breed corruption." The storms he foretold were not far off; the disasters he prophesied quickly followed. In the year 408 an earthquake, the shocks of which continued for a whole week, spread panic in the city; in the same year Alaric, King of the West Goths, appeared before its walls with his hordes and squadrons of light cavalry. It is said that an inward voice incessantly whispered to him: "Up, up, destroy Rome." St. Jerome and St. Augustine held this to be the voice of God, who willed to employ the barbarian as a scourge to chastise Rome. On a Roman officer who was sent to negotiate terms with the in-

Fig. 83. The Ostian Gate (S. Paolo) and Pyramid Monument of Cestius, Rome

vader inquiring what he would spare in the city, he answered: "Only the citizens." Yet this time Rome purchased her freedom for 5,000 pounds of gold, 30,000 pounds of silver, 3,000 purple robes, 4,000 silk doublets, and 3,000 pounds of pepper. Gold and silver statues and ornaments had to go into the crucible in order to make up the amount of the ransom. The next year the King of the Goths came again; in 410 he appeared for the third time and conquered the capital of the world-empire. He allowed his hordes to pillage the city for three days; the only restraint imposed on them was to abstain from spoiling the churches, particularly the Basilica of the Apostles. The booty carried off by the Goths was priceless, it was immeasurable; nor can any estimate be formed of what Rome lost through the plundering and the fury of the barbarians, as also through the ravages of fire.

For nearly eight centuries the then known world had been accustomed to look upon Rome as her center and the ruler of her destinies; the belief that if Rome fell all else would fall was widespread, consequently at the tidings of her downfall alarm seized on every heart. St. Jerome, then an old man of nearly eighty years, dwelling in seclusion and tranquillity at Bethlehem, wrote at that time thus: "My voice fails me, and sighs interrupt my words: that city is vanquished which vanquished the whole earth." And again: "Who could believe that Rome, built with the spoils of all nations, could fall, and that the city would be the grave as well as the cradle of her people! That all the seaports of Asia, of Egypt, of Africa, should become a market for her slaves who was once the mistress of the world!" Rome as a city deserved this universal compassion, but a vast number of Romans were far from deserving it. This nation, which had produced the greatest conquerors, the greatest statesmen of the world, offered a revolting spectacle of moral depravity and corruption. Its people had scarce any thought for aught else but the plays of the theater and the race-course. The historian Orosius says that after the conquest of Rome by the Goths it was evident that the citizens would easily be consoled for the losses they had sustained by the pillage, provided the delights of the race-course were restored to them. When Salvian, a Gallican priest from Marseilles, visited Rome at this epoch, it was this rage for theatrical performances that principally shocked him. "Who," he exclaims, "could care for the games of the Circus when face to face with slavery? Who could laugh and jest on the way to execution? Who could sport under the yoke of servitude and smile with the fear of death before his eyes? One might imagine that the whole nation had eaten the sardonic herb (said to have the property of distorting the lips in a permanent grin) if one sees that in dying it laughs."

Alaric had broken the spell that Rome the invincible seemed to exercise, yet even when humbled she still filled the world with her greatness and renown. The pagan poet Rutilius thus writes at that time:

"Hear me, O Queen most fair, who vouchsafedst to raise
Thine own city Rome to the heavenly sphere;
Hear me, Mother of men, and mother, too, of the gods,
Who enters thy temple to heaven feels near.
Thy praise to sing is joy, as long as Fortune permits;
Who could ever forget thee, as long as he lives!
Great gifts thou dost lavish, like the rays of the sun,
That light up the earth, both on sea and on land.
The orbs that revolve on their bright course in the sky
Have never beheld fairer kingdoms than thine."

In the year 455 the Vandals came over from Africa, their leader being the fierce King Genseric. No army was prepared to encounter them, for no one dared to op-

Fig. 84. Belisarius Giving Battle to the Goths. By Fracassini. On the Curtain of the Theater in Orvieto

FIG. 85. ROME DURING THE TIME OF THE AUTHOR OF THE "ITINERARY," NOW IN THE MONASTERY OF EINSIEDELN (*see page 72*).

pose the advance of the barbarian save one venerable, defenceless old man, Leo the Great, who at that time filled the chair of Peter. He was the same pontiff who four years previously by his impressive, solemn words delivered Rome from the fury of the fierce Huns. He now addressed Genseric with the same earnestness. The king listened to him quietly and promised not to lay waste the city by fire, sword, and torture, but to confine himself to plundering its treasures. He allowed his hordes a full fortnight to pillage unrestrainedly. So great was the booty that the fleet scarcely sufficed to convey it away; in fact, several vessels with their freight of statues foundered during a storm on their homeward voyage. Genseric dismantled the Temple of Jupiter on the Capitol, stripping off its gilded bronze tiles, and carrying off the sacred objects of which Titus had despoiled the Temple at Jerusalem and deposited in the Temple of Roma, the golden candlesticks, the table for the loaves of proposition, the ark of the covenant, the trumpets, the censers. So ruthless was the manner in which the barbarians acted that "vandalism" is employed to this day to designate the most reckless, unsparing plunder and destruction.

We gather from a decree issued by the Emperor Majorianus how little sense the Romans of that day had of the historic and artistic value of the monuments of antiquity. It ran thus: "We forbid the edifices which were erected in bygone times for the benefit of the public or the embellishment of the city to be demolished or injured in any way. The magistrate who permits them to be touched shall be sub-

jected to a fine of fifty pounds of gold, and the emissary of the law who does his bidding in this respect, after being scourged, shall have his hands cut off." This prohibition, however, availed little; the destruction went on as before. Meanwhile sieges, conquests, sacks of the city followed one another in rapid succession. In 472 Ricimer with his Germanic hordes entered Rome by the Aurelian Gate; for the third time the city was pillaged. In the war waged by the imperial generals Belisarius and Narses with the two Ostrogothic Kings Witiches and Totila, not to speak of the sieges, Rome was five times conquered and looted; that is, in the years 536, 546, 547, 549, and 552. At the close of the war the population numbered scarcely more than 50,000 souls, all private property was lost, the Campagna, the environs of Rome, were a waste.

The best idea of the condition of Rome at that epoch may be formed from the forcible words uttered some years later by the last truly patriotic Roman, St. Gregory the Great, who filled the Chair of Peter from 590 to 604. Preaching in the Basilica of St. Peter, and taking for his text the parables of the prophets Ezechiel and Micheas, he compares his native city first to an earthen vessel, a boiling-pot, wherein Rome's greatness and might, her pomp and splendor, her Senate and her people, were become reduced, ruined, destroyed, until at last the vessel itself was broken to pieces. Filled with immeasurable grief, he exclaims in accents of profound woe: "Rome, formerly the mistress of the world, now by depopulation, the onslaught of her enemies, the demolition of her edifices, is bowed down to the ground. Where is her glory? Where is her pride? Where are her countless delights? . . ." Then he compares Rome to an eagle, which formerly spread her wings and soared aloft to seize upon her prey, but whose wings are now clipped, so that she now stands stripped of her plumage, her strength exhausted, weary to death, on the hills beside the Tiber. Thus this noblest of Rome's

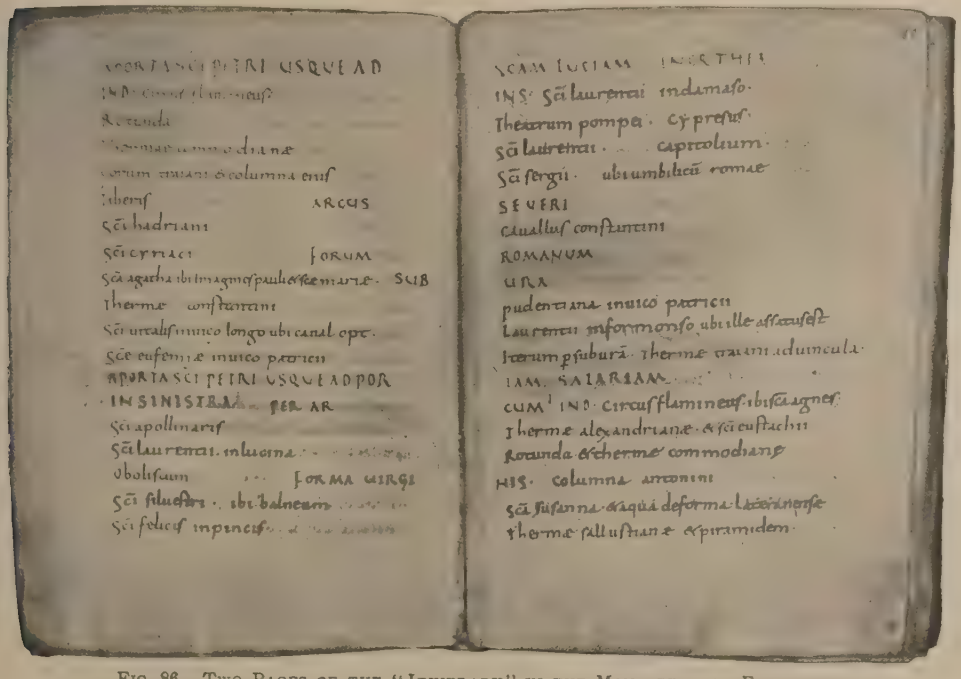



Fig. 86. Two Pages of the "Itinerary" in the Monastery of Einsiedeln

citizens borrows the simile of the prophet to voice the unhappy fate of the world's metropolis. Yet the same great Pope goes on with kindling ardor to formulate the belief, the conviction that Rome would retain her importance, her world-wide empire, since she was destined to become the center of Christendom, the nucleus of the Christian faith and Christian life. All that Rome has since become she owes to the Popes.

In the year 663 the East-Roman Emperor Constans II came to Rome. He was received with due ceremony; for this he showed his gratitude by working worse havoc than did the barbarians. Within the space of twelve days he carried off all the bronze statues and decorative sculptures; even the gilt tiles of the Pantheon dedicated to the Blessed Virgin formed part of the spoil.

A contemporary writer thus describes the condition of Rome at the close of the eighth century. Apostrophizing her, he says: "O glorious Rome, founded by heroes, now a servant of servants, thou art dying a shameful death. Thy Emperors have abandoned thee long ago, and with them thy renown, thy prestige has departed. Barbarians, vagrants from all the ends of the earth, menials accustomed to servility and servile work, they, alas! rule over thee now. Constantinople, called the new Rome, prospers and flourishes, whilst thou, the ancient Rome, art fallen so low. In fact, wert thou not protected by the merits of the holy Apostles thou wouldst long since have been swept from the face of the earth."

Information concerning the monuments of ancient pagan Rome may be gathered from the description of the fourteen regions of the city, which, as has already been stated, were marked out in the reign of the Emperor Constantine. The original MS. is no longer extant, but it exists under a revised form in two volumes, of which one is called *Notitia*, the other *Curiosum Urbis*. All the ancient monuments, buildings, temples, palaces, private houses, baths, fountains, etc., are enumerated in an appendix. Later on many itineraries, notes of travel, handbooks for pilgrims, were compiled by pilgrims who had seen the antique and the Christian monuments in Rome. The oldest itinerary, the work of a German pilgrim, is now preserved in Vienna. It consists of two manuscripts entitled "On the Holy Places of the Martyrs." It dates most probably from the time of Pope Pelagius II (579-590). Far more valuable is the itinerary now in the library of the monastery at Einsiedeln, dating from the second half of the eighth century. The pilgrim who is the author first gives copies of a number of ancient and Christian inscriptions. Then he strolls through the principal thoroughfares—the same as they were in ancient Rome—from one city gate to another, accurately noting down the monuments he passes on the right hand and on the left. He beheld the vast thermæ of Commodus, Constantine, Alexander, Caracalla, the Flaminian Circus and the Great Circus, Pompey's theater, the Capitol, Antoninus' column, the milestones, the Septizonium, besides various monuments and works of art then still standing, but which were soon to disappear. In conclusion he gives a tabular review; on the Aurelian wall he enumerates 383 towers, 720 bulwarks, 5 gates, 116 lesser places of egress, 2,066 embrasures. This particular and exact enumeration of the monuments renders the Einsiedeln itinerary of the greatest use in affording knowledge of the monuments of Rome and the external aspect of the city. The following are the notes he gives of one street:

*From the Gate of St. Peter to Santa Lucia, in the Orpheus Quarter*

| ON THE LEFT | ON THE RIGHT |
|---|---|
| The Flaminian Circus (Piazza Navona). | St. Laurence of Damasus. |
| Rotunda (the Pantheon). | Pompey's Theater. Cypresses. |
| The Baths of Commodus. | St. Laurence. The Capitol. |
| The Forum and Column of Trajan. The Tiber. | St. Sergius, where stands the central column of Rome. |

*The Arch of Severus*

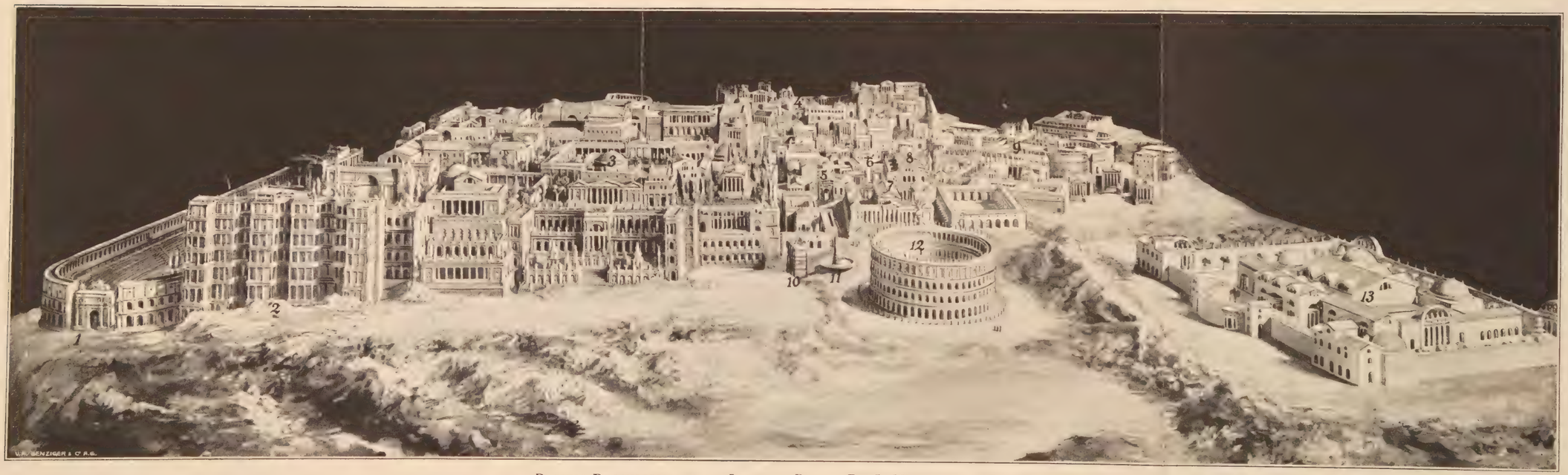
| | |
|---|---|
| St. Hadrian. | Constantine's Charger (the equestrian statue of Marcus Aurelius). |
| St. Cyriacus. | |

*The Roman Forum*

| | |
|---|---|
| St. Agatha, where are the images of St. Paul and the Blessed Virgin Mary. | |

1 Temple of Trajan 2 Trajan's Column 3 Library 4 Basilica Ulpia 5 Forum of Trajan 6 Temple of Mars 7 Forum of Augustus 8 Cæsar's Forum 9 Temple of Venus Genetrix 10 Temple of Minerva 11 Forum of Nerva 12 Forum of Vespasian 13 Temple of Peace 14 Baths of Titus 15 Baths of Trajan 16 Colosseum 17 Temple of Venus and Roma 18 Basilica of Constantine 19 Temple of Antonine and of Faustina 20 Temple of Romulus 21 Æmilian Basilica 22 Roman Forum 23 Julian Basilica 24 Temple of Castor 25 House of the Vestals 26 Palatine with the Emperors' Palaces 27 Circus Maximus 28 Forum Boarium 29 Theater of Marcellus 30 Temple of Jupiter 31 Capitol 32 Castle 33 Temple of Juno Moneta

1 Circus Maximus 2 Septizonium 3 Palatine with Emperor's Palaces 4 Capitol 5 Arch of Titus 6 Roman Forum 7 Temple of Venus and Roma 8 Basilica of Constantine 9 Forums of the Emperors 10 Arch of Constantine 11 Meta Sudans 12 Colosseum 13 Baths of Trajan



Plastic Reconstruction of Imperial Rome. By G. Marcelliani, Rome

*The Suburra Quarter*

| ON THE RIGHT | ON THE LEFT |
|---|---|
| Constantine's Baths. | St. Pudentiana in the Patrician Street. |
| The Church of St. Vitalis in the Long Street, where there is a most beautiful equestrian statue. | St. Laurence, on the spot where the saint was broiled alive. |
| St. Euphemia in the Patrician Street. | Across the Suburra Street again. |
| | Trajan's Baths, near the Church of St. Peter *ad vincula*. |

Another description of Rome has come down to us from the twelfth century, *Mirabilia Romæ,* the Marvels of Rome, with which many manuscripts have made us acquainted, and which through successive centuries has from time to time been enlarged, amplified, and enriched with anecdotes (*e.g., Graphia aureæ urbis Romæ*—A description of Rome, the golden city, of the thirteenth century; *De mirabilibus civitatis Romæ*—The Wonders of the City of Rome, from the fourteenth century, and so on). The names and purposes of many monuments are now lost; the strangest legends, sagas, and fables are attached to them.

Bright days dawned again for Rome at the beginning of the ninth century, when Charlemagne received the imperial crown in the Basilica of St. Peter. The states of the Church were then given to the Pope, who was constituted the ruler of Rome, the emperor being its secular protector.

In the year 846 the Saracens came to Rome; the venerable Basilicas of Sts. Peter and Paul were pillaged, the treasures they contained, of immense value, were carried off. Pope Leo IV (847-855) gained a brilliant naval victory off Ostia,

Fig. 87. Pope Leo Crowns Charlemagne Roman Emperor. By Rethel. In the City Hall, Aix-la-Chapelle

yet again and again, during the course of the same century, and at the beginning of the next, these formidable enemies landed on the coasts of central Italy; ruin and desolation marked the progress of their armies; it was they, too, who in 876 reduced the Campagna to a fever-stricken wilderness. In order to preserve at least St. Peter's, Rome's chief sanctuary, from further desecration, Leo IV surrounded the northern portion of the city with a special fortification; the walls were forty feet high, with forty-four watch-towers. This new stronghold was called the Leonine city, *Città Leonina.*

Since the beginning of the ninth century a new aristocracy had arisen in Rome, powerful barons who for several centuries played a prominent part in the history of the Eternal City. The outgrowth of feuds and strife, they owed their importance and actually their existence to continuous and reciprocal warfare. In order to have headquarters both within and without the city for their enterprises, these petty despots took forcible possession of the old, massive, solidly built structures and used them as their bulwarks and strongholds. As early as the war with the Goths, Hadrian's mausoleum became a fortress of importance. From old papal records we find that other monuments erected by the Romans in ancient times were allotted to barons or even to monasteries to be held in feudal tenure. The assigning of them to religious houses proved a most beneficial arrangement, for by the care of the monks, and the severe penalties attaching to any damage done to them, many of the most interesting monuments and works of art were preserved from destruction; witness Trajan's spiral column, and also Aurelian's. The buildings appropriated by the barons fared differently. They were partly rebuilt, pinnacles and towers and outworks were added to them; they were besieged, stormed, defended, broken down, and demolished. In the twelfth century the families of the Frangipani held possession of the Colosseum, the Arch of Titus, the Arch of Janus, the great race-course, a portion of the imperial palaces on the Palatine, etc. The Orsini were masters of Hadrian's mausoleum and Pompey's theater, the Colonnas of the sepulchral monument of the Emperor Augustus and Constantine's baths; the beautiful theater of Marcellus belonged to the Pierleoni, later on to the Savelli, who held sway on the Aventine; in the quarter in which the Pantheon was situated the Sinibaldi and Crescenzio resided, the Capocci ruled in Trajan's baths, the Anibaldi in the Lateran quarter, the Pandulfi were established on the low ground between the Esquiline, Viminal, and Quirinal, and the thickly populated Suburra; the Gaetani made the sepulchral monument of St. Cecilia on the Appian Way their castle. Also other old Roman buildings, such as the Capitolium, had outworks, towers, and pinnacles, etc., added to them in the taste of the Middle Ages. Petrarch was quite right when, somewhat later, writing to one of the Anibaldi, he said: "Behold the remains of ancient Rome, the effigy of her former grandeur. Not the hand of time, nor any of the despoilers to which Rome has fallen a victim can boast of having wrought such havoc as her own citizens, the most illustrious of her sons. Thy forefathers have achieved with the pickaxe what Hannibal, the Punic hero, could not accomplish with the sword." Many monuments of antiquity had then already been overthrown and demolished, through feuds and insurrection. But the Senator Brancaleone of Bologna was in the year 1257 the author of the most terrible acts of violence, for with the laudable design of breaking the despotic power of the nobles, by whom the people were sorely oppressed, by the destruction of their strongholds, he caused a lamentable act of vandalism to be committed, the destruction of 140 ancient buildings all at one time, whereby, as Albertus Mussatus says, "almost all the thermæ and temples preserved up to that time were reduced to little more than crumbling ruins."

Another cause of destruction and devastation was the custom of the German emperors of coming to Rome for the purpose of being crowned at the tomb of the Apostles, and their interference in the affairs of the Church and of the states of the Church. Many times sanguinary battles ensued between the German troops and the Romans; more than once the city was stormed. But the worst devastation resulted from the strife between the perfidious Emperor Henry IV and Pope Gregory VII, who sought to uphold the liberty and independence of the Church, and restore the luster of her former purity of morals. Three consecutive years the Emperor besieged Rome; in the second year, 1083, the wall surrounding the Leonine city proved an insufficient barrier against the onrush of his hordes; Gregory fled for refuge to the Castle of Sant' An-

gelo. In the third year the Emperor laid waste the Campagna, forced an entry into Rome, and twice cast an incendiary torch into the Capitol; the Septizonium, a gorgeous building erected by Septimius Severus on the Palatine, was destroyed, the pillars of its elegant colonnades being reduced to fragments by battering engines. That was but the beginning of sorrows. In his great need the Pope appealed to Robert Guiscard, the Duke of Normandy, to come to his assistance and relief. The Duke quickly responded to the call with his light infantry, made a way across the ruins, primitive pastoral state, a wilderness of vines and weeds.

Somewhat more than twenty years subsequent to these happenings Bishop Hildebert of Tours spoke thus of the devastated city: "Nothing is like to thee, Rome; even now that thy fair edifices are a heap of ruins they still show what thou wast in the days of thy glory. Time has destroyed thy greatness, the palaces of emperors are buried beneath the soil, the temples of the gods lie prone in the dust. That might has now departed before which the Parthian trembled while it existed, over which he

Fig. 88. The Roman Forum in 1860

and set the Pope at liberty. But when the Romans rose up against his rough mercenaries the Duke suppressed the revolt with fire and sword. A fearful conflagration, beginning in the Lateran, spread to the Roman Forum, over the heights and declivities of the Cœlian and the Aventine. One of the most thickly populated quarters of the city, containing countless ancient monuments, was reduced to a heap of smoking ruins, and has since then been waste land. Only a few churches were left standing. Very few houses have been built there in recent times, and a wide tract of land is to this day desolate, deserted, fever-stricken—returned once more to its lamented when it collapsed. She whom once the sword of kings, the judgment of Senators, nay, the heavenly powers themselves, made mistress of the world, who brought into subjection both foes and transgressors, who made lasting allies; to whom conquerors gave booty, on whom fortune lavished gifts; to whom art gave of its best and earth its richest treasures, is now no more! While I gaze on the ruins of that noble city, and meditate upon her sad fate, I cry: 'Rome was and is not! Yet neither the hand of time, nor the devouring flames, nor the sword of the destroyer, has completely robbed her of her former brilliance and beauty.' "

While the internal strife went on between the barons, filling Rome with ruins, from the beginning of the fourteenth century, the lamentations grew louder and louder over the barbarism of the Romans themselves, who seemed resolved to leave no vestige of the ancient, dilapidated monuments. All knowledge of ancient Rome seemed to a great extent lost; no wonder, since the remains of former times were no longer valued. "Who is so ignorant of Rome's vicissitudes as the Romans themselves?" Petrarch exclaims. "I grieve to say that nowhere is Rome less known than in Rome itself."

Rome's fortunes were at their lowest ebb during the period when the Popes removed their Court to Avignon, in the south of France. Then other calamities overtook her: in 1318 the pestilence known as the black death; in 1319 a dreadful earthquake, which caused many buildings to collapse. Countless fragments of antiquity were sold by the citizens, or cast into the lime-kilns. "Statues," writes a contemporary, "lie buried in the dust, are ground to make cement, or used as building materials; those have a happier fate which are employed as mounting-blocks for horsemen, as pedestals or mangers." Petrarch laments in like manner: "After the palaces, once inhabited by heroes, have been destroyed by the action of time or by the hand of the enemy, after triumphal arches have been demolished, Romans have not been ashamed to traffic with the remnants of antiquity in nefarious fashion for the sake of paltry gain. Thus now, O shame and grief! Naples, that indolent city, is adorned with your marble pillars, with the flooring of your temples, with the statues that decorated the sepulchers wherein the ashes of your venerated forefathers rest!" In 1362 it was a common complaint in Rome that no purchasers for her marbles and mosaics were to be found except the Frangipani. The colonnades of the Colosseum were broken up and used as building stones. All around that gigantic structure were churches and houses the materials for which were quarried from its ruins.

In the commencement of the fifteenth century the Florentine Poggio Bracciolini stood and contemplated the Eternal City from its heights. The gilded Capitol resembled a rubbish heap; in open spaces vines were growing. Across the Forum from the Arch of Titus to that of Septimius stretched a long row of houses; on its green slopes oxen and swine ran loose; the time-honored and splendid site of ancient Rome had returned to its primitive pastoral state and its pastoral name, *Campo Vaccino*—the field of cows. The Palatine, where the imperial palace stood, was so laid waste that nothing could be distinguished on it. The dwelling-houses were mostly built with ancient materials; the frontage, looking onto the street, formed an arcade, resting on pillars taken from antique monuments, pillars of priceless marble or granite, too often ruthlessly broken to make them of the required length. Even to the present day in the older quarters of the city one meets with carved moldings and marble pillars built into the masonry of the houses. Of the marble statues Poggio saw only five; of the bronze, one alone; the Egyptian obelisks were all except one overthrown, broken and buried under accumulated heaps of rubbish.

Ancient Rome, imperial Rome, was now, with the exception of some few buildings which had to some extent escaped injury, buried under enormous mounds of earth and broken masonry, from which here and there some massive remains alone rose up ghost-like; only a few columns and arches were left standing, and these looked as if they might fall before the morrow. But the resurrection of ancient Rome had already commenced, in as far as the resurrection of a fallen city can be said to be possible. The poet Petrarch was one of the first who in sublime verses and letters spoke with enthusiastic praise of ancient Rome, of her statesmen and heroes, of her poetry and her science. Soon others arose who with equal ardor directed public attention to the artistic works of the Romans. At the epoch of which we speak the old statues were already sought for, and assiduous research was invariably rewarded. Later on the discovery of some

Fig. 89. Corinthian Capital. Thermæ Museum, Rome

celebrated statue was the occasion of public rejoicing, and the find was carried in triumphal procession through the streets. Although at a subsequent period want of respect has frequently been shown for antiquity, yet the Popes have mostly been conspicuous for the almost touching solicitude they displayed for the preservation of the ruins and remains of former times still standing. Pius II (1458-1464), before his elevation to the papal throne, wrote thus in strains at once triumphant and sad:

"It is joy to me, O Rome, thy ruins to behold,
For by thy vanished splendor thy greatness still is told;
Yet from thine ancient walls the stones thy people break,
And burn them in the kiln, for filthy lucre's sake.
O foolish folk! If ruined Rome for years is thus bereft,
No trace of former might and beauty will be left."

Pius III (1503) asserted his supreme spiritual as well as his temporal authority for the preservation of antiquities by prohibiting their mutilation or destruction under pain of death. Most of the Popes, all of whom, as a rule, promoted the building of modern Rome, and took under their protection and into their service the newly awakened pursuit of art, could not do otherwise than extend their generous care to ancient Rome, since it constituted the most profitable school for the greatest of modern artists, who drew from it their inspirations. Under Julius II and Leo X the first museum of antiquities was founded in the Vatican Palace, for in their day, as if to reward their noble endeavors, some of the most famous ancient works were brought to light. From a letter of Raphael to Leo X we learn that this talented young artist was commissioned by his patron to draw a plan of ancient Rome, and to restore the monuments that had perished by the description bygone writers gave of them. In this same letter Raphael complains of the general lack of appreciation of the works of antiquity, and that many were still given up to destruction; on this account he all the more extols the Pontiff's zeal for their preservation and the refined taste he displays.

Raphael found that the most sympathetic interest was taken in his labors by learned men, as the following lines (by Celio Calcagnini) show:

"To build up Rome must many years and warriors bold employ,
But years and enemies must combine that city to destroy.
Raphael sought Rome in Rome, and there found Rome again;
Man seeks, but God must guide research, or else it is in vain."

Fig. 90. Hall in the Thermæ Museum, Rome

In the beginning of his reign Paul III (1534-1549) wrote thus to a custodian of antiquities: "It is with profound grief that we are compelled to acknowledge that not only Goths, Vandals, and other barbarians, not only the ravages of time, have been factors in the overthrow and demolition of the venerable, time-honored ornaments of our city, but also our own carelessness, our own fault, our craft and love of gain. While appointing thee Our commissary-general in regard to these objects, of Our apostolic authority We give thee full powers to watch over their safety, and to take every precaution to guard the monuments of the city and its environs, all statues, inscriptions, marbles, so far as possible, from mutilation, from being ground for cement, or removed from the city." Nevertheless, during his reign the most stately structure of ancient Rome, the Forum, was plundered again, and to a greater extent than before. In 1536 the Emperor Charles V visited Rome. For the purpose of giving him as splendid a reception as possible, and to conduct him in triumph through the city, a new and level road was made between the Cœlian and Palatine hills, through Constantine's and Trajan's arches and over the Roman Forum; to accomplish this some two hundred houses and two or three churches were razed to the ground, and enormous mounds of earth and rubbish were heaped upon the old pavement of the Forum to the height of more than six feet. That spot then became more than ever deserving of the name *Campo Vaccino,* an appellation which it has gradually lost in the course of years.

Sixtus V, who otherwise had little taste for ruins and remains, re-erected the Egyptian obelisks, unearthed Trajan's column, and replaced the statue of Antoninus. Since that time no monuments of any importance, relics of ancient Rome, have disappeared, yet many ruins have fallen and pieces of masonry have been taken away. But great as was the interest felt for what was old, the builders of new Rome asserted their rights. Every new and straight street that was laid out traversed the site of some ruined structure, the foundations of every fresh church or palace rested on the ancient masonry of theater, circus, or bath. If the old monuments were disinterred and stripped of their garb of medieval turrets and towers, the friends of the Middle Ages complained of the loss of valued reminiscences. It was impossible to meet the wishes of all parties. No more than the ideas and aims of ancient, medieval, and modern times can coalesce for a common end could their edifices stand harmoniously side by side in a limited space; one had frequently to be sacrificed to another. As for art collections, since the sixteenth century countless numbers have sprung into existence, instituted principally by Popes and Cardinals. Research was richly rewarded; wherever excavations were undertaken statues and busts were discovered. It was not only the museums that were destined for the reception of these "finds"; the most beautiful objects that Florence, Naples, Paris, and to some extent Munich and other cities of note possess were collected in that period, principally by Cardinals.

In 1734 Clement XII founded the museum of ancient Roman works of art in the Capitol, and since that time it has continually received additions, Boniface XIV (1740-1758) being its chief benefactor. At that period Winckelmann was already resident in Rome, and from the ancient monuments and statues he learned the laws that govern the beautiful and tasteful, and what are the noblest aims of art, and in his turn became their eloquent exponent in regard to the highest artistic creations of modern times. It was at his suggestion that Clement XIV (1769-1774) founded the splendid Pio-Clementino Museum in the Vatican, the contents of which are so numerous and diversified. What the later Popes, Pius VI, Pius VII, Gregory XVI, Pius IX did for such collections of ancient objects of historic and artistic value is beyond all praise, and has never been equalled, still less surpassed, by any secular ruler. It has been impossible for the late Holy Father, Pope Leo XIII, and for his successor, Pius X, to extend their care for the preservation of the monuments beyond

Fig. 91. Interior (Reconstruction) of the Temple of Jupiter, Rome

the limit of the Vatican domains. We shall have occasion to enter more fully upon this subject later on, in the introduction to modern Rome.

Immense sums were expended on excavations on the site of ancient monuments. Researches on the Roman Forum and the Forum of Trajan were begun as early as the middle of the sixteenth century, in the reign of Paul III, and they have since been resumed from time to time, although too often without the necessary method. The excavations were carried on most vigorously by all the successors of Clement XIV upon the Papal throne, frequently under most unfavorable circumstances, as in the case of Pius VII and Gregory XVI. At the beginning of the last century several foreigners and envoys took part in the exertions of the Pope in the interests of science and art; for instance, the French ambassador, M. Blacas, the Portuguese Count Funchal, the Duchess of Devonshire, and others.

The thanks of antiquarians are also due to the Italian Government at that time; it is to be regretted that their plan and aim in carrying on the work seemed often unsuccessful. Yet many great services on their part deserve grateful recognition. The most important excavations were those made in the Roman Forum, in the substructure of the Colosseum, on the Palatine, and in the Baths of Caracalla. The finds, among which are the most notable pieces of sculpture, are preserved in the recently founded Museo delle Terme, and in the Antiquarium (Magazzino Archæologico).

As yet but a small portion only of ancient Rome has been unearthed. The removal of the rubbish accumulated in the course of centuries is laborious and extremely expensive; besides this, the modern buildings and pleasure grounds of new Rome prove a hindrance to the disinterment of the old. In the following chapters a more explicit account of the existing remains of ancient Rome will be given, so that the reader may, if possible, be enabled to form some conception of her former beauty and grandeur.

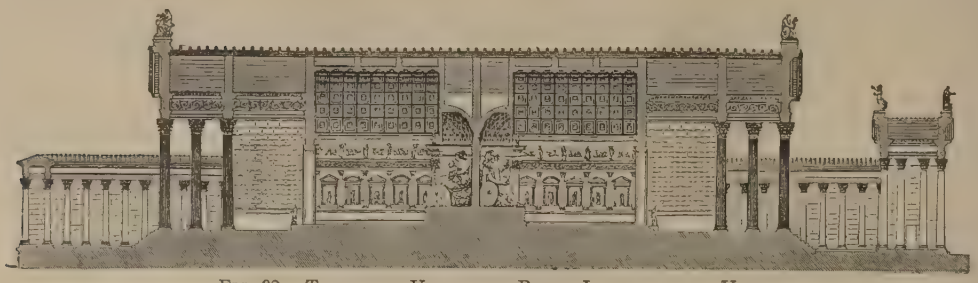


FIG. 92. TEMPLE OF VENUS AND ROMA, LONGITUDINAL VIEW

## 3. THE TEMPLES AND BASILICAS

AFTER what has been said concerning the religious feeling inherent in the early Romans, it is not surprising that heathen Rome could count more temples than Christian Rome could churches. Some of these temples, the most ancient of them, were, as was remarked above, built in the Grecian style, with columns. The earliest monuments of this kind testify, however, to the influence of the Etruscan architecture at the same time, as may be seen from the almost square ground plan and the somewhat clumsy, cramped proportions.

The ground plan of a temple of the Grecian style is an oblong, with one, two, or more rows of columns on the façade, while the three other exterior walls, their surface being marked out by half columns or pilasters, are less striking but still pleasing and effective in appearance. In the case of many large temples a single or double row of pillars went all round the building, yet so contrived that the façade, enlarged so as to form a lobby of considerable size, was richer by one or two more rows of columns than the rest of the edifice, an arrangement which gave it a superior and more festive appearance, the free vista between the columns affording an agreeable contrast to the solid masonry of the wall. On the pillars rested the heavy, plain marble slabs of the architrave; over it was the frieze, richly decorated with carvings, above which was the beautiful cornice, the triangular tympan or pediment on the façade and on the rear of the building being splendidly adorned with marble statues and groups of figures. If the whole edifice was erected upon a high, four-sided flight of steps, it stood out conspicuously, a noble votive offering to the celestial divinities. If the Romans expended more care and finish on the interior of their temples than did the Greeks, the Grecian style of architecture certainly produced a finer effect exteriorly. The interior was somewhat dark, since no windows admitted the light of day, the only light that penetrated the gloom coming through the open work of the folding doors. Probably it was for the sake of relieving the darkness that in temples of greater size the roof was open in the center; thus a portion of the interior had no other covering than the blue vault of heaven. Long rows of columns were ranged from one end of the temple to the other, supporting the flat ceiling composed of blocks of stone and square slabs of marble.

The Temple of Jupiter, on the southwest eminence of the Capitol, Rome's most venerable sanctuary, was on the whole a good specimen of this style. As, however, it was first built at an epoch when Rome had not yet been brought into close contact with the Greeks, it recalled, even in its later form, the rigid Etruscan character. According to authentic tradition, King Tarquin the Elder originated the design of erecting a national sanctuary on the highest summit of the Capitoline hill. In order to clear a space for the structure great earthworks had to be undertaken, and

foundations of immense solidity to be laid, so that the building itself could not be commenced until the reign of Tarquin the Younger, surnamed the Proud. And by the time that the work approached completion that monarch had lost crown and scepter; in the third year of the Republic it was solemnly dedicated by the Consul Horatius Pulvillus. The temple stood in its original form for 413 years. In the year 83 B.C. it was burned to the ground; Sulla rebuilt it on exactly the same lines, out of religious considerations. It was again destroyed by fire both in the years 69 and 80 A.D., and was rebuilt on the first occasion by Vespasian, who raised the walls to a greater height; the second time by Titus and Domitian, on a scale of unprecedented magnificence.

The ground plan was a somewhat elongated square, 74 meters* in length, 51 meters in breadth; three rows of columns formed the portico, while one row was carried down each of the longer sides as well as the remaining shorter side. The temple, together with the surrounding court, occupied an area of 14,000 square meters. The interior was divided into what might be called three chapels. The one in the middle was sacred to Jupiter, the greatest and best of the gods, while those on the right and left were dedicated respectively to Minerva and Juno and adorned with statues of those goddesses. The temple was immensely rich in valuable and beautiful votive offerings. On the pillars, on the frieze, on the doors hung military trophies, shields, swords, armor, weapons of every kind, taken by victorious heroes from the enemy. In addition to these, a row of gilt shields glittered on the frieze, and over the entrance was Hasdrubal's gold shield, taken from the Carthaginian general in Spain, etc. Various descriptions and accounts of this temple subsequent to its rebuilding by Sulla are extant; if not of larger dimensions than the original edifice, it was incomparably richer and more resplendent. It was roofed with gilded bronze tiles; between the columns of the first row in the portico were nine bronze statues, representing the seven kings of Rome and the avenging champions of liberty, Brutus and Julius Cæsar, destined to be the progenitor of the emperors. Three bronze doors, the thresholds of which were also of bronze, gave access into the spacious temple with its three shrines; the floor, paved with bright sextile mosaics, reflected on its surface the bays of the roof. The image of Jupiter, which in the old temple was of clay, in the new one was wrought in gold and ivory; the deity, seated on his throne, held in his left hand a lance as his scepter, in his right a golden thunderbolt. And as for the votive offerings! For instance, one was a golden wreath weighing fifty pounds, the gift of the city Alabanda; another, weighing a hundred pounds, was given by King Philip of Macedon; a third, no less than two hun-

*A meter is equivalent to 39.37 inches.

Fig. 93. Exterior View of the Temple of Venus and Roma (Reconstruction)

dred and fifty-six pounds in weight, was the offering of King Attalus; also a gold image of the Goddess of Victory, three hundred and twenty pounds, presented to the Roman Senate by Hiero, King of Syracuse; besides other statues of gold representing Victory, and a group, fashioned in gold, depicting the surrender of Jugurtha to the Romans by Bocchus, and presented as a votive offering by the latter when he was declared to be an ally and

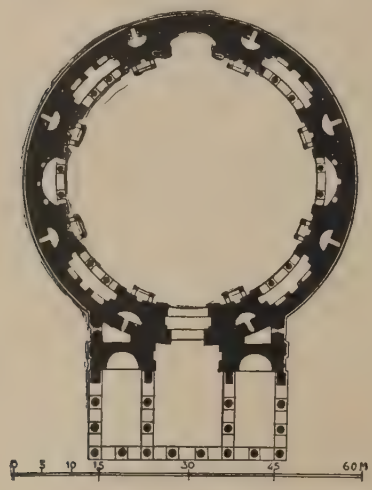



FIG. 94. GROUND PLAN OF THE PANTHEON, ROME

friend of Rome. Pompey the Great deposited in this temple the murrhine goblets, the regalia and jewels which were formerly in the treasury of Mithridates, King of Pontus, also the gold vine which the Jewish King Aristobulus sent him, the value of which was estimated at twenty-five talents (more than $26,000). The Empress Livia offered a crystal weighing fifty pounds, and her consort, the Emperor Augustus, 10,000 pounds of gold, as well as pearls and precious stones of great value. In addition to these there were many gifts of valuable works of art, statues, sculptures, paintings, etc. One would never finish were he to attempt to enumerate all that Livy, Pliny the Elder, Dionysius of Helicarnassus, Plutarch, Valerius Maximus, Cicero, and other Roman writers relate concerning the rich treasures of the temple. All this wealth required to be strictly guarded; therefore several custodians were appointed, even dogs being kept on the Capitol for its protection. In the portion of the temple sacred to Minerva a singular ceremony was observed every year on September 13th; the first Consul solemnly hammered a nail into the wall. Originally intended as an act of atonement, this custom in the far past served at the same time as an aid to chronology, as the nails indicated the number of years and marked the flight of time.

Besides the great Temple of Jupiter and a quantity of statues and sculptures, there were at least ten smaller temples of similar architectural style on the Capitol; also a great many scattered in the different quarters of the city, all on a much smaller scale than the national sanctuary, but more pleasing to the eye, and of a more correct style; of the most noteworthy of these we shall speak later on. Only a few remains of the foundations of the sacred edifices on the Capitol are now left.

One temple only of Grecian style is yet preserved in fairly good condition in modern Rome, namely, the temple of *Fortuna Virilis,* the goddess of the fortune of virile strength, now the Mater Matuta, on the banks of the Tiber. This building dates from a period of the Republic when marble was rarely employed even for temples; it consists of rectangular blocks of tufa with Ionic columns and entablatures of travertine. Four columns stand in front and seven on each side of the structure; the four columns at the back and five on each of the longer sides are only half columns resting against the wall. The frieze was originally ornamented with sculptured genii and wreaths of flowers, the cornice with acanthus leaves, lions' heads, etc., but these have almost entirely disappeared through the action of time. The temple is not a large one, the substructure measuring 20 meters in length and 12 in breadth; the proportions, however, are admirably kept. Since the time of John VIII (872-882) it has been a Christian church, consecrated to St. Mary of Egypt, under whose protection it has escaped destruction.

A singular combination of the two styles of architecture already mentioned,

the columns and architrave of the Grecian and the vaulted roof of the Etruscan style, is exhibited in Rome's noblest temple, which the Emperor Hadrian dedicated in the year 135 to the Goddess Roma and Venus the Vanquisher. The exterior was Grecian, the interior was arched after the Etruscan manner. Any one going from the Roman Forum through the Arch of Titus in the direction of the Colosseum will remark on the left side of the road a massive substructure measuring 167 meters in length, 103 meters in breadth; the material consists of a kind of concrete poured in between bricks while in a liquid state; the exterior was formerly faced with travertine. Upon this substructure, all round the edge, a pillared portico ran; this constituted the monumental enclosure of the temple itself. Huge fragments of this portico lie by the wayside, columns of gray granite more than four feet in diameter. The edifice, the exterior of which was faced with white marble, stood on a terrace rising by gradations; on the shorter sides ten, on the longer twenty, lofty columns stood. The temple consisted of two shrines under one roof; it had, therefore, two entrances, each with a porch supported by pillars. The part looking toward the Forum was sacred to Venus; in the other, looking toward the Colosseum, was the sitting statue of the Goddess Roma, represented as a young woman in full martial array. In the interior the two temples were united by the meeting of the semicircular high niches, in which the figures of the goddesses were placed. These apsides or semicircular recesses, the semicircular domes of which were formerly inlaid with lozenge-shaped gilt ornaments of stucco, still remain in part. Instead of a flat ceiling to the temple there was a lofty cylindrical vault, which must have had a very pleasing effect. The walls, lined with slabs of colored marble, were further adorned with pilasters and blind arches intended for the reception of statues. The roof was covered with gilded bronze tiles. The Emperor Hadrian, who was possessed of no mean ability in matters of art, himself drew the design for this temple, and sent it to the architect of

Fig. 95. Exterior View of the Pantheon, Rome

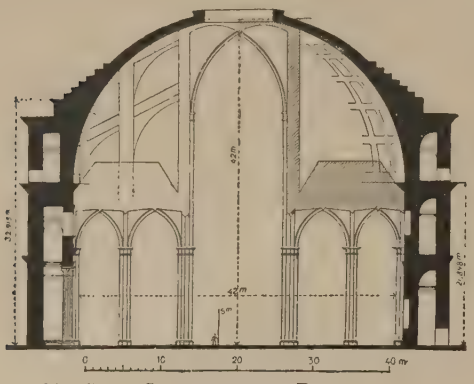


FIG. 96. CROSS SECTION OF THE PANTHEON AND THE COLOGNE CATHEDRAL

Trajan's magnificent forum, Apollodorus, who was exiled on account of his arrogance. He wrote back, Dio Cassius relates, that the temple ought to be higher, that it might be better seen from the Via Sacra; the statues of the goddesses, moreover, were too large in proportion to the niches, for if they wanted to arise and go forth they could not do so. This reply is said to have cost the architect his life.

At a later period this splendid structure was known as the *Templum Urbis,* the Temple of Rome. Every Roman married couple was obliged to present an offering at the shrine of Venus. Under Maxentius (307) the temple was partly burned down, but was rebuilt. In the reign of Theodosius it was closed, as were other temples; however, it remained in a state of perfect preservation for a long time, until the bronze tiles were in 626 removed from the roof to adorn St. Peter's Church. From that epoch the decay of the edifice began. Now nothing remains to recall its pristine splendor but the massive masonry of its ruins. Some interesting remains are to be seen in the courtyard of the church and monastery of St. Francisca, for in the eighth century two churches were partly built into the temple.

The finest specimen of the art of building circular-domed edifices, or rotundas, for which the Romans, like the Etruscans, showed a decided preference, is the Pantheon; it is also the best preserved of all the monuments of ancient Rome. At the present time it is generally spoken of as the Rotunda by the Romans, an appellation which, however, dates from the earliest centuries of the Christian era. The traces of the original inscription in bronze letters on the frieze of the portico are still to be seen: M. AGRIPPA L. F. COS. TERTIUM FECIT—*Marcus Agrippa, son of Lucius, founded this building in his third Consulate;* it was finished in the year 27 B.C. Agrippa was, as has been already stated, the friend and confidant of the Emperor Augustus, and he used his influence to promote the welfare of the capital and of the nation in general. His original design was to build a temple to Jupiter Ultor, to erect therein a statue of Augustus, and to give that emperor's name to the structure. But Augustus would not accept this twofold honor; wherefore Agrippa placed instead a statue of Julius Cæsar with the divinities of the Julian race within the precincts of the temple, and the effigy of the beloved emperor with his own in two large niches in the portico on either side of the entrance. Various derivations are given to the name of Pantheon (temple of all the gods), but according to Suidas it signifies that the building is sacred to all the gods of Olympus, and according to Dio it received that appellation because it has a dome like to the vault of heaven, the abode of the gods.

The constituent parts of this noble building are the massive circular walls, the dome above them, and the spacious portico before the entrance. The cylindrical wall is composed of cement, in which in a skilful manner a framework of arches and horizontal members is built in. The enormous weighty mass of masonry, resting upon an almost rectangular substructure of 68 to 65 meters, is only divided by three simple cornices. The lowest circle of the wall, 12½ meters high, was originally faced with marble; the second, narrower by 3 meters, and the third, somewhat lower still, were merely faced with stucco. In order to lessen to some extent the weight of the massive walls, 6 meters thick, twenty-two cavities were made in them, which, together with the help of the arches built into them, gave stability to the edifice and prevented it from subsiding. Above

the highest cornice the drum of the dome rises to the height of 2 meters, ascending in six stages, each diminishing in size, which serve to support the dome, mighty girders encompassing and holding it together, while on the top rests the semispherical circle which terminates it, and was in olden times covered with gilt tiles. From outside, the cupola is only half seen, for inside it begins to spring from the place where outside the second line of molding surrounds it.

The spacious portico, raised upon six steps, is supported by sixteen colossal pillars of gray and red Egyptian granite, forming three arched colonnades leading up to the entrance, on each side of which are the high recesses wherein the statues of Aúgustus and Agrippa stood. In the pediment above the row of columns in the portico there was once a glittering group of figures in gilded bronze. The entablature of the roof rested on blocks of bronze. Grand and beautiful though the portico is in itself, yet its straight lines are out of keeping with the rotunda, a blot on its architectural symmetry which the famous architect could not adjust nor efface. On the threshold and the lintels of African marble still remain the creaking hinges of the high bronze portals of olden time, divided by nails with ornamental heads into plain squares, with upper panels of bronze grating that admit light and air into the interior.

The proportions of the interior are extremely simple; the height from the marble pavement to the commencement of the dome is the same as the height of the dome itself, and the whole height from the ground to the eye of the dome is equal to the diameter of the rotunda. In the lowest circle of wall there are seven large recesses, alternately semicircular and rectangular; formerly the images of the gods stood in them. Between these recesses are eight *ædicula,* chapel-like erections with gables, supported by pillars, and resting against the wall; they, too, were intended for the reception of statues. The handsome architrave that runs horizontally round the building rests, where the niches occur, on beautiful Corinthian columns, the shafts of which are over 9½ meters in

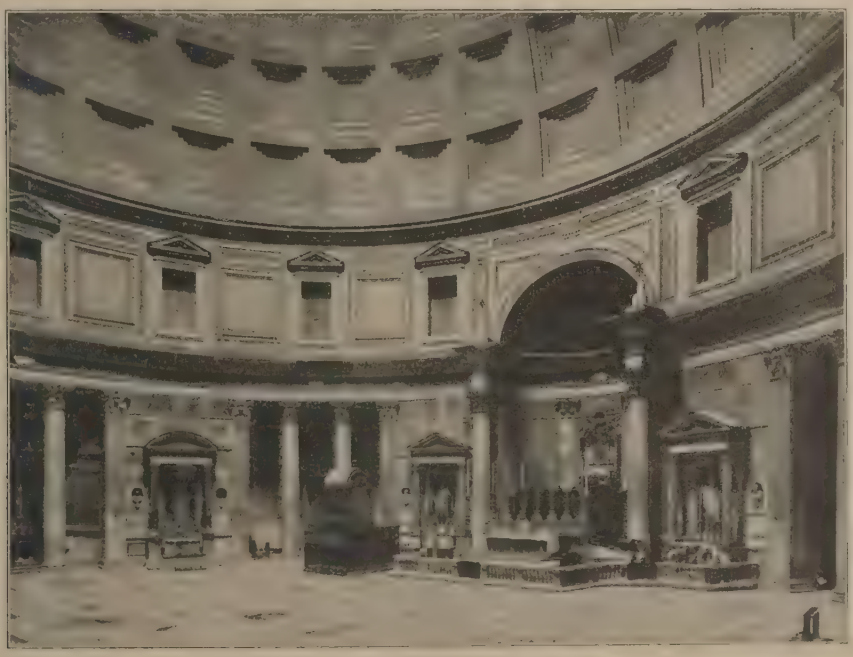


Fig. 97. Interior of the Pantheon, Rome

height; of these, eight are hewn out of rare yellow marble (*Giallo antico*); as it was not possible to carve the whole number (fourteen) out of the same costly material, the others were carved out of blocks of Phrygian marble streaked with purple (*Pavonazzetto*), but by the use of a dye made to resemble the rest so closely as to be scarcely distinguishable from them. The ring of wall above the cornice is broken by niches; it was faced with slabs of the most costly colored marbles.

The lower part of the dome is ornamented by a five-fold girdle of square recesses sunk in three stages, the lead lines of which, formerly edged with bronze, betoken the solidity and firmness of the vault's construction. The summit of the dome is not closed; a circular aperture eight meters in diameter is left, and by this alone the whole interior is lighted. The light of day streams through this aperture, illumining the whole of the vast, wondrous edifice. The same light and shade prevails throughout; the atmosphere breathes a delightful calm, a sacred repose which soothes, elevates, and refreshes. One feels on entering that it does one good to be there; one is filled with a sensation of sublime, tranquil happiness, of which those can hardly form an idea who have not experienced it, and which is not felt—not, at least, to so great an extent—in any other edifice in the world, not even beneath the spacious gilded dome of St. Peter's.

This singular light effect, united to the sublime simplicity of the symmetry and decoration, produces another favorable result, that of causing the various spaces of the interior to appear much larger, wider, more extensive than they are in reality; whereas in St. Peter's, as every one knows, the reverse is the case. The architect of the Pantheon, according to Pliny one Valerius of Ostia, thereby proves himself greatly superior in taste and in artistic skill to the later architects of the Vatican.

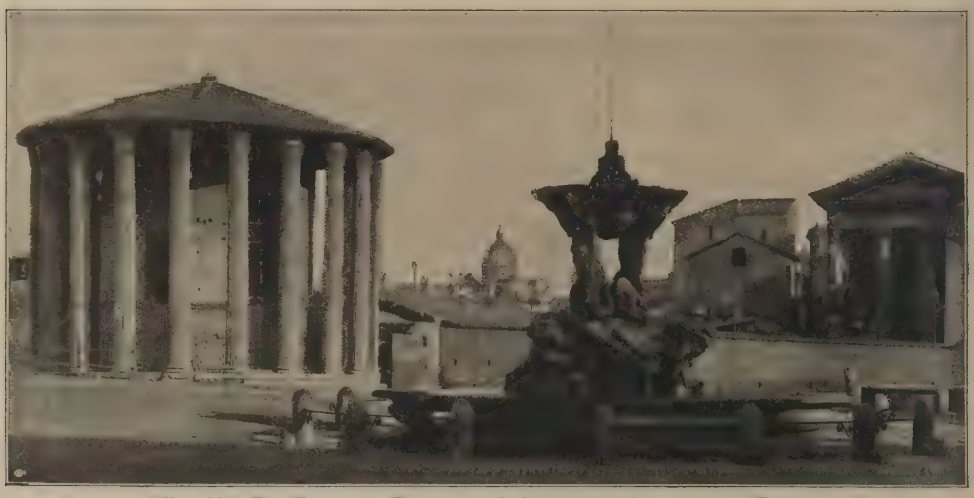


Fig. 98. The Circular Temple of S. Maria del Sole on the Tiber

Comparison with the Cathedral of Cologne may give some idea of the magnitude of the architectural achievements of the Romans. The Cathedral of the Rhineland, with its five broad aisles and the giddy height of the nave, does not interiorly surpass the Pantheon either in width or height.

The tessellated pavement, inlaid with porphyry, gray granite, and different marbles from Asia and Africa, gleams with bright and beautiful colors. Toward the center, beneath the eye of the dome, is a trough-like depression, leading to underground channels, through which is carried

off the water that falls from the aperture.

The Pantheon has experienced many adverse vicissitudes. In the year 22 B.C. it was struck by lightning, when the lance was dashed out of the hand of Augustus' statue. In Titus' reign it was damaged by fire; Domitian restored it. In 110 it was again struck by lightning; Hadrian commenced the necessary repairs, and after him Septimius Severus and Caracalla completed them. In 665 the Emperor Constans II stripped off the gilt bronze tiles; in 713 Gregory III replaced them by a lead roof, which exists to this day. Urban VIII, a member of the house of Barberini (1632), removed the bronze girders of the portico to be recast as cannon for Castle Sant' Angelo, and also for Bernini's baldachino over the tomb of St. Peter. Public opinion of this act was voiced in the pasquinade: "What the barbarians did not do, the Barberini have done." Under Alexander VIII, Bernini put up two bell towers on the *attica* over the porch; popular satire termed them Bernini's asses-ears; at a later period they were removed. Finally, in 1747, the architect Paolo Posi out of

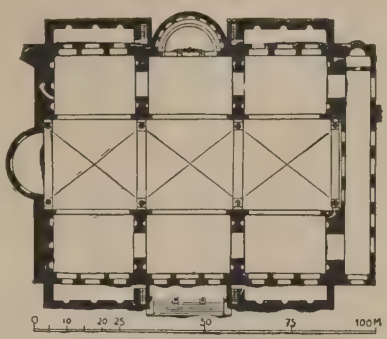



Fig. 99. Ground Plan of the Constantine Basilica

avarice took the splendid inlaid marbles from the cornice from which the cupola springs.

If the Pantheon has not crumbled into ruins, like many other no less proud and massive of Rome's edifices; if in medieval times it was not transformed into a fortress, beleaguered, stormed, altered, disfigured, or reduced to a heap of stones, it owes its preservation to the fact that it was early used as a Christian church. Pope Boniface IV, after obtaining permission to do so from the Byzantine Emperor Phocas, on May 13, 609, consecrated

Fig. 100. Remains of the Maxentian Basilica of Constantine

it to the Queen of heaven and all the martyrs, the remains of a great number of martyrs having been deposited by that Pontiff beneath the altars. Since that time the church has borne the title of St. Mary of the Martyrs. And if the interior has been robbed of many precious decorations, yet the wonderful light and shade and the architectural effects remain. The exterior is less pleasing. Almost all the ornamentation it formerly boasted has fallen off; the gilded bronze decoration of the bays has disappeared, the marble flooring has been renewed, etc. The low situation is the worst; where before six steps led up to the portico, the temple itself is now considerably below the level of the broad square before the church.

In the interior, in the third chapel on the left, Raphael Santi, one of the noblest, most successful artists, is interred. He himself made choice of that spot and gave orders that a marble statue of the Madonna should be erected over his grave. The execution of it he entrusted to his friend, Lorenzo Lotti; in addition to this he bequeathed a sum sufficient to provide for twelve Masses for the repose of his soul, to be said every month in perpetuity at the altar of the mortuary chapel he founded. The epitaph upon his tomb was composed by Cardinal Bambo. Roughly translated, it runs thus:

"To God, the all-mighty, all-bountiful!
To the memory of Raphael Santi, the son of John of Urbino,
The great painter, who emulated the artists of yore,
And in whose life-like paintings the alliance of nature and art
Is readily perceived by him who contemplates them.
By his achievements in painting and architecture
He increased the renown of Popes Julius II and Leo X.
He lived seven and thirty years, and on the same day on which he was born he ended his life,
On 6th April, 1520.
Such was Raphael; as long as he lived, Mother Nature feared
Lest he should conquer her; she feared to die when he died."

In the circular recess to the north King Victor Emmanuel (✝ 1878), the first monarch of United Italy, is interred. His son and successor, who in 1900 fell in Monza by the hand of an anarchist, was laid to rest near the principal and largest recess.

Near the Tiber, just above the mouth of the *Cloaca Maxima,* is another smaller rotunda from ancient times, an extremely pretty and picturesque ruin, of which enough is left to enable one to form an idea of its original appearance. The circular wall of this temple, scarcely 7 1/3 meters in diameter, rested on a solid substructure; around it were ranged twenty slender Corinthian pillars supporting the richly decorated entablature, above which rose the small cupola—all hewn out of dazzlingly white marble, built and knit together in perfect proportion. This monument dates from the time of the Republic, and was situated in close vicinity to the *Forum Boarium* (cattle market), where there were several temples. It is generally known as the Temple of Vesta, yet it is doubtful whether it was not rather a sanctuary dedicated to Hercules. The substructure is now partly destroyed, ten of the columns are broken down, and those left standing are more or less damaged. The elegantly sculptured foliage of the capitals is broken off, and the architrave and dome have disappeared altogether, being replaced by a wretched sort of temporary roof; yet the ruins possess an indestructible charm. Bramante had it in his eye when he drew the plan of the temple for the place where St. Peter

Fig. 101. Comparative Size of the Basilica of Constantine, the Munster of Freiburg, and the Church of St. Thomas, Berlin

was crucified on Montorio; the Roman architect of ancient times could scarcely be surpassed.

This little temple was early converted into a Christian chapel, and dedicated to St. Stephen; it now bears the title of Our Lady of the Sun. The Tiber, so runs the legend, was once seen by a noble matron to bear a chest on its waves; she had it brought onto the bank; when she opened it a bright light like a sunbeam, emanating from an image of the Madonna which it contained, shone into her eyes. The image was carried with solemn ceremony into the chapel, where it has remained ever since, and the little rotunda to this day bears the name of *Santa Maria del Sole*.

From the temples we next turn to the basilicas, because both externally and in their interior arrangements they must have greatly resembled the Grecian temples. It is impossible to give a perfectly correct idea of them, because no single basilica has been preserved intact; yet, on the other hand, the numerous ruins that still exist, the descriptions and statements left by the architect Vitruvius, and finally the Christian churches, of which we shall speak when treating of subterranean and modern Rome, afford definite and reliable information on the subject.

These great buildings served at one time as public Courts of Justice, at another for the transactions of trade and commerce. In some instances they were so large that both judicial and commercial business could be carried on at the same time. With this view, the basilicas were large halls, on all four sides supported by rows of columns, by which they were divided into a central and two, sometimes four, side aisles. Galleries or tribunes were sometimes constructed over the side aisles, in which case a second row of shorter pillars rose above the row of columns on each side of the nave. A flat or vaulted ceiling closed the basilica above, but not infrequently the nave was unroofed, like the large temples. At the end of the nave facing the entrance was a semicircular apse where the judicial court held its sessions; this was retained in the early ecclesi-

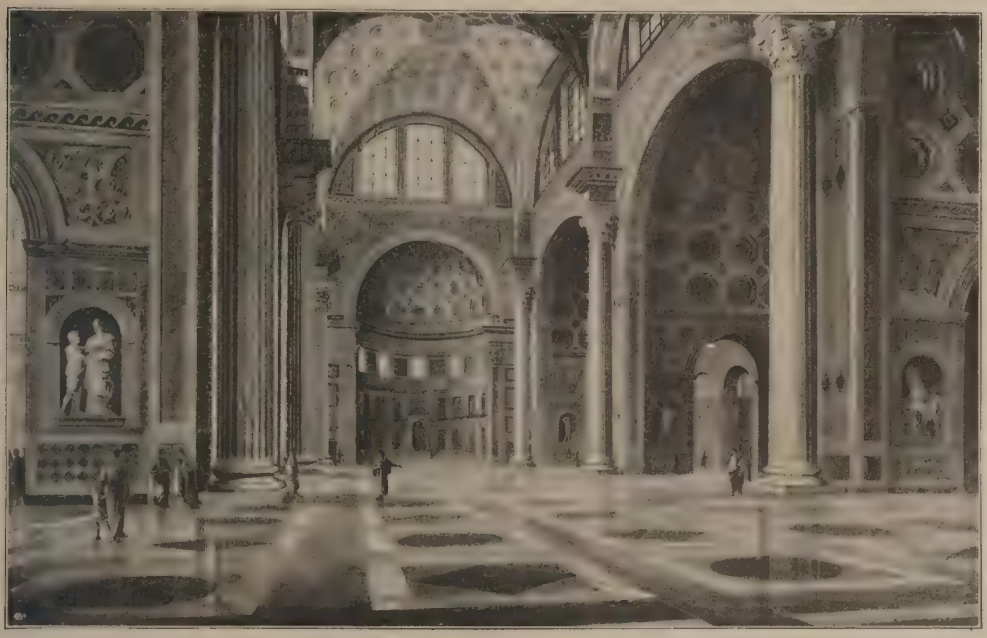


Fig. 102. Interior View of the Constantine Basilica. Reconstructed by the Archaeologist G. Gatteschi, Rome

astical architecture, though for a different use. The basilicas were always built near to or on one of the forums, those busy centers of civic life. As was already said, the first of these halls of justice and commerce was erected by Porcius Cato on the Roman Forum. Subsequently several similar ones sprang up as the need for them increased, and ten are mentioned in the registers. The Basilica Julia, built by Cæsar on the Roman Forum, the Basilica Ulpia on Trajan's great forum, and Constantine's Basilica surpassed all others in size and magnificence. Of the two former we shall speak in their proper place.

Constantine's Basilica was situated beside the Temple of Venus and Roma, looking toward the Roman Forum. This colossal structure was begun by the Emperor Maxentius, but after his defeat and death at the Milvian Bridge it was dedicated under the name of his victorious adversary and successor, Constantine the Great. The ground plan is rectangular, the sides measure respectively 96 and 74 meters. The main entrance originally was in the south side, and opened into a long portico, whence five doors gave access to the basilica. The aisles were roofed by semicircular vaulting, the central portion or nave by three groined vaults, the whole resting upon four colossal piers, before which stood stately and beautiful marble pillars. In 1614 Paul V caused these pillars to be removed and set up before the Church of Santa Maria Maggiore; a statue of the Madonna now rests upon them. The nave ends with the semicircular apse. At a later period a second entrance was added on the side nearest the Forum, and opposite it, in the middle of the aisle on the right hand, a semicircular adjunct was built on, which was richly adorned with statues and elegant columns. The spacious interior was lighted by semicircular windows. Little is known concerning the fate of this basilica, except that in 1349 it was destroyed by an earthquake. To this day, however, the three mighty arches of the right aisle remain standing, the moldings of which are richly sculptured with octagonal shields, with rosettes and lozenges; they are among the finest ruins and form a most picturesque object.[1] Constantine's Basilica is the last creation of consequence belonging to ancient Rome, and forms a noble conclusion to its architectural history. The arches that are still standing (24½ meters high, 20½ broad, 17½ deep) awaken the wonder and admiration of every one who understands architecture. The groined arches of the nave were yet higher and of a wider span, 35 meters high, 25 broad; they were the model for the span of the arches in St. Peter's. For vaulting of such bold and majestic forms displayed by the Pantheon and the basilica that has just been described the Roman builder had no pattern in the work of previous ages. Both design and execution Rome owes to her own architects, and their noble creations will remain a model to all who come after them. St. Thomas' Church in Berlin, imposed upon the cathedral of Limburg, might easily be placed beneath the vaulted roof of the side aisles. The highest point in the roof of the Freiburg Minster falls far short of the summit of the groined vault of the central aisle; and the breadth of the basilica is on so large a scale that the Cathedral of Cologne, with its nave and four aisles, with all its arches and delicate flying buttresses, might be placed within it without the most prominent projections so much as touching the outer walls of the basilica.

[1] Their mighty, grand magnitude can only be fully appreciated by one who contemplates Rome from a great distance; while other large structures sink to the common level, the arches of Constantine's Basilica stand out far above the horizon.

## 4. THE THERMÆ

THE THERMÆ, or large public baths, were temples of luxury in the widest and fullest sense of the word; no other public edifices could boast such vast proportions—not even excepting the circus and theaters or the Flavian Amphitheater—of no other were the appointments so lavish and so magnificent. Frequent use of the bath is a necessity, a condition of southern life. The Romans delighted in it at all times, but in their best days only with the object of refreshing, invigorating their bodies, rendering them lithe and supple. The plan and arrangement of every house invariably included a small bathroom. A change took place after the Punic wars, at a time when circumstances were altered, and the craving for the enjoyments of life created fresh needs. The domestic baths were fitted up on a scale of greater splendor, then public baths were opened by some enterprising individuals, who charged a small sum for their use; in the time of the Emperors the number of these public institutions multiplied at an astonishing rate. Agrippa, during his ædileship under Augustus, built no less than 170 in Rome alone; later on the records speak of 952 public baths.

Seneca depicts in glaring colors the striking contrast between ancient and modern times in a letter which he wrote from Scipio's estate: "The bathroom is, according to the old fashion, small, narrow, and dark; for our forefathers thought the bath was not warm unless the room was dark. It was really a pleasure to me to compare our own manners and customs with those of Scipio, the terror of Carthage. Thus in an obscure corner the victorious hero, whom Rome has to thank that she was conquered but once, bathed his wearied limbs after his agricultural toil, for he exerted himself in regular daily work, tilling the soil himself, after the custom of his fathers. He dwelt under this humble roof, an inexpensive plaster floor contented him. And now who would take a bath amid such surroundings? Every one considers himself poor and miserable unless his rooms are bright with large and costly metal mirrors, unless the walls are faced with Alexandrian marble and inlaid with slabs of Numidian stone, unless a frieze wrought in bright colors with as much artistic skill as a painting runs around the cornice, unless the ceiling is inlaid with colored glass, unless the bath, intended to wash the perspiration from an exhausted body, is not lined with alabaster from Thebes—a material rarely seen even in temples formerly—unless, finally, the water for the bath does not flow from silver taps. And I only speak of the baths of plebeians; enter those of freed slaves, and what a multitude of statues, of pillars you see there, pedestals on which nothing stands, but which are only there for the sake of ornament, of luxury!

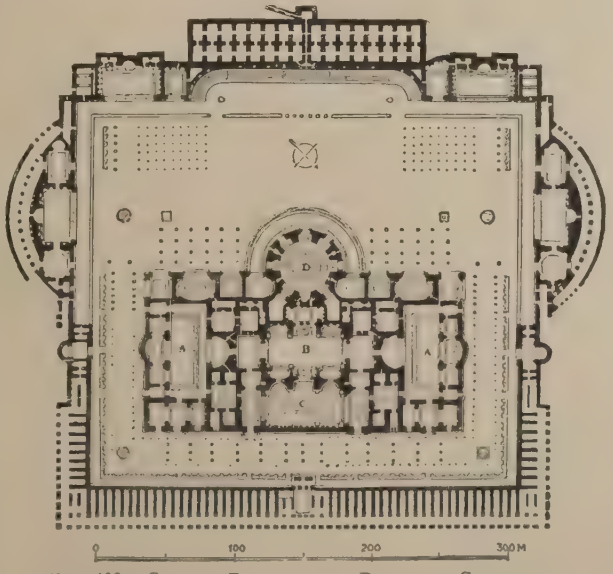



FIG. 103. GROUND PLAN OF THE BATHS OF CARACALLA

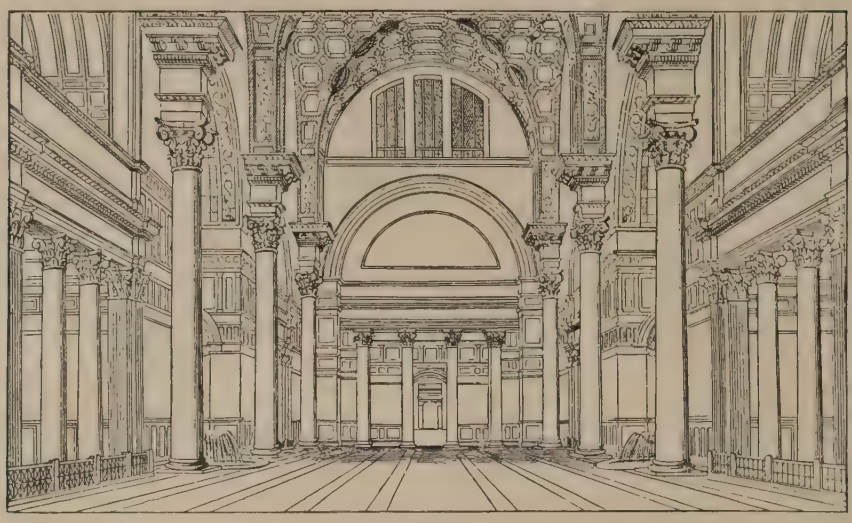


Fig. 104. Center Hall of the Baths of Caracalla. Reconstruction

What an abundance of water comes gushing over the steps! We are become so effeminate that we want always to have precious stones to walk upon. In Scipio's bath there are only tiny windows, or rather slits made in the wall, so as to admit a little light without interfering with the solidity of the building. Now a bath is said to be as dark as a dungeon if the daylight does not pour in through wide apertures, if one is not tanned by the sun whilst in the bath, if one can not, while still in the water, enjoy a view of land and sea. In past times there were only a few public baths, and those were devoid of all luxury, for what could be expected in the way of luxury when they could be had for a *quadrans* (a few cents)," and so on. What would Seneca have said could he have seen the immense thermæ of later days, since he only knew Agrippa's buildings, which were but a modest beginning in comparison with those of Caracalla and Diocletian!

The great thermæ (properly warm baths) were an institution of Imperial Rome. They were a great deal more than bathing establishments; they included immense halls and courts for athletic exercises, promenades, all manner of games and amusements, even for philosophical, poetical, and literary lectures and discourses; in short, for every sort of busy idleness and idle business, in order to offer entertainment to the man of leisure and while away some of his tedious hours. For all these purposes buildings of colossal proportions were required, and, in accordance with the spirit of the day, fitted up with extravagant luxury. None of the great Roman thermæ have been preserved in good repair; only a few halls are left uninjured; an immense heap of ruins is all that remains to us of most of them.

The ruins of the thermæ of Caracalla on the Appian Way lie scattered about, like the remains of a small town conquered by the enemy and destroyed by hostile elements; broken and shattered arches, huge halls, swimming baths, and porticos. It is fortunate that the ruins have at least been left as they were; that is, no modern edifice has been erected on them, so that it has been possible to take a plan of the building in its original shape. Experts such as the French archæologist Blouet, the English Cameron, the Italians Piranesi and Canina, applied themselves to this task with assiduity and rare judgment. It is not surprising, however, that despite the existing ruins, and the descriptions that are extant, opinions should differ as to the purpose for which the several rooms were destined and with regard to the interior fittings in general. Without entering upon these differences, we will keep to the most reliable statements, and give a general out-

line of the arrangement of the great thermæ.

The regular routine of bathing in itself required a number of rooms, for there were several different successive processes to be gone through: the vapor, or sweating bath (tepidarium), the warm-water bath (caldarium), the cold-water bath (frigidarium), and finally the process of rubbing and lubricating (unctorium), which was often repeated several times. To these were added rooms for undressing and dressing. The heating apparatus was underground, the hot air and hot water being conducted by pipes to the upper regions. The tepidarium was not actually a bath, but a room filled with hot air, which induced perspiration. The warm bath was generally taken in a tub, the cold in a large swimming bath.

After the time of the Republic another and simpler kind of bath came into fashion, principally used as an antidote to undue indulgence in the pleasures of the table, the *laconicum* or dry-vapor bath. The room in which this was taken was generally a rotunda, the domed roof having an opening in the center with a metal plate that could be opened or closed as was required to regulate the heat.

From the ground-plan of the baths of Caracalla it appears that they consisted of a large main building standing in an enclosure formed by a surrounding building. The space marked C was evidently the cold bath (frigidarium), a large uncovered basin or tank, for which an excavation was made in the ground; B was the chief apartment, a central hall of gigantic proportions, 55 meters in length by 22 in breadth, with wide recesses whence a view down the adjacent rooms, from which it was separated only by a row of columns, could be obtained. Eight colossal pillars supported the arches of this largest and most beautiful hall; the floor was paved with the most costly marbles; paintings, mosaics, statues, moldings, and arabesques in gilded stucco adorned both walls and ceiling. In the outbuildings were vases of costly porphyry into which flowed sparkling jets of water. The illustration given on page 91, after a drawing by Abel Blouet, imparts an idea of what the hall was in its original magnificence. D is a vast rotunda, in size almost rivalling the Pantheon, for it is 50 meters in diameter, and archæologists are almost unanimous in placing there the warm bath, a large swimming bath. Spartianus, in his biography of Caracalla, states that in his baths there was a hall vaulted in so skillful a manner that the

Fig. 105. Ruins of the Baths of Caracalla

builders of Constantine's time could not understand how the roof was constructed; not even did the supposition that the dome was supported by metal joists and a firm iron lattice-work suffice to solve the problem. Modern experts find an explanation in the fact that the material employed in the construction of the walls is pumice-stone, which is very light, and they justly assume that Spartianus refers to the dome-shaped roof of the rotunda. The two largest courts surrounded by a row of columns marked A were probably *sphæristeria*, places for gymnastic exercises and athletic sports. All round the principal halls and courts were rows of numberless smaller rooms for the different kinds of baths, undressing and dressing rooms, waiting-rooms, rooms for social intercourse, for wrestling matches, theatrical performances, and games of all sorts. Many halls had an upper story for the accommodation of spectators, or for other purposes; the library, picture-galleries, and museums were probably in these upper rooms. All the rooms and halls were sumptuously furnished, the floors inlaid with exquisite mosaics, which seemed an imitation of tapestry-work, or represented gladiators and wrestlers; the arches rested on columns of red and gray granite, the walls were lined with colored, principally white and yellow, slabs of marble, or faced with alabaster and porphyry. Besides the large swimming-baths the building contained 1,600 marble baths. The art treasures which have been dug out of the ruins, statues and marble groups (the famous Farnese bull, the statue of Hercules, the Farnese Flora, and a hundred other marble figures), testify to the splendor of the decorations and appointments. The finest of these works are now in the Naples Museum.

This edifice stood in an immense quadrangle. Along the front of the outer buildings, which opened on the street, and along a portion of the side wings there ran a high colonnade; adjoining it were numerous separate bathing-rooms on two stories. The foundations of the steps leading up to the upper apartments and onto the terraces are still distinguishable among the ruins. The bays built out in the form of a segment of a circle were destined for lectures, for poetical and rhetorical recitals, etc. In the center of the side forming the back of the quadrangle were the reservoirs, which were fed from an aqueduct constructed for this special purpose. The adjoining tiers of seats were for the accommodation of spectators, who looked on at the exercises or games of the wrestlers, the displays of boxing and the races in the Stadium immediately in front of them. The remainder of the court was laid out as a garden, which was brightened and refreshed by the play of fountains.

The whole enclosure was 330 meters square; the central building measured 220 meters in length and 114 in breadth. The latter was opened by Caracalla in the year 216 with pomp and ceremony; the halls and rooms of the outer structure were only begun by Heliogabalus and finished by Alexander Severus. The whole enormous edifice rests on subterranean vaults. In the sixth century the baths of Antoninus or Caracalla were still in use; after that time they are rarely mentioned. The Florentine Poggio, whom we have cited before, writing in the fifteenth century, expresses his admiration of the rows of beautiful columns and the wealth of precious materials. In the reign of Paul III (1534-1549), a member of the house of Farnese, excavations were set on foot which resulted in the discoveries described above.

The baths of Caracalla were the most magnificent, those of Diocletian the largest in Rome. The latter were very similar to those already described in these pages: in the one, as in the other, there was a central building, and all around it an extensive court with shady walls and garden paths, and an immense outer building enclosing it, with two round towers at the extreme corners of the façade and numerous bays in the shape of a semicircle or segment of a circle. Diocletian and his co-regent, Maximian, both cruel persecutors of the Church, condemned the Christians to forced labor in the mines and on the public works. The Acts of the Martyrs record that 40,000 Christians, among them SS. Cyriacus and Sisinius, rendered compul-

sory service in the building of the thermæ; they marked the cross on the stones as they laid them, bedewing them with their tears. On good authority it is stated that this gigantic structure contained 3,200 bathing-rooms; that is, twice as many as Caracalla's baths, and, according to Olympiodorus, there were as many as 1,200 marble seats for bathers in the almost limitless space of the rooms. These baths were opened in 305 or 306.

Abundant testimony to the original magnificence of these thermæ is still extant. A great number of the statues and busts recovered from the ruins are now on the Capitol or in other museums, and more than two hundred columns have been disinterred and employed for the decoration of new buildings. One of the rotunda in the northern side remained standing intact, and it was consecrated as the Church of St. Bernard; it is 22 meters in diameter and is crowned by an artistic and graceful dome.

The great hall of the central building is also preserved; it is a noble room 100 meters long, 24 wide, 29 high, roofed by three huge groined vaults. Eight splendid pillars of red oriental granite, the shafts of which measure nearly 12 meters, are still standing where the imperial architect placed them, and on them rest the highly decorated entablature, architrave, frieze, corbels, cornice, etc., all admirably sculptured in marble. The style of architecture forms in many ways a contrast to Agrippa's Pantheon; in the latter the ground-plan of the building is on a system of curved lines, in the former of straight lines; in the Pantheon light is admitted through the eye of the dome, whereas in the baths of Diocletian the light enters through windows high up in the sides; in Agrippa's masterpiece lofty height is the principal aim; in the Emperor's, vast thermæ extended in a horizontal direction; but in the one as in the other the most majestic and beautiful architectural effect is attained. The Pantheon excepted, Rome could scarcely boast any more beautiful edifice than this.

Under Pius IV (1559-1565) the great hall was transformed into the Church of Santa Maria degli Angeli (St. Mary of the Angels), after a design by Michael Angelo; unfortunately in 1749 his design was altered, and by no means advantageously.

Besides the thermæ just mentioned, others of a similar description were built by the Emperors Titus, Trajan, Max-

Fig. 106. Ruins of the Baths of Diocletian

entius, Constantine, and other monarchs. Of most of these only a few fragments still remain, with the exception of the baths of Titus, the ruins of which are still standing, and cover a wide space beside the Colosseum. The ground-plan of these thermæ seems to have been copied from those of Caracalla and Diocletian, for it consisted similarly of a central building and a vast enclosure.

## 5. THE THEATERS

THE THEATER, the Amphitheater, the Circus! No other words had so great a charm for the Romans as these, and the spell they exercised grew more and more potent the further the days of Rome's political and moral greatness receded into the past. Nothing else had so irresistible an attraction for great and small, high and low, rich and poor, as the drama, the games of the amphitheater, and of the circus. The exterior beauty of the buildings and their interior appointments, the brilliance and display, as well as the sumptuousness and license of the sports kept pace with the increasing passion for amusement. St. Augustine, who judged by that of which he was an eye-witness, denominates the plays performed in the theaters as licentious, the games of the amphitheater as senseless, those of the circus as barbarous. And yet all these sports originally formed part of public worship, and were an adjunct of almost every great religious celebration; these often lasted several days.

By nature the Roman citizen had little predilection for the theater; on the contrary, he rather felt a moral dread and dislike of it. To appear upon the stage for the purpose of amusing the spectator by acting, by graceful movements, by recital and song, seemed degrading, frivolous jugglery to the grave Roman, who had so strong a sense of his own dignity and greatness. Only slaves, freedmen, and aliens were professional actors, and their art was considered dishonorable and disgraceful. Legally, they were on a par with soldiers expelled from the army, with thieves and swindlers. Marriages contracted between actors and the descendants of a Senator down to the third degree were held to be invalid. A soldier who had anything to do with acting was punished with death. Augustus was the first who deprived public functionaries of the right to inflict summary chastisement on actors at any time or place, limiting their powers to the duration of the play. However, at a later period, first-rate actors not only amassed a large fortune, but enjoyed a high social position, associating with the highest State functionaries, being admitted to the friendship and favor of the emperors, and often even exercising a far-reaching influence in politics, which was certainly much to be regretted.

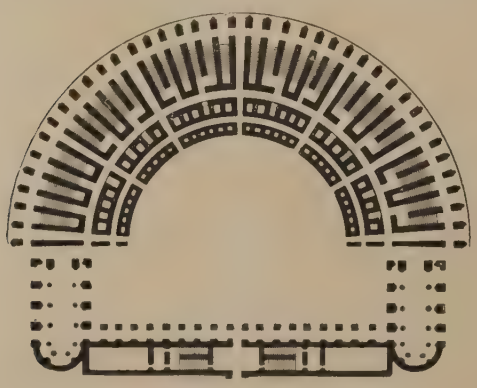


FIG. 107. GROUND PLAN OF THE THEATER OF MARCELLUS

That the building of theaters should advance slowly was the natural consequence of the primitive distaste for actors and acting. In ancient times, when some festive performance was to take place, a wooden platform was erected, and the space allotted to spectators marked out by a fence; the lookers-on, with no distinction of classes, were obliged to stand throughout the whole play, "in order," as Tacitus says, "that the people might not sit idle all day long in the theater, as they would perhaps do if seats were provided for them." A new departure was for the first

A Chariot Race. Painting by Alex. Wagner

time made in the year 194, through the influence of Scipio Africanus, the best places exactly in front of the stage being boarded off for the Senators and their families. The populace complained loudly, but in vain, at this separation of classes. Forty years later the Censors Valerius Messala and Cassius Longinus determined to build a theater provided throughout with seats. But on Cornelius Nasica's motion a decree was passed in the Senate for the demolition of the building, which was already in progress, "because it was considered unnecessary and prejudicial to public morality," and again orders were issued that spectators should remain standing during the play. Yet this command was not observed; wealthy citizens had seats brought for them by their slaves, until it became customary to put up seats at the same time that the platform for the stage was erected.

Intercourse with the Greeks led to the standard of histrionic art being raised in the Roman theater. Pompey the Great built the first permanent theater of stone, yet to accomplish this he had to resort to an artifice to avoid incurring the censure of the populace. At the top of the space allotted to spectators a temple of Venus Victrix was erected, to which the semicircular tiers of seats led up like a flight of steps. When notice was given of the dedication of the temple (55 B.C.) mention was only made in the first place of the temple; it was then added that seats for theatrical performances would be annexed.

The second stone theater was built by Augustus, in honor of his son-in-law, Marcellus; Cornelius Balbus built a third. These were the only theaters in Rome; wooden ones were, however, often erected for special festive occasions. It is recorded of Cæsar and of Augustus that they had plays performed on different stages in various districts and quarters of the city.

As may be seen from the accompanying ground-plan of the theater of Marcellus, a Roman theater was composed of two main parts, the stage itself and the square buildings behind the scenes for the actors, etc., and the semicircular space for the spectators. In order to obtain the normal plan, let an equilateral triangle be drawn within a circle, and a line traced through the center of the circle parallel with the side which forms the bottom of the triangle; these two lines, if extended somewhat beyond the outline of the circle, mark the limits of the stage, at the back of which were the dressing-rooms and other apartments; while in front was a semicircular space, called the orchestra, around which the tiers of seats for the audience

FIG. 108. A POET WITH MASKS AND MUSE. LATERAN MUSEUM

Fig. 109. The Two Lower Stories of the Theater of Marcellus

rose, one above another, in ever-widening semicircles; this portion was called the *cavea* (hollow place). The rows of seats were divided vertically by spaces or steps, ascending like the radii of a circle into wedge-shaped sections, and horizontally by wide passages into two or more stories. Above the highest row of seats was a covered corridor, which rose to the top of the theater; it was of the same height as the stage, an arrangement which, according to Vitruvius, served also for acoustic purposes, by softening the voices and rendering them more melodious. Underneath this part of the theater were elegant arched ways and flights of steps, opening outside into arcades in different stages, and leading to the several rows of seats.

The Senators and patricians occupied the seats immediately before the stage, on a level with the orchestra; seats in a place of honor were also reserved for the Vestal Virgins, and above them the fourteen lowest rows were for the Knights. The school-boys also with their masters had a special place allotted them; the uppermost seats were for the general public, the women being separated from the men. Every one of the theater-goers received a check gratis, on which was marked the division and row of seats where he was to take his place, and thither on his entrance the Designator or Overseer conducted or directed him. By command of the Emperor Augustus the seats were strictly divided in order that there might be less difficulty in maintaining order among the spectators. Even in Nero's time the envoys of a German tribe, when in Rome, expressed their admiration of the manner in which the regulations concerning rank and the division of classes were enforced in Pompey's theater. On observing some foreigners in their national costume sitting among the Senators, and being told that those persons were thus honored because they were the envoys of certain nations which had distinguished themselves by their valor and their devotion to the Romans, immediately they went down and seated themselves also among the Senators, declaring that no people on earth excelled the Germans in military ardor and in fidelity. The spectators applauded this act, regarding it as a natural display of admirable straightforwardness and laudable envy.

The stage, which was twice as long as the diameter of the orchestra, was not raised more than two meters above it, and was in the form of an oblong. The front wall of the buildings behind it was ornamented richly with groups of pillars, which on the occasion of gala performances often presented a most brilliant appearance; Catulus overlaid them with ivory, Antonius, Murena, and others with plates of silver, Petreius with gold. Mention has already been made of the theater Scaurus erected. All this was naturally not done in the interests of histrionic art, but to attract public attention, and for the purpose of purchasing the votes of a venal populace at the political elections.

Other theaters besides that of Pompey had wide porticos and arcades adjoining

them, to provide shelter for the audience should a storm suddenly come up. Love of ease and the desire for popularity had suggested other means of protection from slight showers of rain and the scorching rays of the sun. Lentulus Spinther was the first who caused an immense awning of fine linen, supported by gigantic poles, to be stretched over the space occupied by the spectators. Cæsar employed for this purpose a silken material worth its weight in gold. Nero had a purple awning made, studded with gold stars and embroidered with his own portrait as Phœbus driving the chariot of the sun. In order to cool the air and refresh the audience Pompey caused pipes which emitted a fine spray to be laid along the rows of seats; it was nothing extraordinary to have perfumes sprinkled on the audience. Fragrant flowers, especially pungent-smelling saffron, were also strewn in the theaters. Well might Livy, alluding to such luxurious customs, say that the drama, sensible enough at the outset, had degenerated into a foolish, wasteful extravagance, almost too great for the resources of a great empire.

Pompey's theater had seats for 40,000 spectators, that of Balbus for 30,000, and the one called after Marcellus for 20,000. Only a few fragments of the two first remain, but a portion of the exterior of the last is in a better state of preservation. It is situated in the Piazza Montanara, and contributes to its peculiar aspect. The theater was originally built in the best and purest taste in three stories with open arcades. The first story had Doric pilasters and entablature, the second story was in Ionic style, the third in Corinthian. The remains of the structure give little idea of its pristine beauty. The ground story is half buried in rubbish; of the two lowest stories twelve arcades are still standing and show what they were in their early form, although some portions have fallen away. All the remainder is spoiled by being built round with unsightly modern excrescences; the arches are bricked up or disfigured by modern windows. Down below various trades are carried on; sooty chimneys belch forth thick smoke between the beauteous arches and pillars of travertine stone. The third story is broken down, and replaced by the walls of a modern palatial mansion. In the Middle Ages this theater was used as a stronghold, the stage and tiers of seats being removed; for a long time it was in the possession of the Savelli; since 1712 it has belonged to the Orsini.

Any one who could rebuild in imagination one of these splendid theaters, and conjure it up before his mental vision as it appeared on a festive occasion, would indeed behold a wondrous sight. On the ground floor in a half-circle round the raised chair of the Prætor or the gold throne of the Emperor the proud Senators are seated, while above them, up to the crowning colonnade, in ever-lengthening tiers of seats, are the citizens of Rome—the masters of a world-wide empire—all wearing the national dress, the white toga, a striking testimony to republican equality and political fellowship; only the highest state functionaries and boys having a purple stripe as a distinction on their white robes. For slaves in their dirty habiliments there was of course no place in the theater, and, in accordance with Augustus' decree, the darkly dressed commoner plebeians were relegated to the uppermost galleries, so that in the semicircle of the

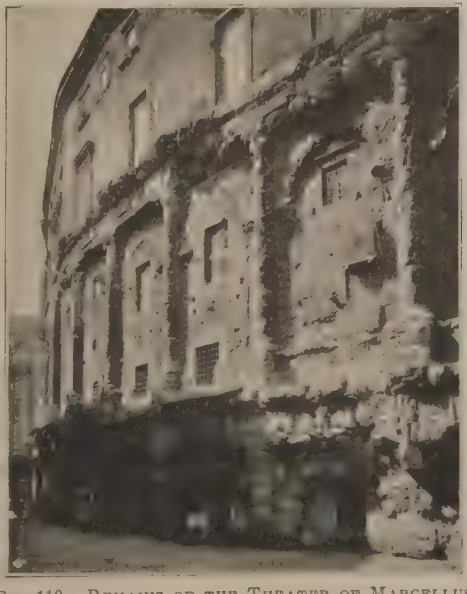


Fig. 110. Remains of the Theater of Marcellus

theater only white togas were seen. Taken in the mass, the Roman people did not by any means go to the theater to witness the performance of a noble and real work of art; the great majority, nay, more, almost all the multitude of spectators, only went by way of pastime and amusement, as was proved by the unrest and noise among the audience, which Horace compares to the rustling of the wind among the trees of the forest or the roar of the ocean waves.

Fig 111. Actors on the Stage. Mosaic in the National Museum, Naples

Moreover, political opinions and party spirit were manifested openly in the theater. On the entrance of one who was a favorite with the people the applause and clapping of hands knew no bounds; these noisy expressions of popular favor were, as Cicero informs us, purchased and paid for by ambitious magnates. Now, on the other hand, when any one made his appearance who was in no wise a *persona grata*, he must be prepared to be greeted with an unequivocal demonstration of dislike, with hisses and groans. Theatrical annals record many such happenings. In respect to the actors the audience was still less reticent. If any one failed to please, if so much as a false quantity escaped his lips, he was punished by hisses and interruptions, or if it came to the worst he was compelled to quit the stage; moreover, the delinquent had to undergo corporal chastisement at the hands of the stage-manager. If the spectators sat quietly throughout the whole play, it was evident that they approved both of the drama and the acting. The awards bestowed on successful actors depended on the greater or less applause of the audience; they often consisted in an extraordinarily large sum of money, costly garments, palm branches, or even a wreath of gold. The gold leaves of these wreaths were indeed, as the poet Martial declares, often as flimsy as cobwebs or soap-bubbles, and sometimes on closer inspection the gold wreath proved to be copper, colored with ox-gall. At the inauguration of the new Theater of Marcellus, the otherwise parsimonious Emperor Vespasian gave no actor less than sixteen hundred dollars, and to the tragic actor Apollinaris he donated the sum of sixteen thousand dollars. If a play was not liked, not infrequently the whole house would stand up in the middle of the performance and demand a bear-baiting or boxing-match as an interlude. The poet Terence had to experience such an interruption twice because the public were disappointed at the non-appearance of the rope-dancers and pugilists whom they expected to see. The greater number of the audience were always spectators in the literal sense of the word; they did not come to *hear* so much as to *see* something new and out of the common, and only too often their taste was studied. "For the space of four hours and more," Horace says, "the curtain was raised, and during that time squadrons of cavalry and columns of infantry sped across the stage, then unlucky kings were dragged on, their hands tied behind their back, war chariots ran to and fro, gala equipages, vans and ships, ivory tusks, spoils taken from the conquered, works of art, booty taken from Corinth,

were brought upon the scene." When Pompey's theater was opened 600 mules were driven onto the stage and mock battles were fought by hosts of foot-soldiers and horsemen. In order to make themselves heard amid the noise and tumult of the pageant, the actors had often to shout as if they were speaking to the deaf.

One source of great disturbances and angry rioting was the partiality of the public for individual actors. In one of the brawls thus occasioned in the reign of Tiberius several persons lost their lives. Under Nero such plays were of yet more frequent occurrence because the Emperor openly encouraged them by his presence, and also because he dismissed the soldiers whose duty it was to keep order in the theater. At last matters went so far that some of the actors had to be banished from the theater and the military guard returned to their post. Other abuses, from which the drama of the present day is not exempt, prevailed to a great extent in Rome. For instance the *claqueurs,* persons hired to applaud, were already known then, and overseers were appointed whose special duty was to discover those hirelings. Nero, who is known to have appeared himself upon the boards, had a band of 5,000 men in his pay; their leader drew a salary of $1,600.

Pantomimes were the best liked of all the theatrical performances, their subjects being taken generally from the legendary tales wherewith the people were for the most part familiar. While a singer or the chorus sang to a musical accompaniment, the actor told the tale in dumb show by rhythmical dance, action, and gestures. His task was certainly no easy one, for he had to act most opposite parts, as the characters changed in quick succession. Lucian relates that in Nero's reign a prince of Pontus once witnessed a performance of this kind, and although he did not understand a word of the songs he perfectly comprehended what the action of the pantomime-player was intended to express. When he went to pay his respects to the Emperor before taking his departure, Nero desired him to ask some favor of him. "Nothing you could bestow on me," the prince replied, "would give me so much pleasure as if you gave me that pantomime actor." "What use would he be to you in your country?" Nero inquired. The prince answered: "We have savage nations for our neighbors who do not understand our language, and it is difficult to find an interpreter. Now when I am obliged to have intercourse with them, this man could make them understand all I wished to say by his gestures." Many similar instances of the use of dumb show are recorded. In the time of the Emperors these sports almost monopolized the stage of the Roman theaters and contributed greatly to promote the effeminacy and the demoralization of the populace.

Fig. 112. The Boxers. Relief in the Lateran Museum

## 6. THE AMPHITHEATERS

THE first amphitheater, or double theater, was built in the year 53 B.C. by Caius Scribonius Curio, a scapegrace of good family. The manner in which it originated will best explain its nature and arrangement.

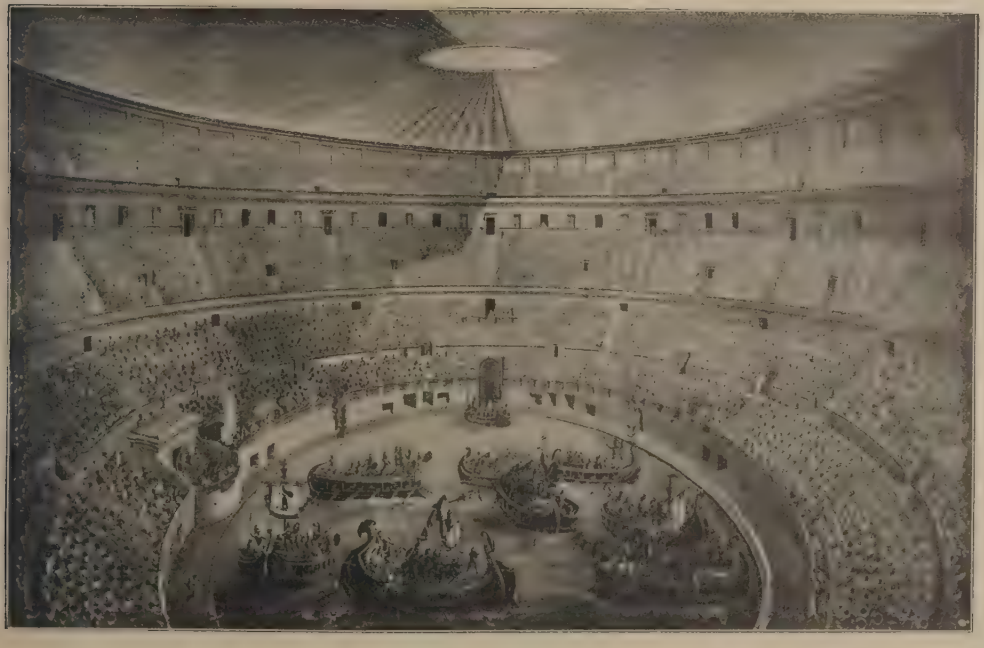
"Caius Curio" (so says Pliny the Elder) "caused two very large wooden theaters to be erected side by side, each of which was suspended and its equilibrium preserved by movable sockets, and made to turn on a pivot. In the forenoon he had plays acted in them, and it was for this reason that the theaters were separate, that the actors might not disturb one another while speaking. Afterwards the theaters were suddenly turned, so that the front sides or diameters touched; and, when towards evening the wooden walls and planks forming the stage were removed, the ends of the rows of seats in both buildings met, making an amphitheater or double theater, in which gladiatorial combats were given." Thus the amphitheater is nothing but the junction of two semicircular theaters, so combined that, the stages being of course removed, there remained in the center an empty circular space which was strewn with sand, whence it acquired the name of *arena*. This new mode of construction is essentially Roman, and since all Romans were passionately fond of pugilistic fights, in course of time provincial cities, such as Capua, Pompeii, Verona, and others, in imitation of the capital, procured for themselves the luxury of an amphitheater at an immense expense. The circular buildings for bullfights in every big Spanish town seem to bear a striking resemblance to the amphitheaters.

Curio's building was erected on purpose for the games on the occasion of his father's obsequies, and afterwards pulled down. Julius Cæsar built a second amphitheater for festive sports at the inauguration of his new forum; this was also made of wood, and was taken down when the sports were over. In Augustus' reign his friend Statilius Taurus undertook the erection of a new double theater which was partly, if not entirely, built of stone; it was destroyed during the great conflagration in Nero's reign. Another, begun by Caligula, was never finished. In its place the Flavian emperors built an amphitheater which was in every respect of such great size and stability that subsequently to its erection no Roman ever thought of providing another similar edifice for the gratification of a sport-loving people.

Upon the conclusion of the war in Judea and the destruction of Jerusalem, Emperor Vespasian began the erection of the gigantic edifice on the low-lying land between the Palatine and Coelian hills and on the height of Velia, leading to the Roman Forum. On that spot there was previously an artificial lake, which was included in the almost limitless grounds of Nero's Golden House. In the year 80, not long before his death, Titus opened the theater, although it was not quite finished at that time. After its founders, it was called the Flavian Amphitheater, but on account of its vast area, or from a colossal statue of Nero which stood on the Velia before it, it received the name it now bears —the Colosseum.

The exterior of the Colosseum, built entirely of travertine, consists of four high stories, and is in the form of an ellipse. In the circumference of the three lowest floors there are eighty open arches; on the ground floor there are the same number of portals or entrances, over each of which is a number in Roman figures carved in stone, that can still be seen. A number corresponding with that of one of those entrances was on the check handed to each person who desired a place in the theater. Four only of the

arches are without a number; these were the principal entrances, one at each of the four ends of the axes of the ellipse; the processional entry of the gladiators. The outer walls were sparsely ornamented, in order to give dignity and sim-



FIGS. 113, 114. THE COLOSSEUM: EXTERIOR AND INTERIOR, WITH NAVAL BATTLE. RECONSTRUCTION BY C. NISPI-LANDI, ROME

the two at the shorter axes were for the Emperor and his suite, the two others for

plicity to the edifice, and not to lessen the effect of its colossal dimensions. Be-

tween the arches on the ground floor are Doric columns, on the first story Ionic, on the next Corinthian; the height of these columns corresponds to the weight of the building, decreasing as it rises. The uppermost story is decorated with flat pilasters in slight relief, and small rectangular windows, above which corbels or brackets projected, supporting the long poles to which marines fastened a vast awning, spreading it over the part occupied by the audience to shade them from the sun's rays. In the arched openings in the second and third stories were statues of bronze and marble, as we learn from ancient coins; on the *relievo* of a sepulchral monument, now in the Lateran museum, the second arcade is ornamented with statues, the third with gigantic eagles, and over the grand entrances a team of four horses was sculptured. Shields of glittering bronze were placed between the pilasters of the uppermost story.

In the center of the building was the arena, a wide, open, elliptical space, around which rose the tiers of seats, resting on a solid substructure and three inner rings of masonry built into the massive outer wall; between these two high corridors ran round the building, in the arched openings of which steps led up to the giddy height of the uppermost seats. The Colosseum could seat 87,000 spectators, and its staircases, galleries, and entrances are so admirably planned that this crowd of sightseers must have found their places and filed out when the show was finished with little delay or difficulty. All round the arena there was a high parapet to afford protection against the wild beasts; upon this was a balcony (podium) for the Emperor and the court, the senators, the different grades of priests, the vestal virgins, foreign ambassadors, and distinguished guests. The uppermost circles form externally three mighty horizontal girdles, separated from

Fig. 115. Interior of the Colosseum

Fig. 116. Pilgrims in the Colosseum

one another by vertical ascending parapets. In the lowest section the Knights (*equites*) and their families had seats; in the next, above, the citizens—all wearing the white toga; the third section, separated from the second by a wide stretch of wall, and rising more steeply, was for the populace. Corresponding to the fourth exterior uppermost story, a covered colonnade ran all round, and there women and the lowest class of people found room. The steps were faced with marble, and the partitions separating the tiers were probably inlaid with mosaics of colored glass. The arena, principally intended for wild-beast fights and gladiatorial combats, could be filled with water for sham sea-fights.

The measurements of this gigantic structure were as follows: The height of the exterior wall was 48½ meters; the axes respectively 156 and 188, the circumference 524; the arches measured 4.20 in width; in the lowest story they were 7, in the third only 6.40 in height.

In the reign of the Emperor Macrinus the amphitheater was greatly injured by lightning, the uppermost gallery being set on fire and other damage caused. The building was repaired by Heliogabalus and Alexander Severus. Then in 442 it suffered from the terrible earthquake of that year.

When Charlemagne was in Rome the Colosseum was still intact; at that time it is first mentioned under its present name. Venerable Bede states that there was a prophecy current of this import: As long as the Colosseum stands, Rome shall stand; if the Colosseum falls, Rome shall fall; and if Rome falls, the world will fall. In the eleventh century the amphitheater passed into the possession of the Frangipani and was used as a stronghold; afterwards it belonged to the Anibaldi. In the year 1332 a bullfight was held in it, wherein eighteen noble youths lost their lives. In Rome's most troublous times it was used as a quarry and by the end of the fourteenth century a considerable portion of the outer wall had been carried away. Three of Rome's finest palaces were subsequently built with its stones, the Palazzo di Venezia, the Cancellaria, and the Palazzo Farnese. Part of the ruin was converted into a hospital. In the fifteenth century a stage was erected on the parapet, upon which Passion plays were acted up to the seventeenth century. Benedict XIV protected the Colosseum from further injury by dedicating it to religious purposes; the mar-

tyrs whose blood had stained the ground whereon it stood seemed to demand this. The fourteen stations were erected round the elliptical arena, and in the center a simple cross was set up. But the antiquarians commissioned by the Italian Government to make excavations in the arena removed the Way of the Cross; few things caused more bitter grief to Pius IX than this did.

In 1805 the exterior wall on the east side was in danger of falling; to avert this calamity Pius VII had a buttress built which itself called for admiration. Leo XII did the same for the west side, and Pius IX partially restored the staircase. In fact, so much was done in the past century for the restoration of this monument that archeologists are inclined to complain that too much care has been bestowed upon it.

The Colosseum is now a ruin, but in spite of its having been used as a stronghold and served as a stone quarry for centuries it is still one of the grandest, most magnificent monuments of Rome. In the interior the tiers of seats are broken and demolished; before the fourteenth century they had already disappeared. Of the eighty arches in the exterior wall forty-seven are gone, in the second circle forty-four arches are wanting, the third row is still almost entire. In former times the ruins were clothed with an abundant, even a rare and remarkable growth of plants; these the Italian antiquarians, commissioned by royalty, tore away in the pursuit of their researches, thereby loosening many a stone and, as experts assert, injuring the structure. Travelers who saw Rome before 1870, lovers of moss-grown stones, which tell of Nature's unchecked action and mark the lapse of time, would, did they now revisit the Eternal City, find only bare walls, the abode of jackdaws, stripped of a great part of their former charm.

What did ancient Rome go forth to see in the Colosseum? What led thither that countless multitude which filled the 87,000 seats, from the imperial retinue, the senators, the virginal priestesses of Vesta, up to the matrons and maidens and the poorest of the people who crowded the galleries above? It must indeed have been no ordinary spectacle to behold the people of Rome filling those endless tiers of seats which widened as they neared the lofty height of the amphitheater; the representatives and rulers of a world-empire with the purple ensigns of their dignity down below; above them the citizens of mighty Rome, the immortal city, all arrayed in the white toga, the garment peculiar to their nation. What attracts this vast assembly, why do they flock to this huge amphitheater? That they may gloat over the sufferings of sentient creatures, whether man or beast matters not; that they may be satiated with the spectacle of the last agonies of the vanquished in the arena. The primary use of the Colosseum was to afford space for wild-beast fights and the combats of gladiators. In order to form a correct conception of those sanguinary sports, be it observed that they originally bore a religious character, as they were an accompaniment of the festivities of the gods and of funeral rites; at a later period they entirely lost their sacred nature, and the games were an indispensable adjunct to every sort of festivity.

Notice of the performances was often given by posters long before the time appointed for them. Announcements of this description were found posted up on the walls of Pompeii, *e. g.*: "Aulus Suettius Certus' company of gladiators will perform in Pompeii on the 31st May, with wild-beast fights and an awning." The last clause refers to the stretching of an awning over the amphitheater as a protection from the hot rays of the sun and from showers of rain. Sometimes mention is made of the diffusion of perfumed and cooling spray, of the number of couples of gladiators, etc. Besides these posters, a programme of the performances was generally published, sold in the streets and sent into the provinces, all the information that could be desired being given concerning the games, the

bear-baiting, the names of the gladiators, and the number that were to appear.

The first wild-beast fight in Rome was given by Fulvius Nobilior, the conqueror of Ætolia, in the year 186 B.C. Before the Colosseum was built the games usually took place in the Circus. Sometimes the animals were only exhibited, at other times they were chased and killed. As the provinces increased in number and extent, rarer animals, some of which were scarcely known by name, were brought into the arena. At the first wild-beast fight lions and panthers were the combatants; in 169 B.C. leopards and ostriches, together with deer from the Italian hunting-grounds; roebucks, hares, stags, boars, bears, buffaloes; in the year 99 elephants also came on the scene. In 58 Scaurus exhibited monsters from the waters of the Nile, crocodiles and hippopotami; three years later Pompey brought a rhinoceros, a fox, and rare African apes; in 46 Cæsar brought giraffes, and in the year 11 tigers were exhibited for the first time. The number of the animals that appeared in the arena on the occasion of one single game sounds almost fabulous. At the inauguration of his theater Pompey caused eighteen elephants, 500 or 600 lions, 410 other animals of different kinds from Africa to be brought over; Cæsar had 400 lions and 40 elephants displayed. Under some of the later emperors as many as 300 lions and some 500 bears were to be seen in the arena during the course of only one game; the number of animals of a commoner sort was of course larger. The Emperor Augustus boasts in his records that in his own name and those of his sons and grandsons he gave the people six and twenty wild-beast fights, whereat about 3,500 African beasts were slain.

Among the splendid entertainments which Titus provided for the people, and which lasted for a hundred days on the occasion of the opening of the Colosseum, 5,000 wild beasts were exhibited on one day; altogether 9,000 tame and wild beasts were baited to death, even women going into the arena; cranes fought with

Fig. 117. Stairs in the Colosseum

one another, also four elephants, etc. At the four monthly sports instituted by Trajan at the time of the second Dacian triumph, 11,000 animals lost their lives in the amphitheater. On his birthday Hadrian gave sports in which 1,000 animals were baited; 100 lions and lionesses were hunted. The brutal Emperor Commodus, who, even when raised to the throne, continued to play the part of pugilist and bear-baiter, once from the balustrade before his seat shot down 100 bears, and afterwards, in the lists, slew a tiger, a hippopotamus, and an elephant; another time five hippopotami, a giraffe, and more than one rhinoceros; he shot ostriches with crescent-shaped arrows. Emperor Gordian kept the following collection of animals in his cages: 32 elephants, 10 elks, 10 tigers, 60 tame lions, 30 tame leopards, 10 hyenas, 1 rhinoceros, 1 hippopotamus, 10 giraffes, 20 wild asses, 40 wild horses, besides countless other animals. The whole stock was used in the sports given by Emperor Philip at the celebration of the millenary of Rome's existence. Under Probus

thousands of deer, wild boars, etc., were baited to death.

Throughout the whole of every year thousands of huntsmen were employed at the farthest boundaries of the Empire in capturing wild beasts for the sanguinary sports of the amphitheater. The captured animals then were conveyed in huge cages by land or by water to Rome and to provincial towns. In Rome they were either placed in the imperial zoological gardens, or given over to merchants who traded in wild animals.

The animals often appeared in the arena dressed up in the most extraordinary fashion and in the strangest combinations. They were decorated with ribbons and gay bows or painted in gaudy colors. The works of ancient writers speak of lions with gilded manes, of oxen painted white, of sheep dyed purple, of ostriches colored with vermilion. The performances generally began with harmless sports of trained animals. In this respect the tamers of animals in Rome seem to have achieved wonders. At the spectacles in Domitian's time, as Martial asserts, lions were seen hunting timid hares. They seized their prey and held it carefully between their teeth without killing the tender captives. Boys and girls danced on the backs of wild oxen, stags submitted with all docility to the bridle, panthers bore the yoke. The feats performed by elephants have become proverbial; one of them beat a kettledrum to the sound of which the others danced; they traced Latin letters in the sand; twelve elephants seated themselves in couples at a table and there took their repast. Pliny gravely states that when several of these pachyderms were being trained, one of them, who learned more slowly than the others, was observed practising his lesson at night.

Wild-beast fights alternated with the performances of tamed animals. Elephants or rhinoceroses were opposed to bulls or bears; tigers were made to face lions. Whips, spears, lances, and firebrands were employed to irritate and provoke the animals; not until they attacked

Fig. 118. Christian Martyrs in the Arena
Drawing by A. Rothaug.

one another with frantic fury did the unbridled joy and delight of the spectators burst forth. And when the combatants had lacerated and mangled one another, the keepers put them to death in wholesale fashion from a safe distance. But this was not enough to satisfy the unnatural, inhuman tastes of the audience: the matadors had to go into the arena. A new interest excited afresh the sated public when the life of a fellow-man was at stake, as was often the case in fighting with lions and tigers. Pictorial representations of such scenes prove that indisputably. The sports assumed a still more barbarous character when criminals, condemned convicts, unhappy prisoners, or innocent Christians for their faith's sake were sentenced to become the prey of wild beasts, *"ad leones."* Scores of these unfortunates were led into the arena and bound fast to posts that they might be torn to pieces by the animals, or else blunt, useless weapons were put into their hands to ward off and combat their fierce foes, not with any idea of furnishing them with means of defense, but only to prolong their torture and martyrdom. These horrible executions often assumed a very dramatic nature. At the sports under the Emperor Severus the arena at the Colosseum was sometimes given the shape of a ship, which suddenly fell to pieces and let loose a crowd of wild beasts: lions, bears, panthers, bisons, ostriches tumbled out all together and tore one another to pieces or were killed. In the course of one famous burlesque a robber fastened to the cross was carried on to the scene, to be devoured by wild beasts. But what was a farce in the play was stern reality in the Colosseum. Martial relates how "a hapless victim was nailed to the cross and his flesh torn by a fierce bear; the lacerated limbs quivered, the blood flowed copiously, the mangled body lost all semblance of humanity." Another time an unfortunate individual had to act the part of Mucius Scaevola, and allow his hand to be slowly charred away in the fire. This cruel sport with men's lives was followed by gladiatorial

Fig. 119. A Net Fighter. By G. Gonde. Gallery of Modern Art, Rome

combats. The baiting of wild beasts generally filled the forenoon; in the afternoon a more barbarous exhibition was prepared for the gratification of the people: the gladiatorial combats.

These prize-fights, mortal conflicts waged with deadly weapons in either single hand-to-hand fighting or by whole companies, butchery made into a handicraft, learned and practised as an art, bloody scenes enacted to "make a Roman holiday," are the darkest blot in the history of the great Roman people. There were two kinds of gladiators or prize-fighters, those who entered the arena voluntarily and those who were forced into it; the latter were prisoners of war, disobedient slaves, and condemned criminals. It is an inconceivable barbarity to withdraw a delinquent from the arm of the law in order that he may fight for the life he has already forfeited, but it is yet more atrocious cruelty to thrust into the arena prisoners taken captive in honorable war-

fare, hapless slaves, guiltless Christians —a great number of whom dyed the ground with their life-blood—to condemn them, to force them to adopt so shameful a trade. But a yet lower depth of moral depravity opens to our view when we perceive some entering the ranks of gladiators voluntarily and taking an oath "to allow themselves to be beaten with rods, burned by fire, slain with the sword." Of a truth these men were as a rule the dregs of the people, yet this gruesome profession of arms had in itself a strange attraction for a sort of coarse bravery. The victor was rewarded, and could indulge the hope of obtaining by some good fortune freedom and comparative wealth. Emperor Tiberius paid the sum of $4,000 to gladiators who had served out their time or were disabled. The splendid weapons, gold-embroidered garments, the palms and decorating bestowed on the conqueror were also not without weight as additional incentive. The heroes of the arena won the admiration of the highest classes. Emperors, such as Titus and Hadrian, were adepts in the art of fencing; Commodus himself, as before stated, actually entered the lists in public, and even noble ladies practised cut and thrust with foils, or lavished favors on successful combatants; poets sang their exploits, sculptors immortalized them in marble for the decoration of sumptuous mansions and sepulchral monuments, artists depicted them in mosaics, or painted them on lamps, vases, and signet rings. Thus gladiatorism, though branded as an ignoble art, became at one period of Rome's decline a very passion amongst the people. As more and more gladiators were required throughout the year, trading in them and teaching and training them became a weighty business. The Emperors naturally had their own schools; Domitian built four in the vicinity of the Colosseum; in fact, there were imperial fencing-schools in Capua, Praeneste, and in almost all provinces of the Empire. These establishments were big, barrack-like buildings, where the gladiators were kept in strict discipline, and trained by severe and constant exercise. Their physical well-being was carefully looked after, for, as Seneca remarks, "they must be well fed, as they will have to shed their blood profusely." Roman writers make many allusions to the horrors of the gladiatorial barracks, but the mind turns from them with abhorrence. The number of the imperial gladiators in Rome—apart from the other schools—may be estimated by the following data: Nero at his death left 2,000 gladiators, Gordian III the same number, all of which the Emperor Philip caused to appear at the festival commemorative of the foundation of Rome; 1,200 took part in Emperor Gallienus' festive procession, 1,600 in Aurelian's triumph. On extraordinary occasions the numbers could easily be raised to several thousands by reinforcements from other schools.

The first gladiatorial combat took place in Rome in the year 264 B.C., when two brothers caused three couples to perform at their father's obsequies; in 216 twenty-two held a combat as part of the rites of a funeral, twenty-five in the year 200; in 173 sixty couples were engaged. Cæsar caused 320 couples to appear at the sports. Augustus decreed that at the public games the number of gladiators was not to exceed 120; at private exhibitions it seems that it was nothing extraordinary for a hundred couples to perform. By his own account Augustus caused no less than 10,000 men to enter the lists during his reign, and an equal number performed at the grand triumphal festivities under Trajan. Gordian during his ædileship treated the populace to gladiatorial games every month; in the course of the year about 5,000 men performed at his expense.

The spectacle, or rather the butchery, began thus. When they first entered the arena in full gala dress the gladiators walked round the place with pomp and solemnity. On one of these occasions, pausing before the seat of the Emperor Claudius, the gladiators addressed him thus: *"Ave Cæsar, morituri te salutamus!* Hail, Cæsar, we who are about to

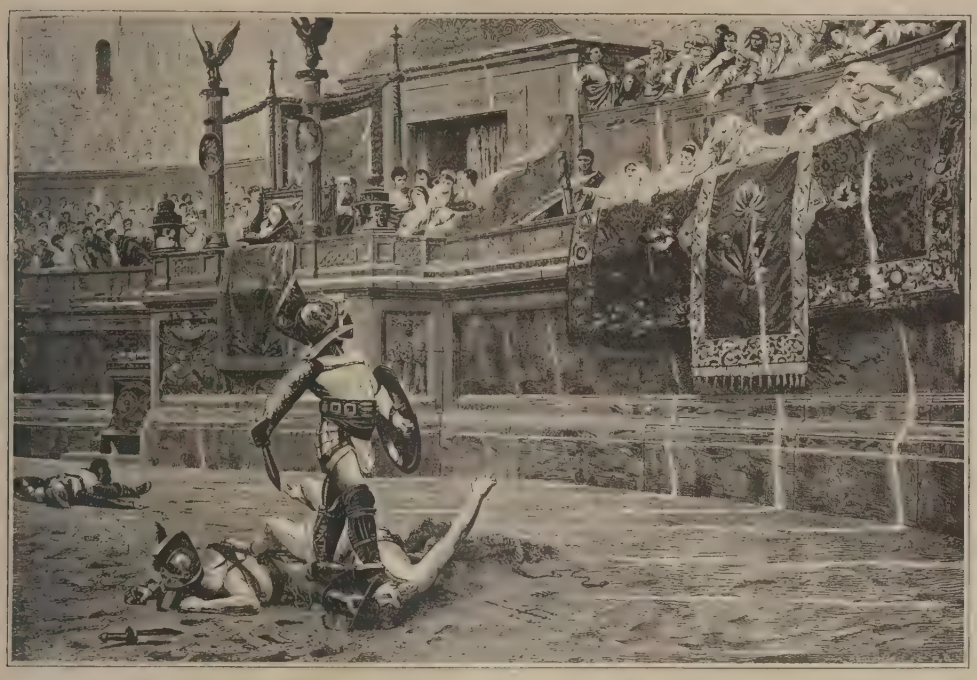


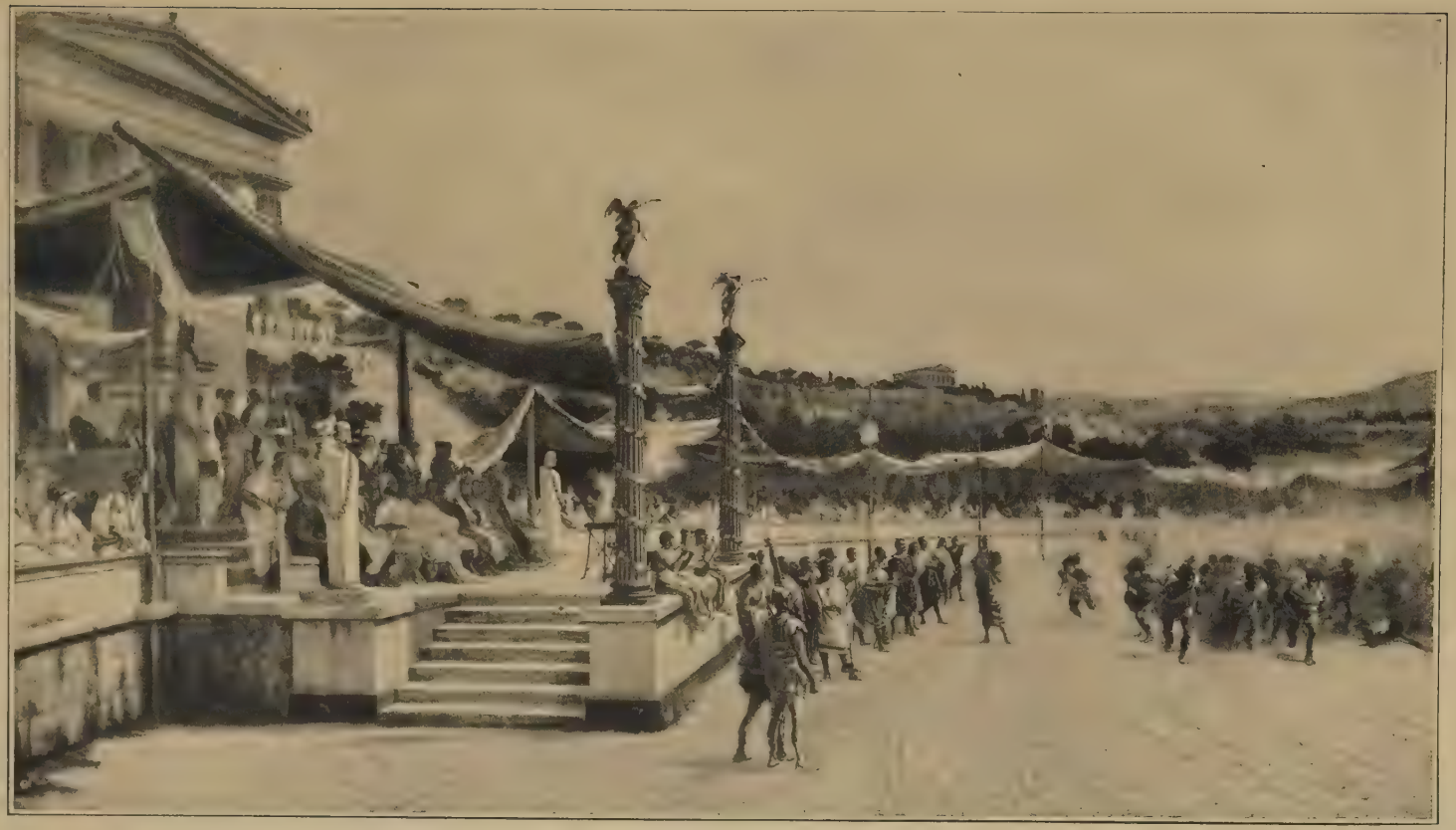
Fig. 120. Gladiatorial Combat. By J.-L. Gérome

die salute thee!" It appears that this, or a similar greeting, was customary; it is quite in keeping with the barbarous performance. Thereupon a sham fight followed with wooden weapons; lances and spears were thrown and caught again in jugglery or keeping time with a musical accompaniment. After this skirmish the sound of the trumpets gave the signal for the engagement to begin in earnest. As tragedies enacted in the theater have their changing scenes, so was it with the combats in the arena. In single pairs or in bands the *retiarii* or net-fighters come on the scene, half-naked gladiators, armed with a dagger, a trident, and a net which they endeavored to throw over their antagonists, thus to entangle them and prevent them from striking. These latter were the *secutores,* armed with helmet, sword, and buckler, or the *myrmillanes,* who wore on the tops of their helmets the figure of a fish, whence their name. The fight between the two antagonists resembled that between a fisherman and a marine animal. In one of the exhibitions in Caligula's presence five retiarii conquered their opponents; the latter threw themselves on their knees before the Emperor and begged that their lives might be spared. In vain! Then one of the retiarii came up and slew all five with his trident. If the retiarius succeeded in throwing the net over his opponent and casting him to the ground he stood over him with the three-pronged fork at his breast awaiting the decision of the spectators. If they stretched out their hands, clenching the fingers between each other and holding the thumbs upright, the life of the conquered was spared, but if the thumbs were bent downward this signified the wish of the people that he should be put to death by the victor. When one act of this sanguinary drama was ended men in disguise entered wearing masks of the gods, of death, and of the inferno; some dragged the dead out by means of great hooks through the *Porta Libitinensis* —the gate of the goddess of death—into

the mortuary chamber, where others applied a red-hot iron to the victim, to ascertain whether he were really dead, or only feigning death. Then the blood-stained ground was swept, and slaves strewed fresh sand over the arena, before the second act of the butchery began.

Wrestlers then entered the arena, armed with a noose and a plain leather shield. Each sought to slip the noose round the other's throat and strangle him. After them came gladiators in a more literal sense; armed after the manner of their nations, they were called by the name of that nation, oftentimes a valiant people whose subjugation it had cost the blood of whole Roman armies to accomplish. The Samnites bore a large rectangular shield, long enough to cover almost the whole of a man's body, iron greaves, a helmet with a waving plume, and a short straight sword. The Thracians had a small round shield and the short curved saber of that nation; the Gallic myrmidons were clad in heavy iron armor to protect them from spear or sword thrust. Two things roused the spectators to fury; when one of the combatants overcame or killed his antagonist too quickly; the conflict ought to proceed slowly, to last a long time, to be exciting, the issue of it undecided—or when, on the other hand, the gladiators seemed inactive or even timid, in which case the fencing-master came on the scene to stir them to action by blows with rods or whips, or rouse them more effectually by goading them with red-hot irons. Thus combat succeeded combat, act followed act, and the giver of the games had to see to it that the interest of the spectator never abated, and therefore more grievous wounds must be inflicted and blood must flow more and more copiously. If the day was not long enough, if a series of days was not sufficient to content the populace, the Colosseum could be lighted as brightly by night as by day, and thus a fresh attraction was added to the sports. A rehearsal was often held, and the seats allotted to spectators were never empty. What a spectacle must have been presented, when, by the light of a thousand torches, whole bands of gladiators entered the arena, some to fight on horseback or in chariots, others to engage in single combat. The ingenuity displayed in varying these cruel exhibitions is shown by the introduction of the *andabatae,* who were condemned to fight one another blindly and strike at haphazard, since they wore a helmet without a visor which covered the head completely. There was naturally a ludicrous element in these combats, as well as something savage which delighted the bloodthirsty onlookers. Countless incidents in the history of the Colosseum might be cited which show to what depths human depravity can go. No other spot could be found on earth so frequently saturated

Fig. 121. The Gate of the Goddess of Death



Foot Race in the Circus Maximus. By G. Sciuti

with blood as the arena of the Flavian amphitheater; the passion for the inhuman games performed there amounted to positive frenzy. High-born patricians kept gladiators of their own and exhibited them at their banquets when no public games took place. When nearly a century had elapsed since Constantine conquered pagan Rome, human blood was still freely shed in the Colosseum. A monk in the far East, named Telemachus, hearing of the cruel exhibitions that disgraced the Roman name, immediately journeyed to Rome, and when the bloody games were about to begin he threw himself between the gladiators, and endeavored to separate them. The spectators, enraged at this interference, stoned him to death. The Emperor Honorius, on being acquainted with the occurrence, in the year 404 prohibited the gladiatorial combats, but the baiting of wild beasts was continued.

Besides the Flavian amphitheater there was another and a smaller one in Rome for the combats and wrestling matches of the Praetorians, the imperial bodyguard.

## 7. THE CIRCUS

IN the south side of Rome, between the Palatine and Aventine hills, there is a narrow valley of considerable length, which is as if made for the purpose of chariot racing. Even in the earliest times, when in Rome's history fact was closely allied to fable, and the State was still in its infancy, the people congregated on the slopes of the adjacent hills to look on at games of this kind. The oldest building is ascribed to Tarquinius Priscus; it was a temporary structure with stage and scaffolding of wood, erected at the time of a festival and taken down at its close. As Rome's power increased, the circus or race-course was enlarged, and the building grew proportionately in size and splendor; the scaffolding, set up and taken down like a tent, was exchanged for a solid stone structure; the unsightly tufa was replaced by polished marble, stories lined the long building, resting on lofty arches and colonnades, as in the gigantic surrounding wall of the theaters and the Colosseum. The great Circus, *Circus Maximus,* begun by Julius Cæsar, in course of completion at the close of the republic, from that time forth became one of Rome's most magnificent monuments. Dionysius, a Greek historian, gives a brief description of it. The building, both externally and internally, was quite similar to the theaters; on the outside rows of arches towered one above another; inside were tiers of seats rising in gradation, divided as in a theater into stories and blocks by horizontal and vertical partitions and passages. The ground plan only was different. The enclosure was a level oblong space, the longer sides of which were parallel; the upper or east end was a semicircle, the lower formed a slightly curved line; the chief entrance was there, and there was the exit for the horses and chariots after the races. The length of the circus was 670.15 meters, the whole length of the rows of seats 1532. Outside, all round the building, there was a portico with entrances and flights of steps, booths, and shops. Consequently, there was busy, noisy life round about; tradesmen exposed their wares for sale, keepers of confectionery shops displayed their delicacies, astrologers and fortune-tellers offered to unveil the future, jesters and jugglers amused the idlers. In the interior a long low wall, the *spina,* was in the middle of the race-course; round it the horses and chariots ran. At each end of it were the boundary-posts, against which many

Fig. 122. The Circus Maximus
Reconstruction by the Archaeologist G. Gatteschi, Rome

a chariot struck as it flew round and was shivered to pieces.

The *spina* was ornamented with statues, sacred objects, images of the gods, etc. Augustus erected in the center of the Circus the obelisk which now stands on the Piazza del Popolo, and Constantine erected a second, the one that at present stands on the Lateran piazza. In Cæsar's time the great Circus held seats for 150,000; after the rebuilding of Rome—the conflagration in the year 64 broke out in the shops of the Circus and destroyed it—for 250,000, and in the fourth century, through the enlargement of the building, accommodation was afforded for 385,000 persons. The lowest seats above the breastwork were for the Emperor and his suite, the Senators and Knights. There was no special place allotted to the women; they sat amongst the men.

The plays and shows exhibited in the Circus in earlier times were of the most varied description, races and bear-baiting, combats of wrestlers and gladiators, great military displays wherein whole companies of infantry and cavalry took part; at a later period it was exclusively appropriated to chariot-racing. The passion of the people for this sport was, as St. Augustine justly remarks, a kind of madness. Their interest also included the charioteers and the race-horses, and later on it was extended almost exclusively to the distinctive colors of the companies to whom the horses and the men belonged.

Although nothing dishonorable or ignominious attached to the calling of a charioteer, yet in earlier times no free-born Roman citizen who had any sense of his own dignity would enter the lists in the Circus; he considered it a degrading, a servile act to amuse others by his sport; that should be left to slaves, freedmen, or the lower orders. Yet, like the hero of the amphitheater and the victorious pugilist, the skilful charioteer became the talk of the day in Rome, the beloved of poets and minstrels, of painters and sculptors, who all lauded and magnified his successes; he found admirers among the lowest classes of society as well as in the

salons of the fair sex and in the imperial palace on the Palatine. Caligula rewarded a charioteer named Eutychus with the sum of $80,000; Emperors Verus, Commodus, Caracalla, Geta, Heliogabalus, respectively, acted likewise; the last-named raised the charioteer Hierocles, a slave, to the dignity of the consulate. Scorpus, a man who frequently won the prize in the chariot race in the *ludi et circenses* under Domitian, termed by Martial "the boast of the noisy circus, the delight of Rome, and the object of her highest applause," won in a single hour fifteen purses filled with gold; the income of another is estimated by Juvenal as equal to the emolument of a hundred solicitors.

Figs. 123, 124. Charioteers of Two Companies. Mosaic in the National Museum, Naples

At one time the race-horses stood even higher in the public favor, one may really say the public affection. The best racers were brought from Spain, Sicily, Africa, and Asia Minor. The breed reared in the south of Italy, in the pastures of Calabria and Apulia, were, as Pliny states, unsurpassed for the three-horse chariot races. The horses were most fitted to compete on the race-course at the age of three, some say five years; they were worth at the least from $800 to $1000, yet in the last century of the Republic there were 400,000 racers in Rome. The patrons and lovers of these sports were familiar with the number of races famous horses had won, their ages and their pedigrees. The races of four-horse chariots were the most popular of all; the best horse was then put on the off side, for the victory mainly depended on his speed and agility in avoiding the boundary posts when dashing round them. The public knew beforehand whether the favorite horses, such as Passerinus, Tigris, Andraemon, etc., would run. The rage for thoroughbred horses degenerated into folly and absurdity; they were immortalized in marble and their portraits were carved on monuments erected in their honor. Emperor Caligula actually proposed to have his noble racer Incitatus, the winner of many races, nominated as Consul. When this horse was to appear in the games the strictest quiet was enforced in the vicinity of his stable, that he might not be disturbed. Nero gave pensions to superannuated racers, and it is said that Verus and Commodus did the same.

To supply horses, chariots, and charioteers was as a rule the business of several companies. As four-horse chariots usually competed in the race, there were four such companies who were much thought of in Rome, and employed a numerous staff of underlings. They were distinguished in the races by four different

colors, white, red, green, and blue. Domitian added two more, gold and purple, but these soon disappeared from the course. Green and blue were the colors of the most important companies, later on white and red were merged in them. The public was divided into two parties, who respectively adopted these colors from the Emperor and his household down to the slaves and the lowest of the populace. Emperors Vitellius and Caracalla sided with the blue, Caligula, Nero, Verus, and Commodus with the green, and each endeavored to get the better of the opposite party in the most unscrupulous and most unjust manner. Caligula, to secure the success of the "greens," caused the horses and charioteers of the "blues" to be poisoned; Vitellius, out of partisanship for the "blues," had some of the people put to death because they had treated his party with contumely; Caracalla, who, like Nero, thought it no indignity to act as charioteer himself, ordered his guards to charge the mob with drawn swords because they had ridiculed a charioteer who stood high in his favor. No wonder that this violence of party feeling became a perfect passion. For half a century this battle-cry of the different colors was handed down from father to son, while the populace became more and more demoralized. Whether Nero or Marcus Aurelius ruled the world, whether the empire was at peace or disturbed by insurrections and civil war, whether the barbarians menaced the frontiers or were driven back by Roman armies; none the less the weighty question was whether victory would be with the green or the blue, for high and low, freemen and slaves, men and women, a matter of the greatest importance, and one on which innumerable hopes and fears were founded.

When the day drew near whereon games were to be held in the Circus, all Rome was in a fever of excitement; heavy betting went on, whole fortunes being staked on the success of this or that color; soothsayers were appealed to, necromancers were engaged to accelerate the speed of one set of horses and retard the others, bells were hung round the horses' necks to act as a charm and to counteract the malign attempts of the rival party. Many could not sleep during the previous night for anxiety and suspense. On one occasion, when Emperor Caligula was disturbed in his sleep by the multitudes who

Fig. 125. The Victorious Charioteer. Statue in the Vatican

flocked to the Circus at midnight for the purpose of obtaining a place in the unreserved seats, he sent out men with whips to clear the Circus, whereby more than twenty knights were trodden to death in the crush round the doors, besides as many ladies, not to mention countless numbers of the common people.

On festivals the images of the gods were carried in procession with solemn ceremony from the Capitol to the Circus, at their head the official who acted as master of ceremonies. From the chief entrance, above which was his seat, he gave the signal for the race to begin by throwing a white handkerchief on to the course. Below on the right side of the *spina* the chariots stood, ready to start; they ran seven times round the boundary posts, and the one which, as they returned for the seventh time to the starting point,

first crossed a white line chalked on the ground was declared to have won. In order that the spectators might know how many times the horses had been round, seven egg-shaped stones were placed on high pedestals, one being removed every time that they passed. The length of the course, which was covered seven times, amounted to a mile, and one race lasted almost half-an-hour. The number of races to be run in one day was limited in the time of the emperors to ten or twelve at first; but Caligula doubled the number. If, as was the case on double festivals, thirty-six or even forty-eight were to take place, the length of the race had to be shortened. Fatalities frequently occurred; how easy it was for a charioteer to be thrown from his car in the headlong dash for position and be trampled to death by the horses; how easily might the chariots collide when dashing round the posts, and thus be overturned! Men, horses, and chariots then rolled on the ground in a confused heap. But the spectators themselves afforded the strangest spectacle. Tertullian, who wrote in the third century, found only one word to describe their behavior—sheer madness. Madly they flocked into the Circus, with mad impatience they awaited the beginning of the games, with every round the mad delight or mad anger increased; all sprang from their seats; they clapped their hands, they shouted, exulted, cursed, raged; they waved handkerchiefs or articles of clothing, until finally the jubilant applause of the winning side drowned all other outcries. Regardless of sun or rain the multitude remained in the Circus the whole livelong day, often for several consecutive days. Even in the sixth century, in spite of the impoverished state and general decline of the city, in spite of the admonitions of Popes and theologians, the mad frenzy was as wild as ever. Theodoric, king of the East Goths, treated the Romans frequently to an exhibition of their favorite games, and Cassiodorus, his private secretary, records the amazement he felt at the foolish excitement of the spectators. Green is foremost—half the people grieve; blue overtakes it—the other half utter loud lamentations. Without any gain to themselves, they are wildly jubilant; again, though they experience no loss, they are deeply afflicted. The last chariot-race was given in 549 by Totila, king of the Goths. The valley in which the great Circus once stood, the scene of so much noisy life and movement, is now one of the most deserted districts of Rome. Scarcely any traces are left to recall the colossal, magnificent structure that stood there in days of yore.

Besides the *Circus Maximus*, described above, there were several others in ancient Rome, for instance, the circus of Domi-

Fig. 126. Remains of the Circus Maxentius (Romulus)

tian, of which the ground plan and circumference are now represented by the Piazza Navona; of others, as for example the Vatican circus of Nero and Hadrian's race-course, nought but a few fragments remain. The one that has best resisted the action of time is that of Emperor Maxentius on the Appian Way; it is easy to trace the original site from the ruins, and to supply in imagination what has disappeared. It was built in 309, and contained seats for 17,000 spectators.

As was already stated, water could be introduced into the arena of several of the amphitheaters and circuses for the representation of *naumachia,* or sea-fights. In addition to these there were buildings erected for the same purpose, or more usually vast basins and artificial lakes were dug. On one of these lakes, which was 1800 feet long and 1200 feet wide, Augustus gave the representation of a naval conflict between the Athenians and Persians, in which thirty biremes and triremes, besides a number of smaller vessels, took part. Occasionally a theater or circus was used for wrestling and boxing matches or foot-races, or for song and music and recitations of poetry; yet there were grand buildings erected specially for such performances, the *Stadia,* or musical theaters, and the roofed theaters called *Odeums,* built by Domitian and Trajan. The former held 11,600 persons; as late as the fourth century it was still one of Rome's most beautiful structures; now not a single trace of it is left.

## 8. TRIUMPHAL ARCHES

Fig. 127. Relief on the Arch of Severus

TRIUMPHAL arches are splendid structures peculiar to the Romans, a monumental expression of their esteem for conquerors and their warlike exploits.

If a Dictator, Consul, or Prætor had gained a brilliant victory over the enemies of the Roman people—according to an ancient law there must have been 5,000 of the hostile army left on the battlefield—he had the right to ask from the Senate the honors due to a conqueror, a triumphal entry into the city. He awaited their answer before the triumphal arch in the Campus Martius. On the festal day the municipal authorities, the Senators, and the people repaired thither to meet him, all wearing crowns and gala dress, and placed themselves at the head of the procession. Next came the bands of musicians, then the booty taken in war was carried along, weapons and accouterments, art treasures, images and statues, gold and silver; amongst them paintings and models of the conquered towns and fortresses, the rivers and mountains of foreign lands allegorically treated. Then came prisoners of distinction, kings and princes subjugated by the Roman arms. With the booty the oxen, white sacrificial victims, were led, with horns gilded, and decked with fillets and streamers. The hero of the day was seated in a high triumphal chariot; he was crowned with a wreath of laurel, his white undergarment, the tunic, was richly adorned with em-

broidered palm-branches, his mantle or toga was purple, interwoven with gold. Both tunic and toga were borrowed from the temple on the Capitol, where the image of Jupiter was thus arrayed. In his right hand the conqueror held an ivory scepter; over his head a slave held aloft a golden crown. The victorious army, crowned with laurel, marched after the chariot of their general. On entering the city the procession turned in the direction of the great Circus, which it traversed, and then proceeded down the so-called *Via Sacra*, which led past the Colosseum, through the Forum to the Capitol. All the temples were open and decorated; incense burned on every altar. The victor, when he reached the Capitol, laid his laurels on the knees of Jupiter's statue; then the great sacrifices were offered, to be succeeded by the festive repast, at which the whole army and all the populace were entertained. These triumphal festivities, like all others at that period, were celebrated on an extravagant scale, so that they lasted several days. Papirius Cursor, returning from the Samnite war, brought 1,830 pounds of silver, Scipio the elder 14,342 pounds from Spain and 100,000 from Carthage; Quinctius Flamininus in his three days' triumph after his victories in Macedonia displayed 3,173 pounds of gold ingots, 43,270 pounds of silver and 14,514 gold coins; Cæsar exhibited 60,000 talents (about $62,000,000), 2,822 gold pieces, in all weighing 20,414 pounds; Pompey exhibited, if possible, a still more magnificent amount of booty. Lucullus gave more than 100,000 casks of wine for the entertainment of the people; Cæsar provided for them 22,000 tables loaded with viands, every soldier received a gratuity equivalent to five dollars, the subalterns and superior officers received twice or four times that amount; every needy citizen had about one dollar, 10 bushels of corn, and as many pounds of oil given to him, besides his rent for a whole year.

Fig. 128. The Triumphal March of Vespasian and Titus. By G. Romano

Livy relates the following details concerning the triumph of Æmilius Paulus after his conquest of King Perseus of Macedon (although this celebration was far surpassed by subsequent ones): "The people, arrayed in white garments, looked on from stands like the rows of seats in a theater, erected for their accommodation on the market-place and in other parts of the city where the procession was to pass. All the temples stood open; they were decorated with garlands and filled with clouds of incense. Lictors and guards were employed to keep the middle of the streets clear, and hold off the crowds who flocked thither, wandering about restlessly and aimlessly. Though the festive procession was continued for three days, the first day scarcely sufficed for the display of the paintings and statues taken from the enemy, wherewith 250 vehicles were laden. On the second day Macedonian weapons of great splendor and magnificence were exhibited, all newly polished, the iron and bronze gleaming brightly; they were mostly piled up in such a manner that they appeared to be carelessly thrown together rather than skilfully arranged, and through this apparently unintentional and fortuitous adjustment they presented a wonderful sight: helmets and shields thrown together, coats of mail and iron greaves, Cretan bucklers and Thracian targets, troopers' quivers and horses' bridles; here and there a stack of naked swords, out of which projected lances with sharp, formidable points. And when these weapons and accouterments, loosely bound together, knocked one against the other in passing through the streets, a noise was occasioned like the clash of arms on the battlefield, terrible and alarming, so that no one could gaze on those captured weapons without an inward shudder. Afterwards 750 vessels filled with silver specie were carried past by 3,000 men. Each vessel, containing three talents, was borne by four men. Others carried silver vessels of various kinds, goblets, bowls, and horn-shaped drinking cups, tastefully arranged and remarkable for their size, their weight, and their skilful workmanship. On the third day trumpeters at an early hour headed the procession, blowing their horns, not playing in the manner usual on such occasions, but choosing martial strains, just as if they were going to battle. Behind them 120 fatted oxen were driven, sacrificial victims, with gilded horns, and decked with fillets and garlands. They were led by youths wearing splendidly embroidered sashes and accompanied by boys carrying vessels of gold and silver to receive the blood of the victims. After them came others carrying gold coins in 77 vases, each of which contained three talents. Next was seen a sacred drinking-cup, weighing ten talents and set with precious stones, which Paulus had caused to be made, also goblets such as Kings Antigonus, Seleucus, and Thericles loved, besides other gold cups that had adorned Perseus' table. After them came the chariot of Perseus, wherein were his coat of armor and his crown, then the long train of captives followed," etc.

These shows suggested the idea of building triumphal arches on the Sacred Way in honor of the conquerors, and it was thoroughly in keeping with the Romans' love of pomp and display, of splendor and parade that they should raise permanent memorials of shows estimated to last only a few hours. The triumphal arch is a magnificent erection with one, or, more often, three gateways, with piers and columns on each side, and above the cornice a low story, called an *attica,* richly ornamented with bas-reliefs, statues, and inscriptions, surmounted by a four-horse chariot. Three out of the thirty-six triumphal arches which, as a document of the fourth century records, decorated ancient Rome, are still fairly well preserved: those of the emperors Titus, Severus, and Constantine; all three are in the Sacred Way.

The Arch of Titus was erected to commemorate the destruction of Jerusalem in the year 70; it is a monument of Rome's best period, and the more noteworthy as being the earliest instance of the composite style, a combination of the Corinthian and

Ionic orders. Emperor Vespasian began the siege and it was carried on by his son Titus, who took the unhappy city by storm. The Jewish historian Flavius Josephus, who was an eye-witness of the triumph celebrated by the two emperors after Titus' return, gives a full description of it:

"During the night the army, drawn up in rank and file, was ranged by the officers before the gates of the temple of Isis, where the emperors passed the night. At dawn of day Vespasian and Titus appeared, crowned with laurels and robed in purple, and walked to the Octavian Hall, where the Senate, the chief dignitaries, and the most distinguished Knights awaited them. On a platform in front of the hall were ivory chairs whereon the emperors took their seats, amid the acclamations of the army in praise of their martial exploits. The warriors were unarmed, clad in silk attire, and crowned with laurel wreaths. After Vespasian had listened for a moment to the cheering he made a sign commanding silence. When quiet was restored, he rose up, covered his head, and said a prayer of thanksgiving. Titus did the same. His prayer ended, Vespasian addressed a few words of thanks to the multitude, and disbanded the soldiers in the usual manner. He himself returned with Titus to the hall, where they partook of some refreshment; they then donned the gala dress to be worn for the festival and offered sacrifice; this done, the procession started on its way, going through the theater first to afford the people assembled there the sight of the grand spectacle.

"The variety and magnificence of the spectacle beggar description. All the rarities and works of art possessed by individuals seemed to be brought together on that day for the purpose of exhibiting the greatness of the Roman Empire. Ornaments of gold, silver, and ivory of all kinds were to be seen, not as single specimens carried in the procession, but so numerous as to form a positive stream. Garments dyed the most lovely purple, embroidered most elegantly with all the skill of Babylon, sparkling jewels, set in gold crowns or other ornaments, were borne along in such profusion that one was tempted to think that these precious objects were after all not so costly. Next

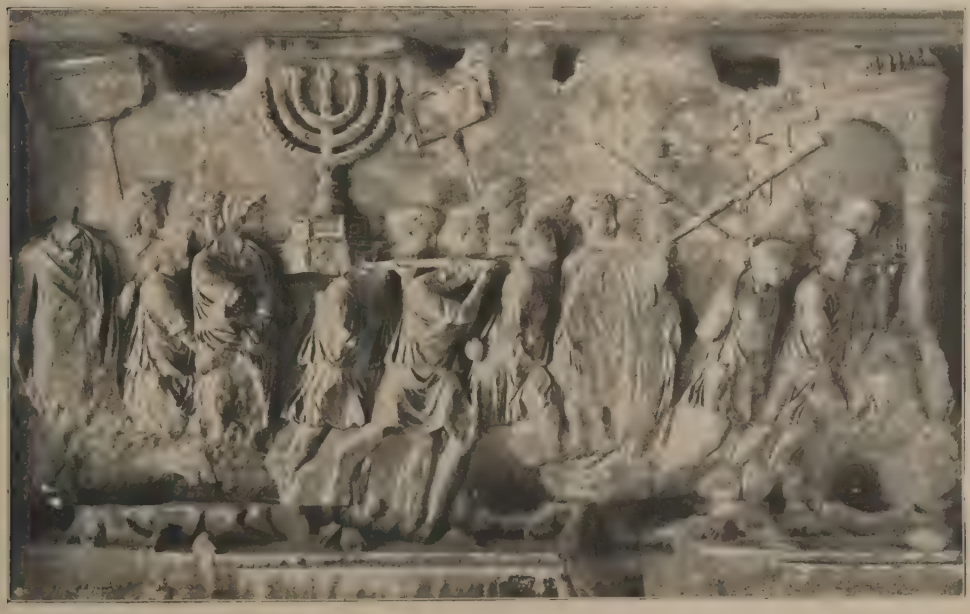


Fig. 129. Booty from the Temple of Jerusalem. Relief on the Arch of Titus

came images of the gods, noteworthy for their size and their artistic beauty. Animals of various kinds were exhibited, decked out in the most singular manner. All the bearers of the treasures were attired in purple with gold ornaments, and all the warriors who took part in the triumph were richly adorned. Even the host of prisoners attracted attention, their gay costumes concealing from the public eye the sad sight of their emaciated frames. What excited the greatest astonishment and admiration were the magnificent baldachins, which seemed too heavy for the bearers, with canopies of three and fourfold arches, fashioned with the utmost artistic skill, with hangings of woven gold and ornaments of gold and ivory.

"There were to be seen representations of a land laid waste, whole ranks of the fallen, of fugitives, of captives; walls of immense height tottering under the impact of the battering machines, strong castles reduced to ruins, the walls of populous cities scaled by the besiegers, massacres of the defenceless and suppliants for mercy, burning temples, men crushed to death by the fall of their houses, streams of water introduced to extinguish the general conflagration.

"All these calamities, the Jews declared, they had experienced, they had endured. Everything was made plain to the meanest understanding. Beside each baldachin the hostile commanders marched in the equipments they wore when taken prisoners. Then a number of ships followed laden with more plunder from the conquered cities. But the sacred vessels from the temple of Jerusalem outshone all the rest of the booty: a golden table of immense value, a golden candlestick of peculiar shape, the shaft in the middle fixed in a post and seven arms or branches issuing from the stem like a trident curved outwards, a bronze lamp being at the end of each . . . last of all the Tables of the Divine Law, closing the long train of conquered treasures. Next came porters bearing gold and ivory statues of the goddess of Victory, and then Vespasian in his

Fig. 130. Composite Capital on the Arch of Titus

triumphal chariot, followed by Titus, at whose side his brother Domitian, attired in splendid habiliments, rode on a noble charger.

"The temple of Jupiter on the Capitol was the goal of the festive procession. On arriving there a halt was made, according to the usual custom, until a herald had announced the death of the hostile general. The tidings that he was no more were received with loud acclamations; then the sacrifice of the festival was offered. When the prayers and oblation were ended, the emperors returned to the palace. Throughout the city the day was observed as a thanksgiving day for the happy conclusion of the campaign, for the cessation of the civil wars, for the prospect of a prosperous and peaceful future."

The triumphal arch of Titus has therefore considerable importance in the world's history as commemorative of great events. Yet the conquering heroes did not pass beneath it on the day of their triumph, for it was not erected, or at any rate not finished, until after Titus' death; probably its completion coincided with the addition of his name to the number of the gods; this is the inscription on the arch:

"The Senate and people of Rome to the divine Titus, son of the divine Vespasian; also to the divine Vespasian."

This dedication was originally to be read on the blank space in the attica on both sides. At present the inscription on the side looking towards the Forum is commemorative of the restoration, or rather the rebuilding of the arch by Pius VII. In the Middle Ages it passed into the possession of the Frangipani, who removed the four-horse chariot which crowned the summit and set up a strong tower upon it; bulwarks were also raised before the pillars, so that the monument might serve as a fortification. When these outworks were taken down in 1822 the gateways were found to be unsafe and they had therefore to be rebuilt. The part in the middle was uninjured, the outside only is new, with this difference, that travertine has been used instead of marble for the sculptures; otherwise the arch in its present form perfectly resembles the original.

In regard to size, this monument is comparatively small, being only about 15½ meters in height and 13½ in breadth; its architecture and sculptures are, however, in pure and admirable taste. In the spandrels of the arches goddesses of victory hover, chiseled in graceful attitudes; on the frieze a sacrificial procession is represented; on the keystones of the arch are the patron goddess of Rome and Fortuna, the goddess of good fortune with the cornucopia; and in the vault of the arch the deified emperor is seen borne aloft by eagles; all these figures have sustained considerable damage. The bas-reliefs on the interior of the gateway are much more notable from an artistic and historical point of view, since they represent the two most interesting scenes in the triumph described above. On the right-hand side Titus is seen seated in the four-horse chariot of victory; he is surrounded by horsemen crowned with laurel, the goddess of Victory holds out to him a wreath, Roma leads the horses by the bridle. The sculpture on the opposite side depicts the principal objects of value taken from the temple at Jerusalem. The warriors, crowned with laurel but wearing the garments of peace, carrying the table of proposition, the jubilee trumpets, and the seven-branched candlestick, are passing under a triumphal arch. The figures are admirably designed and beautifully executed; they are full of dignity and life.

Even up to the present day no true Jew will pass through the Arch of Titus.

The Emperor Septimius Severus carried on war more or less successfully with the eastern nations, the Parthians and Osrhoenes.* For this the Senate and people of Rome afforded him the honor of a triumph, and in 203 erected an arch to commemorate the services of himself and his sons Caracalla and Geta; in the following year the conquerors passed beneath it in triumphal procession on their way to the Capitol, on the slope of which it is situated.

This monument is profusely adorned with sculpture. The bas-reliefs on the socle or base of the pillars represent the barbarians taken prisoners in war; those in the spandrels of the arches the goddess of Victory and eastern river-gods; the five relievos above the side arches the siege of oriental cities, the victories of the Roman arms, and the homage paid by the conquered. In spite of the somewhat pretentious and elaborate design, the decline of artistic feeling and technical skill is plainly apparent. The number and the small size of the figures contrast unfavorably with the huge proportions of the monument and detract from the grandeur of its effect. In bygone times a bronze chariot with sea-horses stood upon the parapet above the arch; the emperor was represented sitting in his triumphal car, his two sons walking on either side; the four corners were ornamented with figures of knights. In the Middle Ages there was a tower upon the arch and the side arches were blocked up with rubbish; the sculptured figures were sadly mutilated. Paul III removed the tower and battlements; Leo X, Pius IV, and Gregory XV endeavored to clear away the accumulated rubble, but this was not per-

* Inhabitants of northwestern Mesopotamia.

manently done until 1803, in the reign of Pius VII, when a barricade was erected to prevent the arches from being again filled up. The road is on a far higher level than the base of the arches.

Another arch, which is fairly well preserved, was erected to the memory of Septimius Severus by the money-changers and merchants.

Fig. 131. The Arch of Titus

On the 29th of October, 312, Constantine the Great entered Rome after his glorious victory over his rival Maxentius at the Milvian bridge. "He entered," says his biographer Eusebius, "as a triumphant conqueror. The Senate came out to receive him, likewise the patrician nobles and the common people with their wives and children, with glad hearts and joyful countenances to offer an ovation to him, their liberator, their savior, the giver of all good things; and shouts of exultation rent the air. Yet such was his deep, innate piety that he was not intoxicated by the acclamations of the people, nor rendered proud by the high encomiums bestowed on him; conscious that divine assistance had been afforded him, he ordered that the token of Our Lord's Passion, the cross, should be placed in the hand of the statue about to be erected in his honor." The triumphal arch near the Colosseum was built in the year 326.

We have already spoken on an earlier page of the historical reminiscences attached to this monument, and the portrait of Constantine has been given (p. 41) as it appeared on the currency of his reign, but it had also no slight significance in the history of art. Rome at that epoch was so destitute of artistic taste and artistic skill, that one of Trajan's monuments, probably a triumphal arch, was destroyed, in order that the columns and moldings and sculptures might be transferred to the new erection. Thus the bas-reliefs on the attica, the statues of barbarian kings over the columns, the eight medallions over the side gateways, as well as the relievos inside the principal archway, evidently date from Trajan's time, and portray scenes from the life of that emperor: battles, addresses to the troops, almsgiving to the poor, sacrifices, hunting-scenes, with this dedication: "To the deliverer of Rome, who brought peace to her people." These sculptures, like similar ones in the Lateran Museum, are almost startling in their beauty. Although they do not belie the Roman taste in art, yet they possess a wonderful power, dignity, and majesty; in regard to motive, design, grouping, and execution they belong to the finest plastic work of Rome that is still extant. The work, on the contrary, which dates from the time of Constantine (the figures of Victory and the captive barbarians on the base of the columns) is stiff, meaningless, and petty.

One morning in the year 1533 it was found that the barbarian kings on the high cornices were headless. A young Florentine, named Lorenzino Medici, had been so audacious as thus to mutilate a

work of art for the purpose of displaying contempt for the vigilance of the municipal authorities. He imagined he could in any case commit this outrage with impunity, since he was related to the reigning Pope, Clement VII. However, the Pope sentenced his nephew to banishment for life. Two centuries later Clement XII caused heads copied from ancient models to be set upon the mutilated statues.

Fig. 132. The Chariot of Triumph (Biga). Vatican

## 9. STATUES—COLUMNS—OBELISKS

EXTREMELY few of the colossal statues, equestrian and otherwise, which adorned the public squares and streets of classic Rome and which were, according to fourth-century records, very numerous, remain to-day. One of the equestrian statues is well preserved, the bronze statue of Emperor Marcus Aurelius. Originally it stood on the Roman Forum near the arch of Septimius Severus, but at a later period it was transferred to the Lateran piazza. It owed its preservation principally to the belief, prevalent in the Middle Ages, that it represented Constantine, the first Christian emperor. In 1538 it was removed from the Lateran quarter under Michael Angelo's direction, and placed on the Capitol. The pedestal is new; it was hewn out of a single block of marble from what was once Trajan's forum, according to the great sculptor's design. The excellence of this statue does not consist in the grand, heroic conception and representation of the emperor, but on the contrary in the perfectly natural and lifelike presentment of both the horse and the rider; yet it holds a high place as a work of art. It is a well-known fact that Michael Angelo admired it very much; he used to say that the horse need only set to the ground the foot that is raised, and the illusion would be complete; every one would think horse and horseman were alive. The statue strikingly resembles Marcus Aurelius; the learned savant and philosopher, the deep thinker, the man of pacific disposition yet of vigorous character is well depicted in the serene, almost stern expression of his countenance, in the secure, straight military carriage and the stately gesture of his outstretched right hand; all this is true to life. One might fancy him proclaim-

Fig. 133. Trajan's Column

ing to the prisoners pardon and release and to the suppliant help. The horse is of a stout and rather heavy build; doubtless it is a portrait of the emperor's favorite charger and a perfectly faithful one, since it gives the impression of life to the spectator in a marvelous manner. The statue was once gilt, and a few traces of the gilding are still to be seen. When in the fourteenth century Cola di Rienzi, the tribune of the people, in his fancy for the times of ancient, republican Rome, inoculated all the population with his folly, red and white wine was made to flow from the nostrils of this horse for the whole of one day during national festivals.

Somewhat later we shall treat of other celebrated statues, as well as of the athletes or horse-breakers.

The two marble spiral columns, that of Trajan and that of the above-mentioned Marcus Aurelius, are considered to be two of ancient Rome's most interesting and noteworthy monuments.

Trajan, who was one of Rome's best emperors, made war against and defeated in two campaigns (98-105) the Dacians, an unruly nation on the lower Danube. After the successful conclusion of the war he summoned the famous architect Apollodorus to Rome, and laid out the beautiful forum which bears his name. In the center arose the triumphal column which was erected by the Senate and people in 113 as a tribute to their beloved ruler.

This column, without including the statue, is 34 meters in height, the shaft alone measuring nearly 27 meters. The pedestal is profusely decorated on three sides with sculptures representing tokens of victory, weapons and martial accouterments of every kind; from this much is learned concerning the weapons and armor both of the Romans and of their foes. The shaft of the column rises gracefully out of a gigantic wreath of laurel, a spiral line winds round it forming the circuit twenty-two times; the column itself is composed of twenty-three blocks of marble and was originally of a dazzling white.

The spiral band depicts in a continued series of bas-reliefs the history of the two

successful military expeditions on the Danube; here the banks of the river are seen, there fortifications; the troops passing over a bridge of boats; the sinister-looking river-god in a grotto overgrown with reeds; the soldiers carrying the baggage on the points of their lances; the emperor on a dais talking to the generals; the celebration of the *suovetaurilia,* i. e., the sacrifice of a boar, a ram, and a bullock; the first engagement with the enemy; a city of the barbarians in flames; the passage of the Roman army over another river; battles and defeats; Dacians and Sarmatians, man and horse clad in a complete suit of armor, assaulting a Roman city; a fortress falls, the booty is carried off by the Romans, the enemy implores quarter from the conqueror; more battles, the wives of the barbarians maltreat the Roman captives; a barbarian monarch pleads for mercy; a contingent of the Dacian army is massacred in a forest; kings and their subjects pay homage to the emperor: thus the first campaign ends, and the military exploits are inscribed by the goddess of Victory on her shield.

The second war is portrayed on the marble in a similar manner; the separate scenes are divided by an arch or a tree. Some 2,500 human figures, from 60 to 75 centimeters in height, are represented in active and eager movement on the sculptured marble. The design of the carving seems to be the work of one individual; the execution on the other hand is unequal, and three different artists have evidently been employed on it. Some groups about the middle of the column are the least ably executed, the others are chiseled out of the marble with artistic skill of the first order. In accordance with the taste of the Romans a purely artistic conception and execution was not aimed at, so much as a literal interpreting of nature. The form of the monument is certainly peculiar in itself, since even under the most favorable circumstances the eye cannot follow uninterruptedly the course of the sculptures, which is 200 meters long; yet the transformation of a commemorative column into a triumphal monument, commemorat-

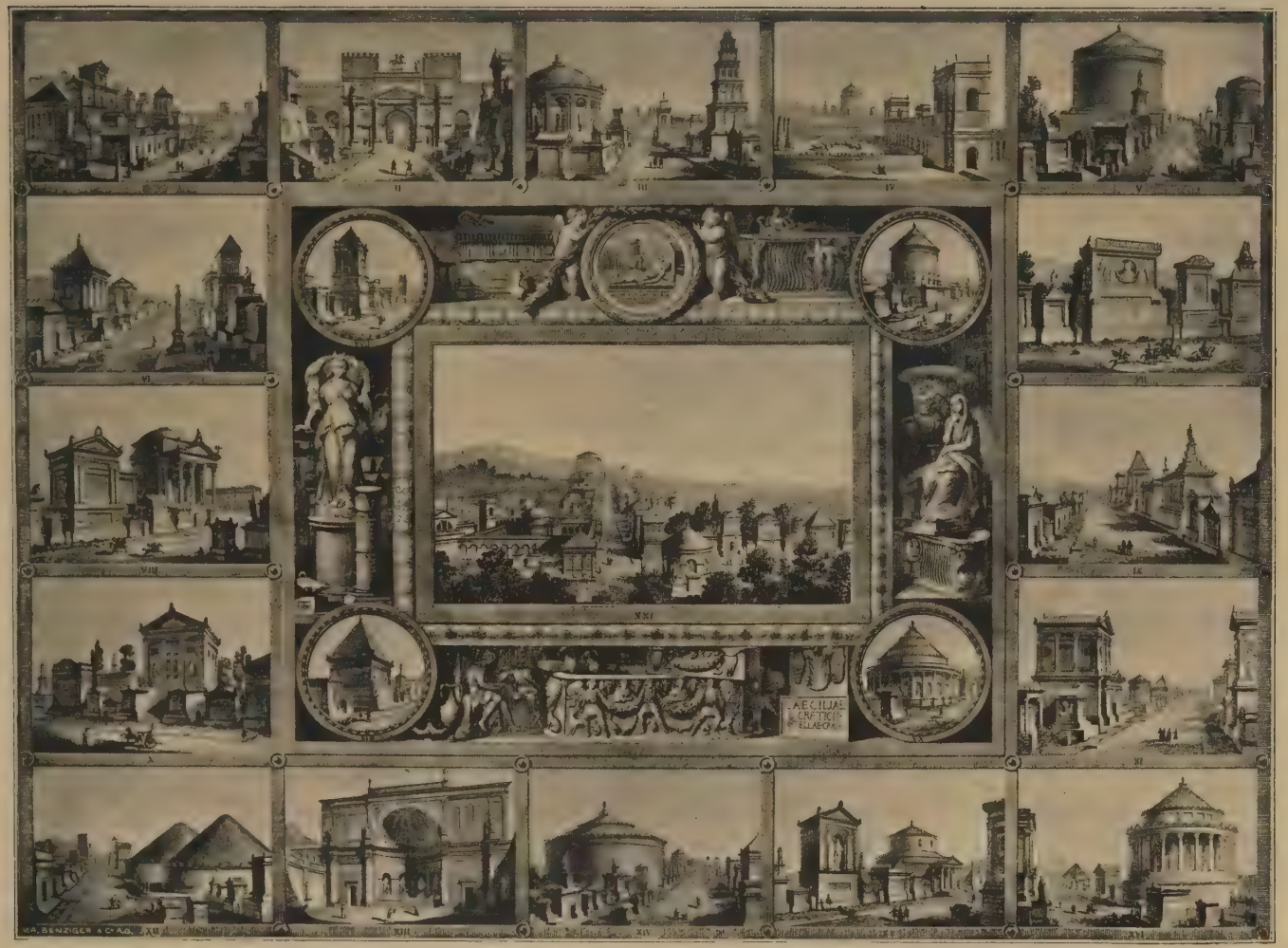
Fig. 134. The Column of Marcus Aurelius

Fig. 135. Victory. Relief on Trajan's Column

ing in marble characters and proclaiming in pictorial language an emperor's renown, is an achievement so uncommon that its weak side may well be overlooked. A gilded bronze statue of Emperor Trajan originally stood on the summit of the column, until Constantine removed it from its lofty station, for the purpose probably of transferring it to Constantinople. The column was at the same time Emperor Hadrian's mausoleum; his ashes rest in a gold urn above the pedestal and below the wreath of laurel. In the Middle Ages it served for a long time as a belfry; to damage it in anywise was prohibited under pain of death, and in virtue of that decree this monument has been preserved in better condition than any other. The rubbish under which the pedestal was buried was cleared away by Sixtus V and he erected a colossal statue of St. Peter on the summit of the column.

Trajan's column was imitated in the companion column of Marcus Aurelius, which closely resembles it, except in that it is not as high, and the carving, though more pretentious, is far inferior as a work of art. The marble sculptures immortalize the emperor's wars against the Marcomani and other Teutonic nations. One incident, a Christian legend, is represented in a very remarkable manner. At one time the Roman army was surrounded by the Quadi and suffered greatly from want of water. The colonel of the guards went to the emperor and told him that the Christians could obtain all things by prayer; now a legion from Asia Minor, surnamed later the Thunderers, was composed exclusively of the followers of Christ. The emperor commanded them to pray to their God; they did so and immediately a torrential downpour of rain brought refreshment to the Romans, while their foes were struck by lightning. On Marcus Aurelius' column this miraculous interposition of Providence is of course ascribed to Jupiter Pluvius, the national deity, who was supposed to be the giver of rain. He is represented with arms and wings extended, while streams of water

Fig. 136. Greetings and Offerings to Trajan. Relief on Trajan's Column.



THE MONUMENTS ON THE APPIAN WAY. AFTER L. CANINA

flowing around encompass him as with a mantle. Formerly the column was surmounted by a statue of the emperor; it was taken amongst the plunder of Rome's conquerors. Sixtus V replaced it by a statue of St. Paul, about five feet in height.

Fig. 137. The Miraculous Rainstorm. Relief from Trajan's Column

An obelisk is a quadrangular stone shaft, gradually tapering towards the summit, with a pyramidal apex—a monument of the simplest description, if it can be called an artistic monument at all. Egypt, not Rome, is the home of the obelisks. For the most part they are hewn out of granite, rarely out of marble, and are generally monolithic, that is, they consist of but a single block. The signs and images of the sacred writings of the ancient Egyptians are carved upon the flat sides of the monolith to the depth of six centimeters. In Egypt the obelisks stood before the temples and palaces and were sacred to the sun, of whose rays, as Pliny asserts, they were held to be an emblem; but on the banks of the Nile they were used as monumental stones, on which the achievements and exploits of the kings were inscribed.

It is only what might be expected of the Roman people, the rulers of the then known world, that, in their pride and love of display, not content with the art treasures and other valuable booty which they conveyed from all parts of the world to Rome, they should remove the Egyptian obelisks from the pedestals whereon they had stood for many centuries, and set them up on the banks of the Tiber, to testify to the conquests of the Roman arms, the greatness of the nation. Augustus was the first who (in the year 10 A. D.), after the subjugation of Egypt, caused two of these gigantic blocks of granite to be brought to Rome. The transport was a matter of such difficulty that ships had to be built for the purpose, and medals were struck in commemoration of the event. The vessel that had conveyed one of them was, by the emperor's orders, to be preserved in perpetuity in the wharf at Puteoli; it was, however, destroyed by fire. One of the obelisks was erected on the *spina* of the Great Circus, the other was used as the style of a sun-dial, the lines of the dial itself being marked by rays of gilt metal on travertine which was laid down for the purpose. Caligula brought another obelisk from Egypt and set it up in the Vatican, or Nero's Circus, and the emperors of a later period followed the example of their predecessors.

Of the twenty-two obelisks once erected in ancient Rome, twelve are still to be seen in Rome to-day. The first, placed as we have said, on the *spina* of the Great Circus, now stands in the center of the Piazza del Popolo. Originally it stood before the temple of the sun in Heliopolis; it is 24 meters high. The inscriptions are in praise of the great deeds of Kings Menephtah and Rameses III, the former of whom reigned in Egypt 1326 years B. C., the latter 1250 B. C.

The great obelisk of Caligula was the only one which remained standing throughout the Middle Ages; all the others were thrown down and broken. In

1586 Sixtus V had it transferred to the piazza in front of St. Peter's. The removal was a work of extreme difficulty; many graphic representations of the proceedings exist in the Vatican library. The architect Domenico Fontana had the direction of the undertaking; the Pope is said to have threatened him with condign

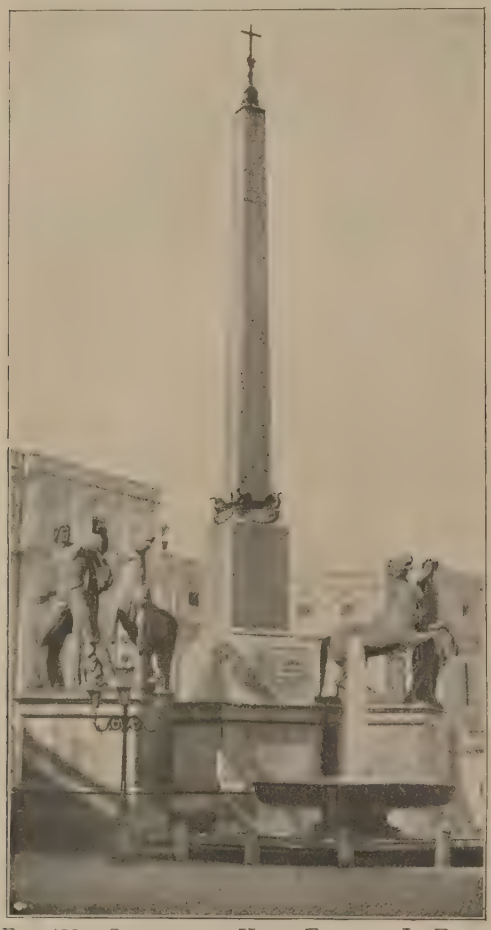


Fig. 138. Obelisk and Horse-Tamers. In Front of the Quirinal

punishment if it proved a failure, or if the huge block of granite, weighing 3,535 hundredweight, sustained any injury. Nine hundred workmen were under his orders, and five and thirty windlasses, each worked by ten men and two horses, were set in motion. All the bells in the city rang a joyous peal when the colossal block was safely lifted from its place and laid on the ground (30 April). On Holy Cross Day in September it was raised on to its new pedestal, the cost of the transfer amounting to 37,900 scudi ($36,763). Later accounts add that by reason of the great danger attending the work of raising the obelisk, silence was commanded on pain of death, in order that the architect's commands might be distinctly heard. Fontana, however, had not allowed for the stretching of the hemp-ropes, and they proved of insufficient length. Then one of those present, a sailor of Remo, uttered the well-known words: "Aqua alle funi!" —"Wet the ropes." It was done, and the work was accomplished. The man was not punished for speaking; on the contrary, it was granted him to ask a favor, as his reward for the opportune suggestion; and to this day it is the privilege of his family to furnish the palms which the Pope blesses on Palm Sunday and distributes to the highest ecclesiastic and civil dignitaries. Sixtus V had a fragment of the Holy Cross inserted in the cross by which the obelisk is surmounted, and on the pedestal he caused these words to be inscribed:

Ecce crucem Domini.
Christus vincit:
Christus regnat:
Christus imperat.
Christus ab omne malo plebem suam defendat.

In the year 1817 the astronomer Gigli drew the compass with lines of red and green porphyry and the meridian-line on the piazza, so that the obelisk marks the day and the month and the position of the sun in the zodiac at mid-day.

Of the two obelisks which stood before Augustus' mausoleum one is now before Santa Maria Maggiore, the other before the Quirinal. What gives to the latter the greater prominence is the place it occupies between two famous ancient groups of statuary, the horse-breakers. These colossal figures once adorned Constantine's baths; they represent the demi-gods Castor and Pollux training their restive and rearing horses to obey their commands. The victory achieved by man, in the calm con-

Fig. 139. Equestrian Statue of Marcus Aurelius. In the Capitol

sciousness of his superiority over untamed nature, the conquest he is able to gain over brute force far surpassing his own strength, could scarcely be more admirably and grandly rendered. The inscriptions on the pedestals state the groups to be the work of the two most renowned sculptors of Greece, Phidias and Praxiteles. Modern criticism has refuted that statement; it cannot, however, be denied that the magnificently rounded proportions of the colossus are worthy of Phidias, while the more delicate symmetry of the other recalls the skilful hand of Praxiteles. At all events the groups, although of Roman workmanship, are after the model of early Grecian art. Their present situation, where they have stood since the time of Sixtus V, is an unfavorable one, as a background is required to give full effect to their grand outlines, which are somewhat lost in an open space.

The obelisk most noteworthy on account of its great antiquity is the one on the Lateran piazza, which the Emperor Constantine originally erected in the Great Circus. The inscriptions carved upon it refer to the time of the Pharaoh Thothmes IV, who began to reign in 1565 B. C.; thus Moses and even Joseph saw and admired it, standing before the temple of the sun in Thebes, the ancient residence of the Pharaohs. The obelisk is 108 feet in height and weighs 400 tons. How the cold, lifeless granite gains interest in the eyes of the beholder, when he considers the memories attaching to it, and thinks of all that the lofty apex of that column has witnessed in the course of more than four thousand years!

## 10. THE AQUEDUCTS

EVERY one who knows how abundantly all the streets and squares in Rome, the baths, fountains, artificial lakes, palaces, gardens, and villas are supplied with water, and considers the distance of the springs whence the water comes, the length of the aqueducts and the difficulty of constructing them, the hills that had to be bored through, the valleys that had to be bridged over, will be forced to acknowledge that there is nothing on the whole globe that awakens greater astonishment than these water-works. Such is Pliny's opinion, and other writers speak of them with no less wonder and admiration.

Excepting the most ancient ones, the course of the aqueducts is not underground, but raised above the surface on a long series of arches. The remains of the old and those more recently built lie for miles across the Campagna, like gigantic snakes, colonnades of immense length, or like the long columns of an army, the Roman legions bringing home the spoil of conquered lands, or like a procession of many nations coming from all parts of the earth to pay tribute to the capital of a world-empire.

Frontinus, a Roman writer, describes nine great aqueducts; others, who include subsidiary ones, reckon the number to be fourteen. They supply 1,352 wells, 15 large fountains, 856 public baths, and 11 great thermæ.

Appius Claudius was the first to collect the water from the springs amongst the mountains in the neighborhood of Rome and to bring it into the city by the *Aqua Appia* in the year 312 B. C. He also began the construction of the Appian Way (*Via Appia*); the next aqueduct was the *Anio Vetus* in 273, the one which draws its supply from the river Anio, that rushes tumultuously down from the Sabine Mountains; then the *Aqua Marcia*, "the dearest of all streams on the face of the earth, unsurpassed in respect to coolness and salubriousness, a very gift of the gods to Rome," as Pliny describes it. It was made in 144 by the Praetor Marcius Rex and the source whence the water comes is in the district of Tivoli. Pius

FIG. 140. RUINS OF THE AQUA CLAUDIA ON THE CAMPAGNA

IX restored it in 1870 and since then it has been known as *Aqua Pia.* Augustus, or rather his son-in-law, Marcus Agrippa, built the *Aqua Virgo,* the original aqueduct. It is so called because a mysterious maiden is said to have shown the spring to Agrippa's soldiers when they were parched with thirst, or perhaps because of the crystal clearness and purity of the water; it supplies the beautiful Trevi fountains. The course of this aqueduct is mostly underground and it is many miles in length.

Fig. 141. Pine-trees on the Janiculum

The two most remarkable aqueducts are the *Aqua Claudia* and the *Anio Nova.* Both were begun in 38 by Caligula, and completed by Claudius fourteen years later. The course of both runs parallel with the highroad leading to the Sabine hills; the former, which draws its supply from two abundant springs, and whose water is considered equal to that of the *Aqua Marcia,* is forty-five miles in length; for thirty-five miles the channel is underground, for the other ten it is raised on a series of arches. The *Anio Nova* is supplied by the river Anio, after its water has been collected and purified in a reservoir. Its length is sixty-two miles. At about six miles' distance from Rome these two aqueducts are united, yet so as to keep the water separate, while a single arched way conducts both into the city. This double aqueduct, in some places 109 feet high, forms a splendid, truly monumental structure where it crosses the road before Maria Maggiore. The substructure, built of roughly hewn travertine, originally constituted two high vaulted gateways, the Porta Maggiore (the Greater Portals), ornamented with columns and niches and triangular pediments. The two water-courses are in the attica above. The inscription attributes the foundation of this colossal work to Emperor Claudius, its restoration to Vespasian and Titus.

Trajan also built a great aqueduct, principally for the benefit of the suburb on the other side of the Tiber (Trastevere). The most recent one is the *Aqua Alexandrina,* constructed by Alexander Severus in 225; it is now known as the *Aqua Felice,* on account of its having been restored by Sixtus V (Felice Peretti). Besides this one, three more of these ancient aqueducts are still in use; the *Aqua Marcia,* or *Pia,* restored, as we already said, by Pius IX; the *Aqua Virgine,* which pours daily more than 66,000 cubic meters of water into Rome; the *Aqua Paola,* constructed by the Emperor Trajan, rebuilt by Paul V. Although modern Rome is poorer by five aqueducts than ancient Rome, the water-supply is better than that of any other European capital.

The sight of the first pine-tree that meets the eye of the traveler from a northern clime, journeying in Italy, although nothing remarkable in itself, awakens in him pleasing emotions. And when, on his first morning in Rome, he sees a group of these beautiful trees with their bare, slender stems, roofed by thick, dark-green foliage, waving gently in the soft breeze on the Janiculum near the Villa Corsini, he joyfully tells himself that he is now really in Italy. The prints and paintings of Italian landscapes which we have seen from our youth up have taught us to regard the pine as a sign and symbol of the

Fig. 142. The Porta Maggiore with the Claudian and Anian Aqueducts

sunny south. A somewhat similar feeling is excited by the sight of the long lines of arched aqueducts, broken down as they are in many places, which cross the lonely Campagna and other environs of Rome. Here, they seem to say to the traveler, here truly is ancient Rome! And their mute eloquence appeals more forcibly to the feelings and the imagination than the ruins seen in the city itself, even the remains of the Forum and of the temples. As the pine is the emblem of Italy, so the rows of arches of the aqueducts are the distinctive feature of ancient Rome.

## II. THE MAUSOLEUMS

A DEEP, religious feeling of awe for the dead is common to all civilized nations of antiquity; numerous, often very solemn religious customs were connected with the remembrance of the deceased, the thought of loved ones in the realms of the departed, and the consecration of the place of their sepulture by the survivors. This moral trait is incompatible with many exhibitions of inconsolable grief at the deathbed, at the burial, at the tomb of the pagans.

In the most remote ages the Romans almost invariably interred their dead; later on cremation came into use. The bodies were consumed in public places on funeral pyres, and their ashes were collected in urns and deposited in the tomb. As a rule the noble patrician families, such as the Cornelii, continued the ancient method of interment. Under the emperors cremation again fell into disuse, following the time when Christianity began to renew the world. Space forbids us to enter further upon the different modes of burial, and the funeral rites and ceremonies attending them; we must confine our attention to the sepulchral monuments.

The laws of the Twelve Tables forbade intramural burial, an exception being made only in rare instances, and then prin-

cipally to mark the nation's appreciation of some high service rendered to the State. But as the Aurelian wall described a much wider circle than the Servian, enclosing a far larger tract of country, and one not before included in the city, it thence comes that several, amongst them the two proudest tombs, are now almost in the center of modern Rome; we refer to the imperial mausoleums of Augustus and Hadrian.

In the year 25 B. C. Augustus began the erection of a magnificent edifice as a mausoleum for himself, his family, and his posterity. It was a huge cylinder of white marble, resting on a square substructure, and was divided by pillars into deep, arched, vaulted niches. Above rose a mound of earth of a somewhat conical form, planted to the summit with evergreen cypresses; at the apex was a bronze statue of the emperor. Before the entrance there was a splendid portico, where the exploits of the founder were engraved on bronze tablets. Adjoining this monument there was a grove of considerable size with promenades and the place where the cremation of members of the imperial family took place. The latter was enclosed by an iron railing, paved with white stones and planted with poplars. Thus Strabo, who was in Rome during Augustus' reign, describes it in his geographical works.

From time immemorial the sepulchers of monarchs have proved a temptation to the political hatred or greedy gain of conquerors. Thus Augustus' mausoleum was broken open and plundered first of all by the West Goths, when they took Rome under the leadership of Alaric, their king. In the Middle Ages it shared the fate of all the massive buildings of ancient Rome; the family of the Colonnas took possession of it and turned it into a fortress. In 1167 it was conquered and all but demolished by the insurgent citizens; nothing remained but the bare walls stripped of all ornament. In the fifteenth century the interior was a vineyard, vines having been planted on the slopes of the funnel-shaped excavation. Towards the close of the eighteenth century a certain Marquis Vivaldi transformed it into a theater and amphitheater. Thus the present asserts its right over the past, the living over the dead; on the spot where the first emperors and their kindred were once laid to rest in their last long sleep, a noisy multitude now delights in the amusements afforded by the race-course and the drama. The mausoleum still serves for these purposes; portions of the circular base, with a few niches, are all that remain of the former splendor.

The last emperor whose remains were deposited in Augustus' princely sepulcher was Nerva. As there was no more room for further interments, Trajan was buried

Fig. 143. Part of the Columbarium in the Villa Codoni, Rome

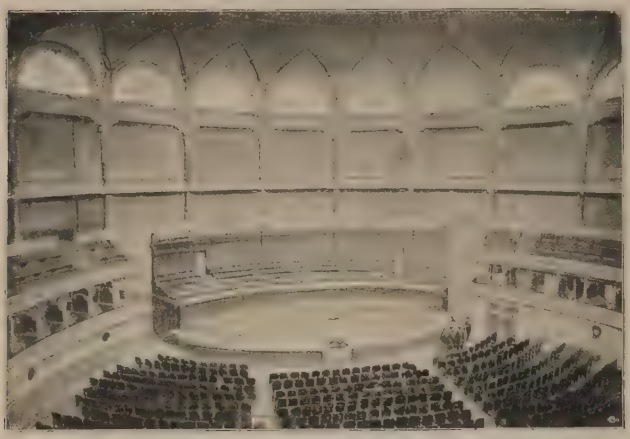


FIG. 144. THE MAUSOLEUM OF AUGUSTUS, CHANGED INTO A THEATER

at the base of the column he erected. His successor, the Emperor Aelius Hadrianus, determined to build a new mausoleum, a larger and more beautiful one, opposite to that of Augustus, on the other bank of the Tiber. In view of this he caused the bridge now called by his name, the *Pons Aelius*, to be constructed out of massive blocks of travertine stone skilfully joined together; three wide arches spanned the river, with a smaller arch at each end. This same bridge now bears the name of the bridge of Sant' Angelo; it is the largest and handsomest in Rome. The end exactly confronted Hadrian's mausoleum, a huge rotunda faced with dazzlingly white marble, raised on a massive square base, 31 meters in height. Equestrian statues were placed on the four corners of this colossal pedestal; in front the mortuary tablets were inserted. The rotunda was, as we gather from ancient descriptions and oral tradition, surrounded by a single or double circular row of pillars, between which costly statues and sculptured groups were arranged. The dome-shaped or tent-like roof, surrounded by a bronze balustrade with gilded peacocks—emblems of immortality—was probably surmounted by a gigantic fir-cone, now to be seen in the Vatican gardens. Within the rotunda, which closely resembles a tower, is the lofty rectangular sepulchral chamber; there Hadrian rests in a sarcophagus of costly porphyry; in the niches are urns containing the ashes of members of the imperial families.

This mausoleum has passed through more vicissitudes in the course of its history than perhaps any other monument of classic Rome; it has served as a fortress, as a papal residence, and as a dungeon wherein many famous and notorious prisoners have been confined. When it ceased to be the dwelling-place of the dead it lost its early pleasing and cheerful aspect.

Alaric, king of the West Goths, was the first who pillaged the chambers of the dead; the exterior of the building received no injury until the year 537, when Witiches, king of the East Goths, stormed the mausoleum. Then for the first time it was used as a fortress, the solid walls, its situation on the banks of the Tiber and at the head of a bridge adapting it for a stronghold. Belisarius was in command of the garrison, and, being hard pressed by the besiegers, broke off the architectural ornaments and hurled them as well as the statues down upon the enemy.

If we would trace the fortunes of this monument from that time forward up to the present, it would be necessary to tell of all the calamities of war and insurrection, all the internecine and foreign strife, which have disturbed the peace of Rome ever since. From the tenth century it has borne the name of the citadel, the fortress of Rome. Many a time it fell into the power of petty despots and bloodthirsty tyrants, who made it the headquarters of a temporary reign of terror. In 1379 the building was stripped of its last marble decorations. The commandant of the fortress, a Frenchman, took part with the anti-pope Clement. The Romans forced him to surrender, and attempted to raze the citadel to the ground; the marble facing was torn off, but the solid masonry of the walls resisted the work of demolition. Since then little remains of the original

Fig. 145. Castle and Bridge of St. Angelo

Fig. 146. Hadrian's Mausoleum and the Aelian Bridge

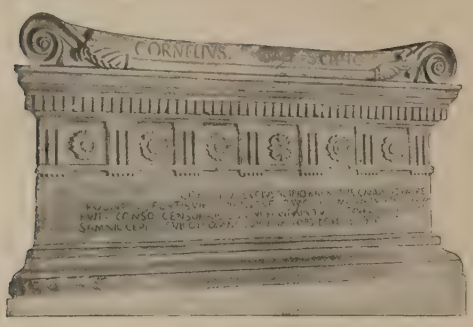



Fig. 147. The Sarcophagus of Scipio Barbatus. In the Vatican

building except the massive walls of the rotunda; its appearance has, however, changed many times in the subsequent centuries. Pope Boniface IX constructed battlements and outworks; Alexander VI connected the fortress by a covered way with the Vatican palace; in the reign of Paul III buildings, most of which still exist, were raised on the walls of the old tower; the papal apartments were restored, and beautifully decorated by Perino del Vaga, a pupil of Raphael. Finally, Pius VII had the interior cleared of an immense accumulation of rubbish; until that was done no researches could be carried on in regard to the original foundations.

Since the year 590 Hadrian's mausoleum has been called the Castle of Sant' Angelo. In that year, history relates, St. Gregory the Great organized a solemn procession, for the purpose of imploring God to stay the ravages of a pestilence which was carrying off hundreds of his people. When the Pope, who walked barefoot at the head of the procession, was crossing the bridge of Aelius, he saw a luminous cloud above the mausoleum, and on it the Archangel Michael in the act of sheathing his avenging sword as a pledge of the speedy cessation of the plague. Eighteen years after Boniface IV erected a chapel upon the mausoleum, dedicating it to the delivering angel. Paul III did away with the chapel, as it interfered with the new buildings, replacing it by a colossal marble statue of the glorious archangel holding aloft a drawn sword; this figure towered above the whole structure. Benedict XIV had another statue cast in bronze after the design of a Dutch artist named Verschaffelt; it represents the celestial warrior under a peaceful aspect, sheathing his redoubtable sword.

In ancient Rome the public cemeteries were only for the poor and persons who had no landed property; the dead of the well-to-do were buried by the survivors on their own estate, on farms or in the grounds of villas, by preference alongside the principal and most frequented highways, such as the Via Appia, Aurelia (now the highroad to Civita Vecchia), Flaminia (the road to Ponte Molle), and Latina (now no longer used). The graves of individuals alternate with the vaults or mausoleums of whole families or clans; some are subterranean, hewn out of the tufa, or built up with blocks of that stone, others are above ground, tombs or mausoleums. The tombs of the Scipios belong to the first description; the coffins containing the remains of the members of that noble race are deposited in irregular tortuous corridors hewn out of the granulous tufa beside the Via Appia. These underground passages are of a date earlier than the third century B. C., for the oldest sarcophagus which was discovered, and which is now in the Vatican museum, contained the remains of Cornelius Scipio Barbatus, who was Consul in the year 298 B. C. It is a simple stone coffin ornamented with arabesques of Greco-Roman style.

The most interesting subterranean sepulchers or crypts are the *Columbaria,* the common burial-places for guilds or societies, or for the freedmen and slaves of patrician families, especially those who were attached to the Imperial Court. They are deep, vaulted crypts of proportionately small area. In the walls and the pillars, if the latter are erected to support the vaulted ceiling, small recesses, some semicircular, some square, are excavated in straight lines above one another; this gives to the whole the effect of a dovecote, whence comes the name given to these sepulchral chambers.

On the ground of each niche there are generally two small urns containing ashes, buried up to the top, so that as a rule nothing but the lid or at most the rim is above the surface. In the quadrangular excavations small marble urns are generally found, beside them small bowls or cups for the receipt of alms for the dead. In some columbaria as many as 900 urns have been counted. Above the niches are marble tablets on which the names of the dead are engraved. In one of the crypts, amongst others, there was the urn of a favorite dog, which, as the inscription stated, had been the *Delicium,* the joy and delight of a certain Glauconia! The walls and ceilings are decorated with bright paintings, such as groups of fruit, garlands of roses, birds of various kinds, principally doves or peacocks, besides other animals, just like the oldest Christian catacombs. In fact, the columbaria are a kind of catacomb on a small scale, only the manner of burial and the plan are different.

Of all the sepulchral monuments of ancient Rome, the two that are in the best state of preservation are situated on the *Via Latina.* The one on the right-hand side is on a handsome plan: two stories, a double flight of steps, a courtyard, and two sepulchral chambers. The relievos, wrought in extremely good stucco, divide the cylindrical vault into small spaces, in each of which are two winged creatures: genii riding on centaurs and stags, unicorns, lions, etc. The stamp on the tiles indicates the year 159 B. C. as the date of the building. The ground vault of the mausoleum on the left is not only ornamented with stucco-work but also painted; the most prominent colors are red, green, blue, and black in harmonious juxtaposition. The separate pictures, landscapes, mythological subjects, warriors, genii, etc., are surrounded by white arabesques on a colored ground. They are the finest decorations which remain to us from ancient Rome.

The sepulchral monuments that are above ground are of every imaginable shape, from lofty rotundas, of a size and magnificence that remind one of the imperial mausoleums, down to the small *cippus,* a square upright stone, very similar to the simplest of our gravestones. The *Via Appia,* termed the Queen of Roman highroads, is, more than any other highway, strewn on each side with ruins and fragments of all kinds. No walk or drive outside the walls of modern Rome will give as much pleasure, or produce a more indelible impression.

Without the gate of Sant' Sebastian the road slopes downward into a lovely valley through which the river Almo flows. There are not many ruins there now, most of them having disappeared, for this region was once thickly populated. After the road has been for a long way shut in by high walls, it descends into the low ground which once bore the name of "the Catacombs," where the Basilica of St. Sebastian stands in solitary grandeur. On the eminence on the far side is the beginning of a long series of bare ruins, once the proud monuments of the haughty departed, which stretch away farther than the eye can reach. Canina, a celebrated

Fig. 148. Depositing an Urn in the Columbarium

architect, endeavored by means of long study, tireless research, and clever comparisons, to discover and reproduce on paper the original form of these monuments; his work on the subject appeared in the year 1853. They are imposing structures which he presents to view, worthy indeed of the grandeur and love of display of the ancient Romans; lofty, august, beautiful monuments, like the temples of the gods described above, with noble sepulchral chambers, porticoes, bas-reliefs, and statues; stupendous tower-like rotundas

Fig. 149. Stucco Decorations in the Vault of Valerian on the Via Latina, Rome

resting on cubiform bases; pyramids in stages, a pile of five, seven, or more square blocks, every one smaller than the other, the sides of each one decorated with columns and pilasters, with inscriptions and epitaphs; altar-like memorial stones or chapels with handsome gables and pilasters; columns, some of travertine, but more often of marble, of marble brought from Pharos in Greece, of marble from Numidia in Africa, of marble from Phrygia in Asia, of marble from the quarries of Carrara in central Italy; or again of porphyry, alabaster, or bronze. These costly materials too often occasioned the destruction of the monument they adorned, for they excited the cupidity of the plunderer. Nothing is now left of them but bare, naked, shapeless ruins, whose only ornament is the abundance of graceful creepers grown up their sides, clothing them with verdure, or the gigantic cactus which stands before them, upright and heavy, or wild fennel, whose blossoms emit around them a fragrant odor. Here and there lie mutilated statues, stern figures with the toga gracefully thrown round them, the right hand hidden among its folds on the breast, the left hand hanging down, like the statue of Sophocles in the Lateran; then again cornices, groups, capitals of columns artistically sculptured in marble. Not a single sepulchral column has escaped injury. On some monuments there yet remain the great white marble slabs with half-length portraits of the deceased in relief, three, four, or more busts beside one another. Within the monuments the niches are still to be seen, and in them the semi-circular depressions wherein the urns were placed.

On the heights above the Basilica of St. Sebastian, on the right-hand side of the road, there stands a massive rotunda resting on a huge rectangular base. The name given to it by the common people is *Capo di bove,* or ox-head; a handsome marble frieze composed of garlands of flowers and the skulls of oxen—memorials of sacrifices for the dead—has apparently given rise to this singular appellation. This proud structure, 29½ meters in diameter, was the sepulchral monument or mausoleum of a noble Roman lady, Cecilia Metella, who lived in the last period of the Republic, a member of the distinguished family of the Metelli, and the wife of one Crassus. The roof of the rotunda, once a cupôla or conical dome, has disappeared, for the mausoleum became in the Middle Ages part of the possessions of the Gaetani, who built a strong castle beside it, the ruins of which are highly picturesque. At that period the battlements above the cornice that still exist were added to the rotunda.

Fig. 150. The Mausoleum of Cecilia Metella

Between the huge monuments, now in ruins, which dominate the surrounding country, and are its distinguishing feature, there are remains and fragments of other, humbler tombs along the course of the road stretching for miles nearly to Albano. Sometimes amongst them an *ustrina* may be seen, a space, that is, enclosed by low walls, where the funeral piles for the cremation of the dead were erected. Or here and there ruins of vaster extent mark the spot where country-seats and villas formerly stood. Such are the remnants of earlier ages, now popularly called *Roma Vecchia,* ancient Rome; there it may almost confidently be asserted that the large and famous villa of the Quinctillii—two brothers of noble lineage

Fig. 151. The Appian Way near Rome

—was situated; history relates that Emperor Commodus caused the brothers to be executed and their whole family exterminated; he took possession of their beautiful villa, making it the scene of his dissolute doings, while Rome was left to the mismanagement of his mercenary favorites.

The furthest point usually reached when a short drive is taken on the Appian Way is the so-called *Casale Rotondo,* a gigantic mausoleum of circular shape, once rich in architectural ornamentation. The area, ninety meters in circumference, was in the Middle Ages the site of a fortress; now the space is converted into a dairy-farm, with farmhouse, courtyard, and a small olive-garden.

In the present day graves and cemeteries are at a distance from towns and villages, far removed from the dwellings of man, as if the dead were to be banished from the thoughts and judgment of the living, and their remembrance not allowed to linger in the minds of the survivors.

Fig. 152. Visiting a Grave with Gifts for the Dead

Fig. 153. Molossian Dog. In the Vatican

The pagan Romans acted in a more manly, more religious spirit; they laid the departed to rest beside the most frequented highways. The road along which the high-born Roman drives out in his easy, well-appointed equipage, or on which the humbler pedestrian saunters leisurely, is bordered by the tombs of his forefathers; the rich man erects his suburban villa, the poor man his lowly cottage, in the near vicinity of the dwellings of the dead. In the shadow of the monuments raised to the memory of the departed he reads, studies, holds his mid-day siesta; in the *exedra,* semi-circular halls, and resting-places he not only provides the funeral repast, but frequently gives merry banquets to his friends. In olden times the Appian Way was astir with busy life, especially when the great feasts in honor of the dead in general were celebrated in February. The principal sepulchral monuments were then wreathed with garlands, sprinkled with holy water, anointed with chrism; within some and before others lamps were lighted, offerings were brought, libations poured on the graves of the departed, wine, milk, blood, etc. The tombs of beloved friends and relatives were also frequently visited by the survivors. Whether these customs arose from mistaken, even somber views of an after-life, we can not

say; at any rate one can but admire, not blame, the affection that prompted them.

There is one charm which the Appian Way possessed of yore and still possesses: that of a magnificent prospect, one which fails not to produce an indelible impression on the beholder. Any one who, standing at a short distance from the mausoleum of Cecilia Metella on a fine day, allows his eyes to wander over the landscape spread out before him will never forget what he then sees and feels. Rome is the first object on which his gaze rests: only the loftiest edifices and those that are situated on high ground stand out prominently; first of all the huge stone statues on the façade of St. John Lateran are discerned, then the stupendous Colosseum, the ruins of Constantine's basilica, beside these the tower of the Capitol, and, above all, the beautiful dome of St. Peter's; only at such a distance as this can the vast outline of the buildings and the grandeur of their form be appreciated.

Fig. 154. Shepherd Boy of the Campagna

Fig. 155. Tivoli and the Waterfall of the Anio

In an easterly and southerly direction the long lines of the aqueducts stretch away along the plain; the chain of arches is broken in places, but their beauty, their greatness is not destroyed. In the background the Albanian range of mountains rises, enlivened with many bright clusters of houses, such as Frascati, Marino, Rocca di Papa; further away in the blue distance are the Sabine hills; in front of them is Tivoli.

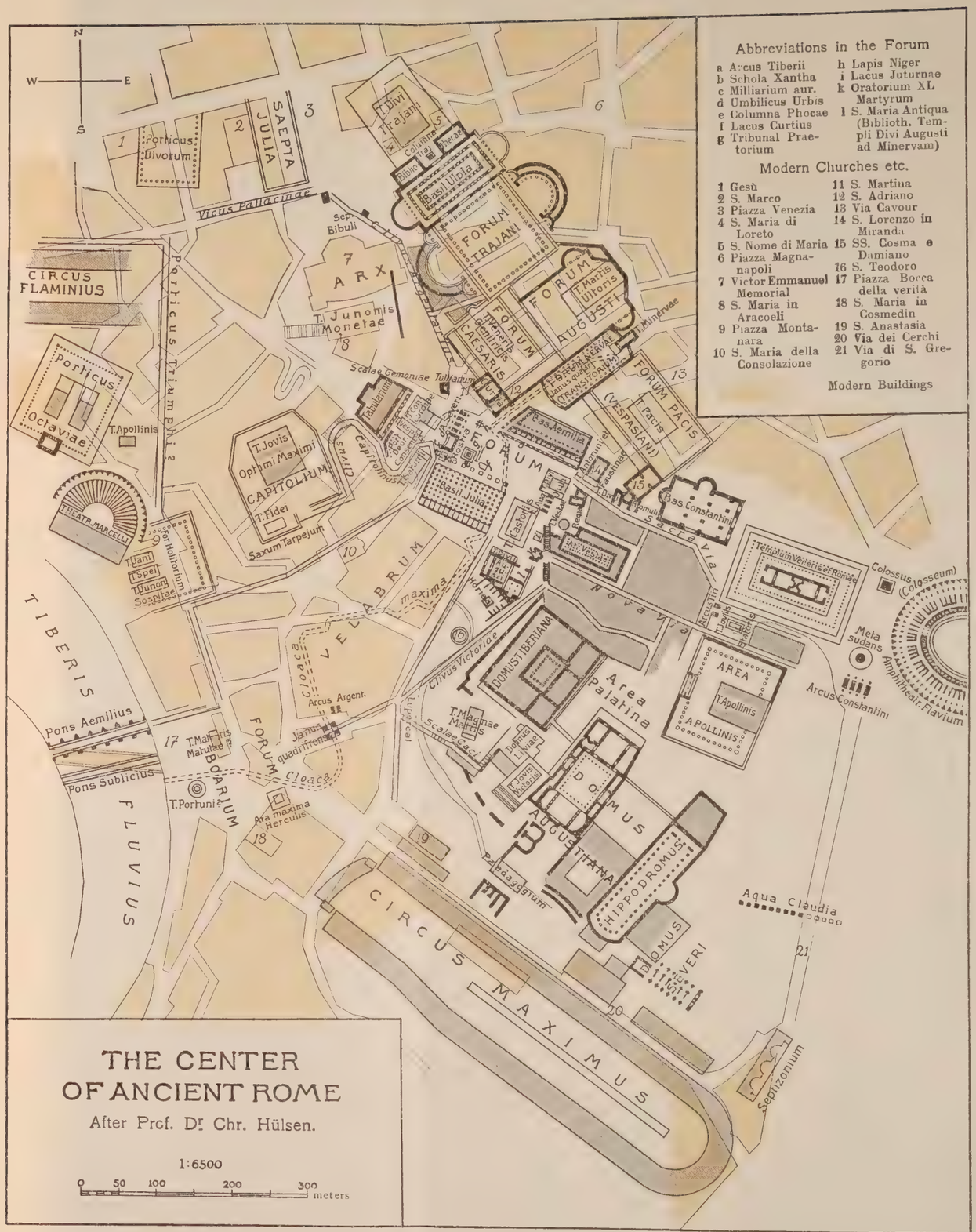
Before the spectator the plain of the Campagna lies outstretched, silent and solemn, in some parts undulating, in others cleft and broken; then again, flat and smooth as far as the eye can reach, the surface varied only by a lonesome melancholy ruin, a few stunted trees and wild shrubs, or perhaps a herdsman of the Campagna, in charge of a troop of horses or a flock of sheep, wearing a high slouch hat and tight gaiters, who, as he walks, throws his long green cloak over his shoulder with the same free, easy gesture as the ancient Roman did his toga. At his heels trots his boy, absorbed in blowing a plaintive melody on his reed-pipe. And as one gazes at the enchanting landscape the shades of evening begin to fall, casting a soft, roseate veil over every object, clothing all, both far and near, in the tenderest, fairest hues. A strange longing takes possession of the soul, vague, yet not unaccountable, for all that is truly beautiful upon earth inspires the heart with a yearning desire, an aspiration for higher power, more perfect beauty, which alone can satisfy the soul of man.

Fig. 156. Frieze from the Forum of Trajan. Lateran Museum

## 12. THE ROMAN FORUM—THE IMPERIAL FORUMS

HITHERTO we have considered individual monuments in connection with one another when of a similar nature, regardless of the distance which separated them. Three spots in ancient Rome demand special and close observation, not only as being the site of the most remarkable and interesting monuments, but also because of the great historical importance attaching to them. These three places, of which mention has frequently been made, are the Roman Forum, the Capitol, and the Palatine. The Forum is the common center of the civic life of Rome; the Capitoline hill is the seat of the principal national deities; on the lofty Palatine stands the imperial palace.

The name of Forum, i. e., public square or market-place, was given in ancient Rome to an open space gained by levelling the low ground stretching between the Palatine hill on the south, the Capitoline on the north, and the spurs of the Caelian heights on the east. The area, paved with slabs of travertine, is rectangular in


Abbreviations in the Forum
a Arcus Tiberii
b Schola Xantha
c Milliarium aur.
d Umbilicus Urbis
e Columna Phocae
f Lacus Curtius
g Tribunal Praetorium
h Lapis Niger
i Lacus Juturnae
k Oratorium XL Martyrum
l S. Maria Antiqua (Biblioth. Templi Divi Augusti ad Minervam)
Modern Churches etc.
1 Gesù
2 S. Marco
3 Piazza Venezia
4 S. Maria di Loreto
5 S. Nome di Maria
6 Piazza Magnanapoli
7 Victor Emmanuel Memorial
8 S. Maria in Aracoeli
9 Piazza Montanara
10 S. Maria della Consolazione
11 S. Martina
12 S. Adriano
13 Via Cavour
14 S. Lorenzo in Miranda
15 SS. Cosma e Damiano
16 S. Teodoro
17 Piazza Bocca della verità
18 S. Maria in Cosmedin
19 S. Anastasia
20 Via dei Cerchi
21 Via di S. Gregorio
Modern Buildings
N
W
E
S
Porticus Divorum
SAEPTA JULIA
T. Divi Trajani
Basil. Ulpia
FORUM TRAJANI
Vicus Fabricius
Vicus Fabricius
Sep. Bibuli
CIRCUS FLAMINIUS
Porticus Triumphi?
ARX
T. Junonis Monetae
FORUM AUGUSTI
T. Martis Ultoris
T. Minervae
FORUM CAESARIS
Veneris Genetricis
Scalae Gemoniae
Tullianum
Porticus Octaviae
T. Apollinis
T. Jovis Optimi Maximi CAPITOLINUS
T. Fidei
Clivus Capitolinus
Fabularium
Basil. Aemilia
FORUM ROMANUM
Basil. Julia
FORUM PACIS (VESPASIANI)
T. Pacis
Templum Romae et Veneris
Colossus (Colosseum)
Meta sudans
Arcus Constantini
Amphitheatr. Flavium
THEATR. MARCELLI
T. Uani
T. Spei
T. Junonis Sospitae
Porticus Holitorium
Saxum Tarpejum
VELABRUM
maxima
Cloaca
Arcus Argent.
Clivus Victoriae
DOMUS TIBERIANA
Area Palatina
AREA
T. Apollinis
APOLLINIS
TIBERIS
Pons Aemilius
FORUM BOARIUM
T. Martis Maturae
Janus quadrifrons
T. Portunis
Ara maxima Herculis
Pons Sublicius
FLUVIUS
T. Matris Magnae
Scalae Caci
Iuppiter Victor
Iuno Lucina
Iovis Custos
DOMUS AUGUSTIANA
Paedagogium
HIPPODROMUS
DOMUS SEVERI
CIRCUS MAXIMUS
Aqua Claudia
Septizonium
THE CENTER OF ANCIENT ROME
After Prof. Dr Chr. Hülsen.
1:6500
0 50 100 200 300 meters

1. Vatican Gardens. 2. Picture Gallery. 3. Christian Museum. 4. Library. 5. Gallery of Geographical Charts. 6. Hall of Tapestries. 7. Pagan Museum. 8. Gallery of Candelabra. 9. Chariot Hall. 10. Circular Hall. 11. Octagonal Court of Belvidere. 12. Etruscan Museum. 13. Egyptian Museum. 14. Pine Court. 15. Museum Chiaramonti. 16. Braccio Nuovo. 17. Library. 18. Gallery of Inscriptions. 19. Studio for Mosaic Painting. 20. Court of the Belvidere.

View of the Vatican Museums from the Cupola of St. Peter's

shape, and measures somewhat less than 190 meters in length and forty-eight in breadth at the widest part; it narrows gradually in a southeasterly direction; westward the plain rises some 100 meters.

At an early period porticoes were built along the two longest sides, open corridors which were at the same time ornamental and of practical use, for shops and covered rooms were built on to them for the various necessaries of life and merchandise of all sorts. Although these halls were constantly being rebuilt in a more elaborate and handsome style, yet later on they had to give place to erections on a larger, more magnificent scale; one temple was added to another, and basilicas of a similar type rose with a majestic grandeur beside them, while on the unoccupied space were erected triumphal arches, equestrian statues, marble and bronze groups—a vast collection of splendid monuments and works of art on a comparatively small portion of ground, such as no town in modern times can even approximately rival. In fact, one might be inclined to condemn the aggregation of so much that was brilliant and beautiful as foolish extravagance and want of taste, were it not that the sacredness of the place in the popular estimation, in republican times, had made it almost a bounden duty to glorify the Forum, the center and focus of Roman greatness and might, with all that could contribute to enhance its majesty and beauty.

Three distinct periods must be marked in the history of the Forum: the first includes the time of the Republic; the second the rule of the emperors until Nero, during whose reign the Forum was destroyed in the burning of Rome. Its complete restoration was accomplished by Domitian. In the third and concluding period the place lost its political importance more and more as time went on, yet it was enriched with new monuments, the last splendid erection for which room was still found being the arch of Septimius Severus.

We must attempt, even at the risk of not making ourselves perfectly intelligible to all our readers, to give some idea of the appearance presented by the Forum in the time of the later emperors, and of the monuments that stood within its precincts. Some acquaintance with the former magnificence of the Forum is indispensable for those who would read its present ruins aright.

The situation of the Forum was such that the foreigner or stranger visiting Rome could obtain the best view of it as a whole if, coming from the Colosseum, he paused on the heights of the Velia, since it occupied the low-lying ground at his feet. At the opposite end, the northwest side, the Capitoline hill with its splendid edifices formed the background. At the base of the declivity a number of buildings confuse the eye of the spectator.

At the farthest point towards the north-

FIGS. 157 AND 158. THE TULLIANUM AND THE MAMERTINE PRISON

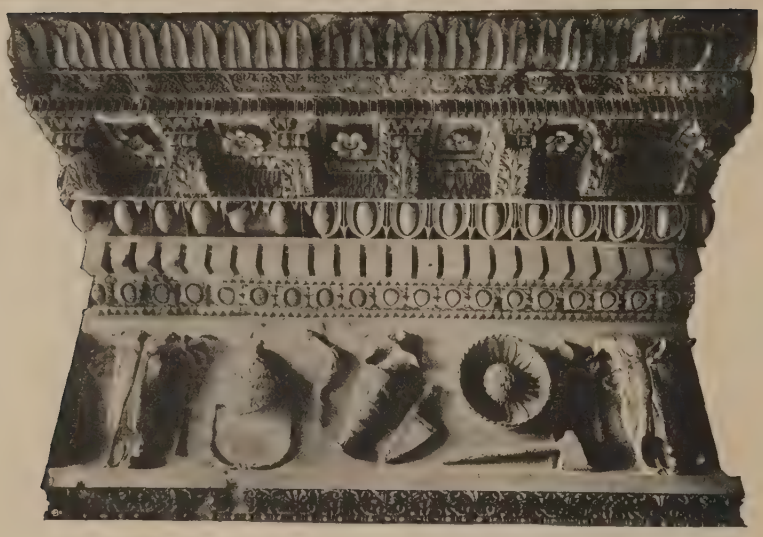


Fig. 159. Cornice and Frieze from the Temple of Vespasian

east the state-prison of the Tullianum comes into view. Access may be had to what is still left of the prison through the sacristy of the church of San Guiseppe dei Falegnami—St. Joseph of the Carpenters, so called because it was built by the members of that craft in 1539. A comparatively new flight of steps leads down into the *carcer,* the state-prison proper, a square subterranean chamber with a vaulted roof. A second flight leads into the dungeon below, which originally was only accessible through a round aperture in the floor of the *carcer;* this is known by the name of the Tullianum. It is an almost round chamber, which was roofed in a most primitive manner by stones laid one on another; at a later period the upper strata were removed, and the present ceiling substituted for it. The prisoners were lowered by means of ropes into the Tullianum, there to be strangled or left to die of starvation. Sallust writes of it thus: "In the prison there is a chamber called the Tullianum, some twelve feet below the surface of the ground, surrounded by strong walls and roofed with stone arches, but its appearance is dismal and horrible on account of the filth, the darkness, and the stench."

Flaminius died in this dungeon (Livy 29), the African Jugurtha wrestled with death there during six days; Cicero caused the Catiline conspirators to be strangled there; Sejanus, a former favorite of Emperor Tiberius, and Simon, the son of Goras, one of the Jewish leaders, who was taken prisoner at the destruction of Jerusalem, expired in the Tullianum, besides many others who in their lifetime were men of renown.

Since the Middle Ages the Carcer and Tullianum have been called the Mamertine prison. According to a not very ancient tradition the Apostles Peter and Paul were confined in the Tullianum before their death. Through their exhortations the prison warders Processus and Martinianus, besides forty prisoners, were converted to the faith of Christ, to which they all bore witness by torture and death. In the prison there was no water wherewith to baptize the newly converted, but suddenly a miraculous spring was seen to well up out of the rocky ground, and to this day it continues to flow. Such is the legend.

The name "Tullianum" is said to have been given to the prison because it was built by King Servius Tullius; the manner in which it is built seems, however, to contradict this assertion. Recent writers

derive the appellation from an old Latin word, *tullus,* meaning well-house, in which case we must suppose the prison to have been a well in primeval times. If so, the miraculous origin of the spring can not have been in that place. The tradition that St. Peter was confined in the Mamertine dungeon, and that it was there that the spring miraculously gushed forth, is, as we have said, not very old, and probably dates from the fifteenth century. Some of the older Guides for Pilgrims, such as the famous description of Rome in the library of the monastery at Einsiedeln dating from the eighth century, locate the prison and St. Peter's spring in the trans-Tibertine quarter. The probability is that in the course of centuries a mistaken idea gained ground whereby St. Peter's incarceration was connected with the Mamertine prison.

In old times, beside the Tullianum, there was a flight of steps called the *Gemoniae* which led to the Capitol. It awakens most dismal memories, for bodies of criminals strangled in the dungeon were dragged with big hooks up the steps and exhibited there before being thrown into the Tiber. Close by is the *Concordia,* the Temple of Concord. According to legendary lore it was founded in the year 338 B. C., by Camillus, after the civic irregularities of Patricians and Plebeians were abolished. In early times the Senate often met within its walls. There it was that Cicero disclosed the Catiline conspiracy, causing the ringleaders to be arrested and executed in the neighboring prison. Under Augustus the temple was rebuilt on a scale of greater splendor. The ground plan shows it to have consisted of two square buildings; the foremost and smaller one formed the vestibule or porch, adjoining which was the larger one, the temple proper. Not until the fourteenth century did this temple become a ruin; only a few vestiges of it still remain to testify that it once existed. The exterior exhibited the best and most attractive form of Corinthian architecture, while the interior was richly ornamented with valuable paintings and sculptures.

Next to the Concordia was Vespasian's temple; like the former, its façade fronted on the Forum. Domitian built it in his father's honor; at a later period a statue of Titus was set up in the sanctuary. Naught but marble pillars now tell of the former beauty of the edifice.

Beside Vespasian's temple was the

Fig. 160. Curia and Comitium in the Roman Forum

portico where stood the gilt images of the *Dii consentes,* the twelve superior divinities of Rome, the givers of counsel who from time immemorial were venerated on the Forum. In the year 367, when more than half a century had elapsed since Constantine's victory over paganism, the Prefect Vettius Agorius Praetextatus, an adversary of Christianity, reinstated the gods, who had long been out of fashion, in their places. Between this colonnade and the temple of Saturn, which joins it on the west side, a long flight of a hundred steps leads up to the Capitol. The temple of Saturn, one of the most ancient buildings in Rome, was rebuilt in the year 42 B. C., and about the close of the third or beginning of the fourth century it was again restored. From the earliest ages it was used as the treasure-house of the Republic. At the commencement of the civil war Cæsar found in it 15,000 gold ingots, 30,000 silver ingots, and 30,000,000 sesterces. The eight columns of the porch are yet standing, but the artistic work is not pleasing.

The temple of Saturn, looking towards the northeast, is the first of the row of monuments on the southwest side of the Forum. Next to it was the arch of Tiberius, of which nothing now remains; then came the big, magnificent *Basilica Julia,* founded by Julius Cæsar in 54 B. C., and rebuilt on a larger scale by Augustus after a conflagration. It consisted of two principal parts: the interior, consisting of a nave and two aisles, two stories high, and the vestibule facing on the Via Sacra. The interior, as well as the vestibule and porch, rested on huge piers, round which pilasters were grouped; statues stood in the arcades. The porch and the side aisles had flat roofs; Emperor Caligula is said to have often amused himself by throwing small coins among the people while standing on the roof. Towards the southeast was the spacious, handsome marble temple dedicated to the divine youths, Castor and Pollux; then came the small, circular sanctuary of Vesta, wherein the vestal virgins kept alight the sacred fire that was never allowed to die out—the Romans considering it as an emblem of the perpetual duration of their constitution. The presence of these six virgins consecrated to the service of Vesta appears a somewhat strange thing in ancient Rome. They were chosen by the Pontifex Maximus, and must not be less than six or more than ten years of age; from that time they were bound to live in strict seclusion for the space of thirty years. The service required of them was severe, the honors and privileges they enjoyed were very great, the punishment for neglect of duty most rigorous. A vestal virgin who violated her vow of chastity was buried alive on the *Campus Sceleratus*—the Field of Crime. In the year 382 A. D. Emperor Gratian seized all the property and revenues of the vestal virgins; at that period Christian maidens were flocking to the convents, while it had for some time past been a difficult matter to find six vestal virgins. To the south of the temple of Vesta stretched the widespread official residence of the priestesses of Vesta, the *Atrium Vestae,* so called because of a large, handsome court ornamented with statues in the center of the buildings. In the rear of this conventual home of the vestals stood the splendid imperial palaces on the Palatine.

Among the buildings which shut in the south and shorter side of the Forum was the temple of Julius Cæsar; its façade looked toward the Capitol and on its west side was a triumphal arch of Emperor Augustus.

In going from south to north on the east side of the Forum, a rotunda is seen, flanked by a square building; it is the temple of the divine Romulus. Maxentius erected it to the memory of his son Romulus, who died young, in the year 307 B. C. The next large structure is the so-called temple of Faustina and Antoninus, dedicated in 141 by Emperor Antoninus to his first wife, Faustina, a woman of by no means irreproachable life; Antoninus' name was inserted in the dedicatory inscription subsequent to his death. Beside that temple stood the spa-

Fig. 161. Relief on the Tribune of the Roman Forum

cious and beautiful Basilica Æmelia; it was first built in the year 179 B. C., and in later times it was repeatedly restored, enriched, and enlarged by the family of the Æmelii, and rebuilt in 14 B. C. after having been burned down. On the highest part, near to the slope of the Capitoline hill, one of the most noteworthy edifices of ancient Rome was situated, the *Curia Hostilia,* or the Hostilian public offices, where the Senate met for the dispatch of public business. The original building is said to have dated from the time of the kings. In the *Comitium,* or open hall in front of it, the assemblies of the Roman people were convened. Lastly, on the declivity of the Capitoline, towards the north, was the arch of Septimius Severus; on the east side a triumphal arch of Emperor Tiberius stood out prominently.

The *Via Sacra,* so called because religious processions passed along it on their way up to the temple of Jupiter on the Capitol, ran all along the northeast side of the Forum. The remaining unoccupied space in the Forum was paved with travertine and raised above the level of the road.

A great number of monuments rose on the free space. On the lower end of the Forum, toward the west, near the arch of Severus, was the old tribune for orators. Under the first emperors it took the shape of an elevated square platform, with a frontage of nearly 24 meters. The front was decorated with the gilt beak-shaped prows taken from conquered ships, called *rostra;* above was a marble balustrade. In the middle of the side balustrades, since Trajan's time, two fine marble relievos were added, representing on the outer side the victims of the solemn State sacrifices, suovetaurilia (boars, rams, bullocks), while on the inner side two historical events out of the life of the Emperor Trajan were portrayed. The platform or tribune was decorated with statues and monuments. Later on a second, the Tullian rostrum, was erected, while the porch of Julius Cæsar's temple was being enlarged.

The Forum! What did it not mean for the Roman people! Its political importance outweighed all else. Cicero, Rome's greatest orator, speaks of the *Curia Hostilia* as "the temple of inviolable dignity, of greatness and majesty, of political wis-

FIG. 162. COLUMNS AND ENTABLATURE OF THE TEMPLE OF FAUSTINA, ROME

dom and judgment, the center of Rome, the sanctuary of the confederation, the refuge for all nations of the earth." He was quite right in what he said; there in truth was the focus, the central seat of Rome's greatness and world-empire. In the unroofed hall, the *Comitium,* the Roman citizens assembled, a free, independent, sovereign people, to vote and decide upon the most important political questions. How the heart of the popular orator must have thrilled with enthusiasm when he mounted the rostrum and ran his eye over the wondrous, the magnificent erections of the Forum, when he looked down upon the people, the masters of the world, waiting to hear what he had to say before passing decrees of world-wide import! The persuasive words of the speaker carrying conviction to the minds of hearers such as these may be compared to the stone which thrown into still water forms ever-widening circles on its surface. Justly could Cicero say, when he stood for the first time on the tribune, that the view from its height was one of proud enjoyment, that it was the most admirable stage for the political debate, the most honorable for the orator, one that opened for him a way to the attainment of distinction and renown. Excepting the holy places hallowed by the life and death of the Redeemer of mankind, earth can boast no spot more noteworthy than the site of the Roman Forum, where a nation met to deliberate, a nation that ruled the world as no other ever did, a nation that still dominates it by the indelible memory of its achievements and the remains of its grand creations.

The Forum was, moreover, the favorite place where services rendered to the State met with public recognition and honor. Amongst and in front of the larger edifices rose a multitude of memorial columns, equestrian and other statues, monumental trophies, triumphal arches, erected to celebrated republicans, and at a later period to various emperors. For these no spot could be better suited. There they were constantly before the eyes of the Romans, of the young men at their sports, of the middle-aged during their deliberations, their daily social intercourse, their leisure hours. On holidays and in his free time the Roman citizen loved to saunter up and down the smooth pavement of the Forum. Plautus, the comic poet (184 B. C.), tells us what were the favorite haunts of the various groups: "The groups, who retailed the latest news and had a stone to cast at every passer-by, congregated, as might be expected, in the center of the Forum. The usurers and Jewish money-lenders were to be met with in the southern porticoes; the unfortunate creditors, who were not worth a single *as,* stood round about

FIGS. 163 AND 164. THE ROMAN FORUM, AS SEEN FROM S. FRANCESCA ROMANA, ON THE CAPITOL

the temple of Castor. The honest and honorable and opulent citizens assembled in the lower end of the area; whilst whoever was in search of a rogue who could be bribed to swear falsely would find his man in the vicinity of the Curia and the Courts of Justice."

Even in the matter of reckoning time and counting the hours the Forum was of importance. An official proclaimed the hour of noon from the steps of the Curia when the sun, reaching the meridian, was seen close to the rostra, a fairly accurate means of ascertaining the hour. At eventide the time of sunset was announced from the top of a column. Even to the present day almost all the occupations of daily life are regulated by the hours of mid-day and the Angelus, or sunset. In ancient Rome no popular decree passed after sunset was of legal validity.

FIG. 165. RUINS OF THE TEMPLE OF MINERVA IN THE FORUM OF NERVA

The visible emblem which marked the Forum as the center of Rome, the heart, so to speak of the then known world, whence all its vital force was derived, was the gold milestone set up by Augustus at the foot of the Capitolium behind the old rostra; it was the marble shaft of a column, overlaid with plates of gilt bronze; it indicated the length of the principal highroads which radiated from the Forum, southwards to the lowest point of the peninsula, northwards over the Alps as far as Gaul and Germania. The *Umbilicus,* the navel-stone of Rome, which stood in the immediate vicinity, had much the same signification; it was supposed to mark the center of that city of world-wide fame.

Under the emperors the Forum lost much of its political importance; the seat of power and diplomacy was transferred to the palace on the Palatine where the autocrat resided. Yet the situation of the Forum in the heart of the city, and its proximity to the imperial palace, prevented it from losing its pristine glory and consequence. Moreover, as we have seen, the emperors enriched it with new edifices and works of art.

What now remains of the magnificence of the Roman Forum? The reader has already been told how the Forum was buried beneath a mass of rubbish, to a depth of some nine meters, how it acquired the name of *Campo Vaccino,* and how for about a century the work of disinterring has been carried on. All that remains, all that is now dug out of the ground, are ruins and sparse fragments. Of the temples that

Museum Chiaramonti and the Braccio Nuovo

stood on the slope of the Capitoline hill nothing is to be seen of the Concordia but the terrace-like substructure; of the temple of Vespasian three columns only are still standing, and these by their artistic workmanship bear silent but eloquent testimony to the former beauty of the building. Eight columns of the temple of Saturn are still erect, standing on high foundations; and this ruin is most charming and picturesque in appearance; the shafts and capitals of the columns are, however, rather roughly hewn and hastily put together. A few pillars from the hall of the *Dii consentes* have also been set up again.

The ground plan of the Julian basilica can easily be traced from the ruins. The socles of some piers remained, others were laid apart. In Christian times it was converted into a church, but of the fate that befell it in the Middle Ages no record is extant. The three columns, fourteen meters in height, which rise out of the ruins in the lower part of the Forum, are all that remains of the temple of Castor. They are hewn out of white marble; the capitals, cornices, and architraves are so exquisitely sculptured that scarcely anything more beautiful and perfectly finished is to be found in the remains of ancient Rome. Of the temple of Vesta, the atrium, and the dwellings of the priestesses, only shapeless ruins and a part of the foundations are left. The circular temple of Romulus from the time of Pope Felix IV (527-530) formed the vestibule of the church of SS. Cosmas and Damian; in the year 1630 Urban VIII added a story to the building on account of the extreme dampness. Since 1879 the rotunda has been excavated anew, and all manner of minor finds are preserved in it. Of the other monuments on the northeast side a considerable portion of the temple of Faustina forms part of the church of San Lorenzo in Miranda. At the entrance ten mighty columns of Phrygian marble (cipollino), streaked with green, still stand erect, supporting the old entablature; the frieze is ornamented with vases, candelabra, and griffins. The entrance to the church is half-way up the pillars; since they have been cleared to the base of the rubbish concealing them the principal portals of the church can only be reached by a bridge.

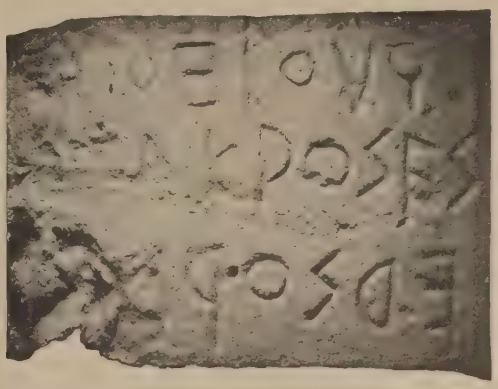


Fig. 166. Old Latin Inscription (epitaph) on a Slab from the Grave of Romulus in the Roman Forum

In the northeast half of the Forum one solitary column stands on a low pyramid of steps. For many centuries no name was attached to it, until in 1813 the excavations brought the old inscription to light. Since then it is called the Phocas column. This pillar was erected in the year 608 by an imperial governor in honor of the "best, most benign, most pious" Phocas, emperor of the East, a bust of that monarch being placed on the summit. Phocas raised himself from the command of the army to the imperial throne by the assassination of the then emperor and all his children. Thus the last monument that was set up in the Forum commemorates the crime of an inhuman emperor and the vile flattery of a sycophant.

The limited space of one forum proving insufficient for the growing needs of the Roman people under the emperors, the imperial fora were built; they were intended to provide more room for the administration of justice, exchange transactions, and civic intercourse. The structural plan as well as the purpose was similar in all; they were as a rule rectangular, the width of the area being two-thirds of the length.

A high wall shut off the interior from the noise and turmoil of the busy world without, and served at the same time as a protection against fire. A temple dedicated to the gods stood in the center of these open halls; besides some basilicas, porticoes were built on to the interior of the enclosure and adorned with costly works of art. The imperial fora are grouped together on the north side of the Roman, or great Forum.

The first new forum was built by Julius Cæsar, the first Roman who possessed the absolute power of an emperor without the title; he was stabbed to death in the Senate-house just as he was about to stretch out his hand for the imperial crown. He purchased the site for the price of $4,000,000; his equestrian statue, in gilded bronze, stood before the magnificent temple of Venus.

The Romans admired the grandeur of the new forum, but it was thrown into the shade by the one built by Emperor Augustus, and called by his name; it contained the temple of Mars Ultor, the Avenger; some fragments of the walls and three splendid Corinthian columns, 18 meters high, with architrave and entablature, are the sole remains left of it. After the destruction of Jerusalem Vespasian erected the Forum of Peace, so called because of the noble temple of the Goddess of Peace within its enclosure; it was adorned with the finest works of art and costly votive offerings. Amongst the latter were the sacred objects plundered from the temple in Jerusalem; the golden candlesticks, the table of proposition, etc.

A beautiful temple dedicated to Minerva formed the center of the forum commenced by Domitian and completed by Nerva. Portions of the porticoes that lined the enclosing wall of this noble building are still standing, bearing witness to its original splendor. The capitals of the pillars, the architrave, the frieze, beautifully adorned with figures, the garlands on the cornices—all is exceedingly rich, brilliant, and festive. The high-reliefs of the frieze depict the feminine arts of spinning and weaving, under Minerva's patronage, the victory of the virginal goddess over Arachne, the nine muses, etc.

Trajan's forum was incomparably finer, more magnificent and superb. The emperor cut through the hill, 100 feet high, which connected the Capitoline and Quirinal heights, in order to obtain a sufficient area of level ground. The new forum consisted of four large buildings, forming a whole. A triumphal arch led on to a wide space enclosed by a colonnade, in the center of which stood the gilt equestrian statue of the emperor; at that epoch every place was decorated with gilt statues. Next to this was a basilica with a nave and four aisles, a structure of gigantic proportions and extravagant magnificence, with two apsides or recesses in a semicircle. Adjoining this were two splendid edifices to be used as libraries for the safekeeping of Latin and Greek manuscripts; between them was Trajan's spiral column. The last building on the Forum was a temple dedicated by Hadrian to Emperor Trajan; it was surrounded at a considerable distance by a portico or colonnade.

The splendor of Trajan's Forum surpassed all that Rome had seen; it was designed by Apollodorus, a Greek architect from Damascus. The impression upon Constantine the Great in the fourth century, when he beheld Trajan's Forum for the first time, has been described already (p. 65). He proposed to have an equestrian statue made in imitation of Trajan's. But the Persian Prince Hormisdas, who accompanied him, wisely remarked: "My Lord Emperor, thou oughtest first to have such another stable built for the steed." In the beginning of the sixth century Cassiodorus, Theodoric's prime minister, pronounced it to be still a marvel of beauty.

A small portion only of the Forum has been excavated, and that was done by order of Napoleon I. The new buildings are an obstacle to more extensive researches being carried on.

Fig. 167. The Southwest Slope of the Palatine, as seen from the Aventine

## 13. THE CAPITOLINE. THE PALATINE

THE Capitoline hill, rising among steep, precipitous rocks, occupied the central position in ancient Rome; it is the smallest of the seven eminences. By its natural conformation it is divided into three parts: two peaks stand out on the northeast and southwest respectively; between them there stretches a plain of moderate extent. On this tableland was the *Tabularium*, where the State archives were kept, a large, massive, grim-looking structure built of big blocks of travertine, with round-arched windows, overlooking the superb buildings of the Forum at the foot of the hill, and constituting a worthy termination to them. On one of the summits stood the great temple of Jupiter, Rome's most venerated sanctuary, with which the reader has already been made acquainted; on the other was the fortress and, besides other sanctuaries, a temple dedicated to Juno, but also used as a mint from the time that the Romans began to coin silver (270 B. C.). Formerly it was universally supposed that the great temple of Jupiter stood on the northeast summit, where the church of Maria Ara Coeli now forms so picturesque an object; to it is attached the legend of Emperor Augustus' vision, which will be related in the third book. All uncertainty on this point is now finally at an end. In the course of the last sixty years the buildings of the

Fig. 168. The Tarpeian Rock

Caffarelli palace, which belongs to the German Embassy, were enlarged and the Archaeological Institute was rebuilt. While these works were carried on it was found possible to fix the site and the size of the great sanctuary of the state with the utmost precision and certainty.

The place of the Tarpeian Rock was also formerly a contested point; it was known to have been on the south side, above the temple of Saturn. Ancient writers describe it as a steep rock at the top of a perpendicular declivity, whence traitors to their country were hurled down headlong: this mode of execution, after the first period of the Republic, gradually fell into disuse, although under the rule of the emperors instances of it occur at times when revolutionary sentiments were rife. Thus Spurius Cassius was punished (486 B. C.) when he was suspected of cherishing ambitious designs for the attainment of supreme power; and for the same reason Marcus Manlius suffered a like fate in 381, not to mention other later offenders.

Not one of the hills on which ancient Rome was founded is as closed in on all sides and possesses so strong a natural circumvallation in its steep and partly precipitous, rocky walls as the Palatine Mount, or Palatium. It was on the fairly extensive plateau on its summit that Romulus laid the first foundations of the capital of Italy, *Romaquadrata,* the square city, which, beside its natural defences, was artificially fortified and crowned by a wall with battlements and towers. That was the germ out of which Rome has grown and been developed, like a giant of the primeval forest, its roots reaching to the ends of the earth, its branches overshadowing thousands of years. When the traveler from a northern clime, passing through Italy, draws near to the Eternal City, he is enraptured with the view of the towns and villages, such as Arezzo, Assisi, Spoleto, Terni, situated like crowns on the brows of the hills, the serried groups of dark-brown, almost black, houses raising their jagged points above the crenellated towers of the circular wall that surrounds them. Much the same appearance must the quadrangular city on the Palatine have presented two and a half thousand years ago.

As Rome grew in size and importance the center of its political life was removed from the heights to the valley, to the Forum, at the foot of the hill; the Palatine itself was regarded by the Romans as a sacred sanctuary or refuge, on account of the many time-honored associations, memories of Rome's foundation and of Rome's founder, that were attached to it.

On the southwest corner of the hill the spot used to be shown where the twin brothers, Romulus and Remus, were suckled by the wolf. The Cornelian cherry tree which grew from the shaft of Romulus' lance still existed in Caligula's time. The hut made of reeds in which Romulus lived was carefully preserved until the time of Constantine. Thus out of legend history was woven.

In the best days of the Republic it was a dangerous matter to settle on the heights or the declivities of the Palatine and Capitoline hills. Those who dwelt there considered themselves superior to their fellow-citizens, and that outraged republican equality. Moreover, originally the kings resided on the Palatine; consequently, whoever took up his abode there was open to the suspicion of aspiring to kingly power. In later times no heed was paid to such considerations, and towards the end of the Republic political magnates fixed their residence there by preference. Cæsar dwelt there, the ancestor of the first emperors, as did his heir and adopted son, Augustus. At first he lived in no more grandeur, in fact in less, than did many Romans. Later on he built a beautiful palace for himself in the vicinity of the old royal residence with a view of the Forum; hence the Palatine hill became the residence of the emperors.

The immediate successors of Augustus erected such superb buildings that the name of the hill whereon they stood, Palatium, became synonymous with pal-

FIG. 169. THE GOLDEN HOUSE OF NERO. RECONSTRUCTED BY C. NISPI-LANDI, ROME

Fig. 170. Ruins of the Palace of Caligula on the Palatine

ace, a splendid residence. Emperor Tiberius enlarged the palace of his adoptive father, or rather built a new one, looking out on to the Great Circus. Caligula did more; he connected his palace with the magnificent temple of Castor and Pollux on the Forum, in order that the house of the gods might appear to be only the vestibule and entrance to his abode. The fact that he sometimes took his stand among the statues of the demi-gods in the temple, for the sake of being venerated by the people, is consistent with the overweening pride of the monarch. He built an enormous bridge from the Palatine hill to the temple of Jupiter on the Capitoline, high above the palaces and temples in the valley, in order, as he said, to facilitate his intercourse with Jupiter on the Capitoline. What he delighted in, as his biographer Suetonius remarks, was proving that to be possible which appeared impossible.

Nero caused more than half of Rome to be destroyed by fire for the sake of building a handsomer residence and finer capital for himself, providing himself with a more worthy dwelling. The former palace, which he loftily termed a "passage house," was of vast extent and extravagant magnificence; what was the new one, his "golden palace," to be! The plateau on the Palatine, which was not quite covered by the square city of Romulus, did not suffice for Nero; the low ground on the east and south, the Esquiline and a portion of the Caelian hills, were comprised in the domain. A few particulars given by Suetonius afford some idea of the size and grandeur of the house. In the front court was a colossal statue of the emperor, 120 feet high; the extent of the palace was such that in it were three colonnades or galleries, each nearly a mile in length; the grounds contained an artificial lake surrounded by buildings like miniature towns, plains, fields, vineyards, woods alternating with meadows wherein were herds of cattle and wild animals of various kinds. Elsewhere everything was profusely adorned with gold, precious stones, and mother-of-pearl. There were dining-halls with inlaid ceilings provided with sliding ivory panels, so that through the openings flowers and perfumes could be showered down on the guests seated below. The finest of these halls was round, and revolved by day and by night

to imitate the motion of the earth revolving on its axis. When this palace was finished Nero exclaimed in exultation: "Now at last I can be lodged as a man should be!" The populace, although accustomed to the extravagant whims of the Emperor, murmured, and the satirical saying went round among them:

"Rome is but one house now; you Romans must emigrate to Veji, provided that this one house does not take Veji also into its domain."

Veji was at a distance of twelve miles from Rome; but even Tacitus gravely said that since the "Golden House was built there was little room left for Rome itself."

The two first Flavian emperors seem to have contented themselves with the Palatine as an imperial residence; Nero's magnificent palatial buildings, which were beyond its boundaries, were partly removed, partly appropriated to public uses. Domitian, the last of the Flavians, built a new and excessively brilliant palace again for himself. Thus it went on; many of the succeeding emperors pulled down, altered, built anew. The grandest of all must have been the monument raised by Septimius Severus, called the *Septizonium*. This emperor was born in Africa, of a noble family. Not content with building superb theaters, triumphal arches, etc., for his own countrymen in the hot southern clime, he desired that immigrants coming from the land of his birth should behold and be astounded at a memorial monument of their former fellow-citizen. On the southern flank of the Palatine an arch of three stages resting on massive pillars was erected; it was to be a gateway of unparalleled splendor, the façade fronting the imperial palace.

Other emperors, e.g., Heliogabalus and Alexander Severus, erected buildings on the Palatine. Yet it appears that later on the court was by preference removed, at least temporarily, to the Pincian heights or to the Vatican or Esquiline hills, which also formed part of the imperial domains, for the sake of the purer, more salubrious air to be breathed there than on the Palatine, where sacrifices were offered to the goddess of Fever, to avert the fatal visitations.

Enough has been said to show that in almost every decade the imperial residence presented a different aspect; no reliable picture of it at any epoch is extant. While other monuments were freely depicted upon coins, medals, bas-reliefs of marble or bronze, the Palatine, with its monu-

Fig. 171. Ruins of the Palace of Septimius Severus

ments—the objects of universal admiration, is immortalized in no pictorial presentment, probably because its exterior form was too constantly changing.

What is now left of the splendor the Palatine once boasted? Scattered remnants, stupendous ruins and arches, whose skeleton arms rise aloft, clothed and garlanded with creepers, and whose foundations go deep down into the heart of the earth; mutilated statues, broken marble and tessellated pavements, subterranean corridors and halls, a few elegantly decorated rooms now far below the surface of the ground, because some fifteen hundred years before they had been covered over and built upon.

No other place in Rome at the times when the city was taken and plundered by the barbarians can have excited the thirst for booty to such an extent as the imperial palace on the Palatine; and perhaps no other place in ancient Rome was so thoroughly looted and given up to pillage. Alaric, king of the Visigoths, and Genseric, the Vandal, were the first to conduct their savage hordes to the palaces of the emperors, which were thus despoiled and ransacked as early as the fifth century. In recent times Pius IX expended large sums making researches on the Palatine; Napoleon III also caused excavations to be commenced in 1860 under the superintendence of Pietro Rosa, who afterwards entered the service of the Italian Government. These operations are now carried on diligently; all "finds" of importance are collected and reported by a government official, the custodian of excavations.

A Florentine named Poggio, writing of the Palatine ruins in the fifteenth century, asserts that it is impossible to discover with any accuracy their original plan or purpose. Modern Italian explorers, Rosa pre-eminently, have given names to the buildings and divined their original destination, adducing citations from ancient writers in support of their statements. Much of their data is, however, no more than guess-work. The remains of the palatial edifices erected by Tiberius, Caligula, and Septimius Severus are still clearly distinguishable; the foundations of the Flavian or of Domitian's palace are the most prominent. The ground-plan does not differ materially from the design usually followed by the patricians in building their mansions; the chief difference between the two consists in the huge proportions and in the variety and costliness of the materials employed. Domitian, for instance, in his constant fear of covert attack, caused the walls of a court within the house having a colonnade round it (probably the peristyle) to be faced with crystal, or a transparent pellucid mineral,

Fig. 172. The House of Livia and the Villa Mills as seen from the Palatine

THE HALL OF ANIMALS AND THE GALLERY OF STATUES, VATICAN

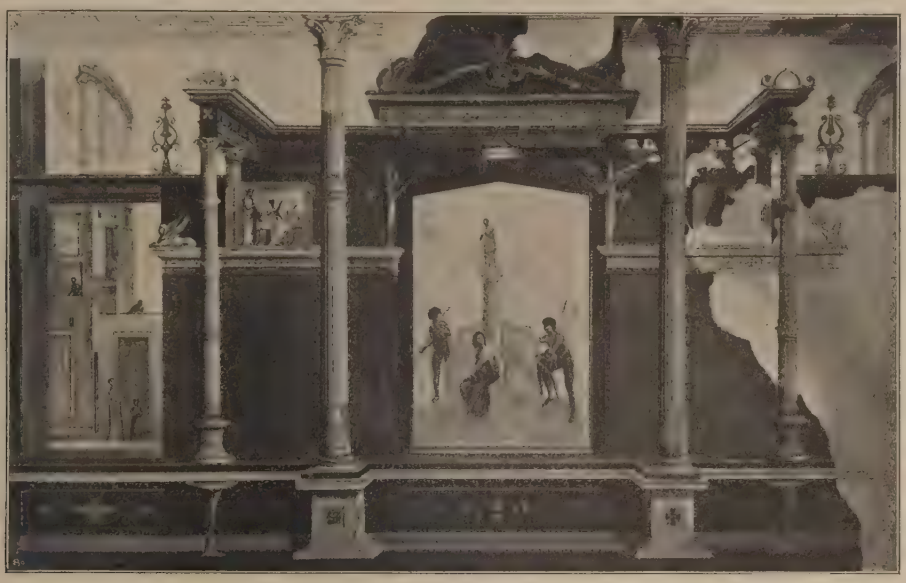


Fig. 173. Mural Decorations in the House of Livia on the Palatine

to enable him to see reflected in the smooth polished surface all that went on behind his back. The precautions taken by the tyrant, tormented by the pangs of conscience, were useless; they only made his assassins more cautious.

The brilliance and splendor of the palace in general were fabulous. Whoever has seen but one hall, one bathroom, one single room in the women's apartments, Plutarch, the Greek historian, declares, could apply to the imperial owner of the palace what was said of the mythical king Midas: "All that thou touchest turns to gold and marble."

In recent times an old house was excavated in the vicinity of Domitian's palace, which, according to Rosa's supposition, belonged to the father of Emperor Tiberius, and was inhabited by Augustus' third consort, Empress Livia Drusilla. Three of the rooms are especially interesting on account of the mural paintings wherewith they are decorated; these paintings are among the most beautiful Roman paintings that are known. One of these rooms, of which a picture is given, was paved with mosaic, of which some portions remain intact. The walls, painted in one tone of color, are divided into compartments or panels by broad bands of a different color. The upper and smaller compartments, framed by a band of purple, are decorated with pretty little genii, or protecting spirits, with blue, green, and pink wings, standing out in relief against a pale background beneath entwining branches. Below these a wide band of color runs, like a frieze, on which, on a dead-gold background, griffins are depicted in pairs, springing to attack one another. The larger compartments are painted brown, picked out by bands of a bluish color. The pillars between the panels are most carefully and prettily executed, the green foliage standing out admirably from the background of color. The wainscot is painted in two shades of red with cream-colored plinths. The effect as a whole is bright, cool, and harmonious; yet the taste of the Romans for the prevalence of red in wall-painting must strike every beholder.

A second room is ornamented with fruit and garlands of flowers; one is pleasantly surprised on entering to observe how well the colors are preserved. Above is a frieze on which are groups of small fig-

ures: here noble ladies are seen on their way to the temple; there women of the people going to the market with baskets on their heads; merchants drive before them their heavily-laden camels; huntsmen return from the chase, while the fisherman still waits in anticipation of a lucky haul, etc.

In other rooms rural scenes and views, of streets, the offering of sacrifices, mythological incidents, etc., are represented.

Whoever on a fine day takes a walk on the height of the Palatine hill will be amply repaid for his trouble. For part of the way the paths lead through beautiful gardens, for Pope Paul III (1534-40), a Farnese, formed the plan of laying out the whole hill as a magnificent garden; the most celebrated artists were engaged to draw the design, but the work was never completed. The finest sight of all is the splendid view that is obtained of ancient and modern Rome, as far as St. Peter's. Who can count the myriad towers and cupolas that rise out of that sea of houses!

The convents of the Visitation and of St. Bonaventure occupy a considerable portion of the flat plain on the summit of the hill. The former was built in 1562 by the family of the Mattei; afterwards called Villa Mills from the name of its owner. Contiguous to the latter convent are the most important of the ruins on the southern flank, where Septimius Severus erected his Septizonium. The reader has already learned how the rows of columns were displaced and some of them broken to fragments by a German emperor. Some fine remains were, however, standing in place as late as the accession of Sixtus V to the papal throne; under his rule the last shafts were removed, and used to decorate St. Peter's. During the excavations carried on in this place by Pius IX, very valuable and important "finds" were unearthed, chiefly choice specimens of sculpture. These ruins are the delight of painters. They are not mere rough and shapeless heaps of broken masonry; the walls and arcades still stand up boldly on the edge of the declivity, as if bidding defiance to the ravages of time; the massive arches retain their original form, only now graceful creepers weave about them a garment of festal verdure. If the sight of these ruins awakens in the heart of the beholder a gentle melancholy, how much the more do these feelings fill his soul when he gazes on the dim, hazy distance, on the level plain of the Campagna, whereon lie so many ruins of ancient Rome, that proud city to which in bygone ages her poets and orators predicted an existence that would know no end.

Fig. 174. View from the Palace of the Cæsars on the Palatine

Fig. 175. Children Playing with Nuts. Relief on a Tombstone. In the Vatican

# III. Ancient Rome in Collections of Works of Art

## 1. THE VATICAN MUSEUMS

BESIDES the monuments and remains of ancient Rome which for more than fifteen centuries have been falling into decay beneath the open vault of heaven, modern art possesses a great number of them in her collections, in galleries and museums; and these are principally monuments and works of plastic art, or statuary.

It has already been incidentally observed that in regard to art the Romans were dependent on the Greeks, and this in no branch of art more completely than in plastic art. Without some knowledge of the Greek statues, therefore, no even approximately just estimate and appreciation of Roman sculpture is possible. We will accordingly first give in a few words a concise historical survey of plastic art among the Greeks.

This will be divided into four chronological sections, or periods. The first period is until the end of the Persian war, 449 B. C.; it is the time of the archaic or antique style. The second and next period includes the time from the close of the Persian war to the end of the century, 449-400; it is the epoch of the first real florescence of art, or of the perfected style. Two schools of art are to be distinguished from each other: the Attic school of Athens and the Peloponnesian school of Argos. The former aims at representing the form depicted as more beautiful, more elevated, purer, grander than it is in life and in reality; it is, in current parlance, the ideal school, idealism in art. The chief and greatest representative of this period is the Athenian sculptor Phidias (died 432 B. C.), whose works—chiefly figures of the gods—afford so lofty a presentment of human and divine beauty, and are so noble in conception that they are still models for later creations of a similar character. The Peloponnesian school keeps closer to life and reality, but reality in its fairest, most perfect form. The highest aim of the sculptors of this school was to present in their works the masculine figure in its most graceful and well-developed physique; the principal representative of this, the realistic school of art, is Polycletes, a contemporary of Phidias.

The third period, embracing the time of Alexander the Great (about 400-323), is generally termed the second time of florescence. The Attic and Peloponnesian schools retain the distinctive characteristics of the preceding epoch, yet the sculp-

tors of both schools strive, each in accordance with their own principles and style, to produce a greater effect; those of the Attic school inasmuch as they sought to express in their works the inner life, the feelings and passions; those of the Peloponnesian school by subjecting their presentment of the human form to the fixed laws and rules of proportion. The most famous of the Attic sculptors are Scopas (Apollo as leader of the Muses, in the Vatican, the Niobid group) and Praxiteles (Eros, the youthful Apollo, in the Vatican); the former loves best to represent the more solemn emotions of the soul, while the latter prefers to display in his marbles graceful youth with its sweet, dreamy charm. Lysippus (the so-called *Apoxymenos,* in the Vatican), the greatest master of the Peloponnesian school, presents the human form not so much as it really is, but so as to be most effective and pleasing to the eye; he gives his figures a more shapely and delicate build, a smaller head, etc., than a strict adherence to nature would permit.

With the fourth period (323-146), which is called the Hellenic-Alexandrian or Hellenic-Roman period, the decadence of art commences. The first sign of this is the evident effort of the artist to display his own skill and dexterity, and force them on the notice of the beholder. Great and noble works were still created, but the technical side, combined with elegance, grace, and all manner of clever traits, was brought into too great prominence, as was also the endeavor to produce the most striking effect by the representation of the strongest passions. The two most important schools of art are that of Rhodes (the Laocoon, in the Vatican) and that of Pergamus (the Dying Gaul, in the Capitol; Apollo Belvedere, in the Vatican).

In the year 146 B. C. Greece was conquered by the Romans; and therewith ends her fame for statuary. Without freedom there can be no real art. The proximate result of the conquest was that the last Greek artists of any note worked in the pay of the Romans, whether they remained in their own country or set up their studio in Rome; this did not avert the progressive decline of art. Not many new and important works were produced; on the contrary, the finest specimens of earlier periods were often copied with great skill and success, even though the replica never could equal the original. In the collections and museums original Greek statues are rarely met with; the finest creations are only known to us through the copies that have been made of them. It has already been remarked that the Augustan age was the golden age of Roman art, and that it flourished again under the Flavian emperors and under Trajan; also that portraiture was the branch of sculpture wherein the Romans excelled.

The visitor who walks through the art galleries of Rome can not fail to be astonished at the perfect preservation of the statues. Their appearance is deceptive; not in this state were they freed from the rubbish and débris, the accretion of centuries; all, with rare exceptions, were more or less mutilated: arms, legs, feet, heads, or portions of these were lacking. Until the end of the last century sculptors, often the best and ablest, and often other unauthorized for the task, applied themselves to supply the parts that were missing. The knowledge of Greco-Roman plastic art was, however, much too elementary and amateurish to ensure invariable correctness in the restorations made even by the best masters. It is an unfortunate fact that in the most instances the restoration is faulty, if not an obvious disfiguration. It was still worse when the modern artist used his chisel to renovate the whole or part of the antique statue, in order that the contrast between the new and the old might not be so striking. Many of these emendations were almost absurd: a head, antique, to be sure, but utterly unsuitable, was placed on a decapitated trunk, or lower limbs were added which did not correspond to the upper part of the body. It would have been far better to have left the mutilated statues as they were when found.

The foundation, or rather the beginning

of the Papal collection of antiques in the Vatican, the most famous in the world, dates from the year 1506. In the beginning of that century the far-famed colossal marble group of Laocoon and his two sons was discovered. Pope Julius II bought it of the fortunate finder for six hundred pieces of gold and arranged a special room in the Vatican Belvedere, formerly the villa of Innocent VIII, for the purpose of providing a place worthy of the masterpiece. All Rome was in feverish excitement about this find, and research for hidden works of art received a stimulus which has never been blunted. About the same time other celebrated statues, e. g. the Apollo Belvedere, were brought to the Vatican and set up in the halls and gardens and in Raphael's loggia.

Since neither in the Capitol nor in the Vatican could sufficient room be provided for the collection, continually augmented as it was by fresh discoveries and purchases, Clement XIV had new and extensive buildings started in the Papal palace. He was chiefly encouraged in his taste for matters of art by his treasurer, Cardinal Braschi, who, when elected Pope (Pius VI), completed his predecessor's undertaking. The largest collection of antiques in the Vatican, the Pio-Clementino museum, bears the name of both those popes. All their successors on the Papal throne, especially Pius VII and Gregory XVI, can lay claim to the gratitude of posterity for the self-sacrifice and good will wherewith they set apart an extremely beautiful and grand apartment in their own dwelling-house for the reception of almost innumerable marble figures and countless objects of art.

The Vatican museum of antiquities comprises two large collections. The Museum of Chiaramonti, of which we shall speak first, consists of three distinct collections: The Galleria Lapidaria, the Museo Chiaramonti, strictly speaking, and the Braccio Nuovo. The three collections were founded by Pope Pius VII, hence they are called by his family name, Chiaramonti.

## I. THE MUSEO CHIARAMONTI.

1. *The Galleria Lapidaria.*—The highroads which led to ancient Rome were the roads bordered by graves. A kind of street of sepulchers also leads to the collections, a long, wide corridor called the Galleria Lapidaria. On the right hand and on the left are more than 3,000 ancient pagan and early Christian inscriptions, principally epitaphs built into the wall here and there. The collection was begun by Clement XIV and Pius VI, enriched by Pius VII, and arranged by the erudite Gaetano Marini.

2. *The Museo Chiaramonti Proper.*—Above 700 sculptured figures stand in three sections in the corridor, 300 meters long; statuary of all kinds, of every shape

FIGS. 176–178. MILL, CUTLER'S WORKSHOP, AND STORE. RELIEF ON A TOMBSTONE. IN THE VATICAN

and size, for no fragment, however small, is thrown away as too insignificant to be worth keeping. What appears of no importance to the connoisseur of art is often all the more valuable to the antiquarian. There stand ancient sepulchral monuments which—who would think to find such things on a tombstone?—represent scenes connected with Roman trades or handicrafts. On one tombstone, erected in memory of a certain Nonius who carried on a lucrative trade in oil, is carved an olive-press. All implements appertaining thereto are also depicted on it. On another gravestone a miller with a long beard is actively at work, a lighted lamp at his side. Two horses going round in opposite directions turn the millstones, and lest through continually going round in a circle they should become giddy a round piece of leather is fixed on their foreheads. In the Galleria Lapidaria on the sepulchral monument of one Lucius Cornelius Atimetus, a cutler by trade, may be seen on the left the workshop which has just been scrubbed, on the right the shop with the counter and all kinds of ready-made instruments, knives, sickles, and the like. On one small gravestone children are portrayed playing with nuts a game called castelletti, still a favorite in the south.

Fig. 179. Statue of Demosthenes. In the Vatican

Among the effigies of the emperors we must give special prominence to those of Tiberius. He is represented by a colossal bust and two statues. The statue which was found in Veji presents the emperor sitting in the posture of Jupiter as a deified hero; on his head is a civic crown of oak-leaves, in his uplifted (renovated) right hand is the staff, in his left the sword; the only piece of apparel is the military cloak, the *chlamys*. The sculptor has endeavored to eliminate from the countenance of the monarch, then no longer young, the expression of anxious observation which is so noticeable in earlier portraits, and to impart a gentle dignity to his features. A head of Trajan is sculptured out of black basalt, the cuirass out of pink alabaster; the Romans like to employ material of various colors for parts of the body and the drapery. The good qualities of this emperor's character are admirably rendered: his kindly disposition, his magnanimity, uprightness, and good will may be read on his countenance. The collection abounds in characteristic busts, e. g., the head of Sulla, one said to be that of Alcibiades, another that of Cicero.

3. *The Braccio Nuovo* (the new wing). From the Museo Chiaramonti a side door leads into what is called the new wing. This handsome building is also due to Pius VII. Costly columns of marble and granite, of alabaster and *giallo antico* support the vaulted roof, and the pavement is composed of charming ancient Roman mosaics; the light falling from above illumines the statues and busts with its soft, still rays. In

Fig. 180. Head of L. C. Sulla. In the Vatican

a series of forty-five niches the same number of statues stand, besides seventy-seven busts on costly pedestals or elegant consoles. It was the intention of the founder that this gallery should only contain works of real excellence.

One of the most beautiful pieces in this gallery is the fine statue of Emperor Augustus. It unites the two modes of representation most appreciated by the Romans, the idealistic, which invests it with heroic qualities, and the realistic, which renders it true to life and reality. The latter is displayed in the elaborate finish of the cuirass; the figures carved thereon in basso-relievo are personifications of the heavenly orbs, of the sun, of the Aurora, under whose protection Augustus and his generals achieved warlike exploits successfully, and subjugated foreign nations, which are also introduced under symbolical figures. The artist probably had a Greek statue for his model, while the unsatisfactory Cupid—an allusion to the mythical descent of the Julians from Venus—is from his own design. Various traces of color, still discernible, show that the statue was once more or less painted.

Another statue which charms at the first glance is the *Pudicitia,* or Modesty; it was so named because modesty is similarly represented on coins. The head and the right hand are restorations. Every detail is most delicately chiseled; witness the right hand, which carelessly holds back the veil that falls over the left arm, while the left arm gracefully supports the right. Every fold of the drapery seems studied and yet natural and easy; the eye gazes vaguely and dreamily into distance. The chief effect is produced by the statue as a whole; there is something distinguished and noble about it, as well as pleasing and attractive. The light and modest veil and the long garment, falling in ample folds, impart to the figure a charm which sensuous attractions could not give it.

Farther on there is a fragment of a feminine figure which, despite its mutilated condition—head and hands have been struck off—is of no slight artistic value. The fluttering drapery of the evi-

Fig. 181. Apoxyomenos (The Scraper). In the Vatican

Fig. 182. Doryphorus (Spear-Bearer). In the Vatican

JUPITER ATRICOLI, JUPITER SERAPIS, AND JUNO; JULIA DOMNA, FAUSTINA SENIOR, AND PLAUTINA: SOPHOCLES, ANTINOUS, AND PLATO. IN THE VATICAN

dently fugitive figure reveals the skilful hand of an able and clever sculptor. The position of the muscles and the lines of the throat show that the woman in her flight turned her head to look round at her pursuer. The statue probably represents one of Niobe's daughters. According to the well-known Greek legend, Niobe, the mythical Queen of Thebes, proud of her numerous progeny, dared to place herself on an equality with the goddess Latona, who was the mother of two children only, Apollo and Diana. Niobe's children were slain by the arrows of the offended deities; the mother herself was turned into stone through grief. This superb group was placed in a temple of Apollo in Rome. In 1583 a replica of it was discovered, which is now in Florence. The fragment spoken of above is most likely the original work of a Greek sculptor.

One of the most noticeable portrait statues is that of the famous Attic orator, Demosthenes. This also is evidently copied from an original Greek sculpture. It is the effigy of a man of dauntless energy; one to whom Nature acted somewhat as a stepmother, yet who, by untiring practice, raised himself so as to become one of the greatest of orators. For what end did he do this? In order to devote all his energy, all his forceful words to the service of Athens, his native city, to stimulate his fellow-citizens to resist the enemies of their liberty. All this is legible in the pose of the great man, in his sharply-cut features, the deep lines on his countenance. In the center of the background is the celebrated statue of the *Apoxyomenos,* the Scraper. Among the Greeks athletic exercises, especially wrestling, formed part of a young man's training and physical development. Previous to a match the body of the wrestler was rubbed with oil and then sprinkled with fine sand. Afterwards it was cleansed by means of a *strigil,* or scraping-iron. The statue represents an athlete scraping his right arm with the strigil he holds in his left hand. It is a replica in marble of the original bronze statue by Lysippus. Agrippa

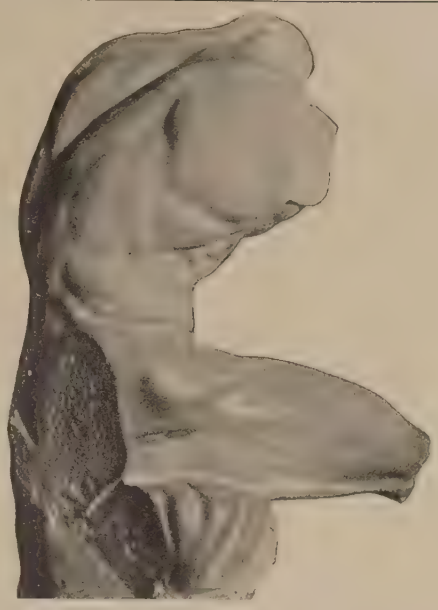


Fig. 183. Torso of Hercules. In the Vatican

placed it before the baths he built for the people; Tiberius carried it off to his palace, but was forced by the outcries of the people to restore it to its place.

It has already been said in what manner Lysippus heightened the effect of plastic work. The Apoxyomenos in the Braccio Nuovo affords an admirable example of this; the elastic, easy attitude, the fine physical development, the play of the muscles, the greater or less tension of the skin —all these are masterfully presented. In the time of Leo X two colossal statues or rather groups were discovered in the accumulation of rubbish near the church of Santa Maria Sopra Minerva; they represented the river-gods, the Nile and the Tiber; the latter, a subordinate work, is now in Paris. Both groups were apparently erected in the vicinity of the temple of the Egyptian god Isis. The Nile is depicted after the manner of the Greeks, in a reclining posture, leaning on a sphinx; the hair of his head and beard is dripping, his features wear an expression of longing, combined with gentleness and kindness well befitting the beneficent, fertilizing river. Sixteen boys clamber over

FIGS. 184–187. EMPERORS TIBERIUS AND TITUS, CLAUDIUS AND DOMITIAN. IN THE VATICAN

his huge body; most of them are restorations. One is seated on the shoulder of the god, another rises out of his cornucopia, while three at the feet play with a crocodile, two at the knees with an ichneumon. The sixteen children are an allusion to the sixteen cubits' height to which the river annually rises; the wider the extent of the irrigation, the greater the fertilization it effects.

The noblest of the goddesses adored by the Greeks and Romans was Pallas, or Minerva, the ever virginal, the patron of the peaceful arts and the champion of the battlefield. The most prominent characteristics to be remarked in representations of this goddess are quiet gravity, conscious power, and transparent purity. Her grave, chaste eyes are cast down as if in thought, her brow is open, her lips firmly closed. There is about her whole figure something lofty, commanding veneration, almost virile; she is the virginal goddess, to whose heart all unholy impulses are alien. This conception is beautifully expressed in the statue, which was formerly in the Giustinian collection.

Fig. 188. Group of the Laocoon. In the Vatican

Fig. 189. Head of the Laocoon. In the Vatican

Arrayed in a long robe, falling in simple folds, she stands in undisturbed, lofty repose; only the helmet and spear and the cuirass, loosely buckled round her breast, remind the spectator that she is a goddess of war. There is nothing effeminate in her keen glance and firm mouth, yet the whole expression of the countenance denotes extreme kindliness, which inspires both reverence and trust. A snake, the emblem of wisdom and of the medical art, is coiled at the feet of the goddess.

The other most noteworthy statues in this section are The Wounded Amazon and the Doryphorus, or lance-bearer; both are replicas of celebrated works by the Greek sculptor Polycletus, while the Faun at rest is a copy of the Faun of Praxiteles. To these may be added some interesting Roman portraits, the statues of the Emperors Claudius, Titus, Domitian; the busts of Trajan and of the triumvirs, Mark Antony and Marcus Lepidus.

## II. THE MUSEO PIO-CLEMENTINO

1. *The Belvedere.*—Of all the art treasures exhibited here one is especially remarkable: a gigantic trunk, from which the legs have been broken, headless, with-

Fig. 190. Head of the Apollo Belvedere. In the Vatican

out arms or shoulders, known as the torso of Hercules. It belongs to the best Roman antiques on account of the masterly skill, the perfection wherewith the human form is represented. A Greek inscription at its base tells that it was sculptured by Apollonius of Athens, who lived in the last century before the Christian era. One of the greatest of sculptors, Michael-angelo, declared himself to be a scholar and pupil of this fragment, and the eminent painter Raphael endeavored in one of his pictures—the vision of the prophet Ezechiel—to copy the broken marble in color.

At the end of the third vestibule is the hall of Meleager, so called on account of a beautiful statue of the fabled hunter which stands there.

*The Court of the Belvedere.*—This is an octagonal court surrounded by arcades. Both the arched corridors and the court are decorated with a variety of ancient sculptures. In the corners the galleries widen out into four open halls or cabinets, in which some of the most celebrated groups of the Vatican collection are placed.

In the hall looking to the west is the far-famed group of the Laocoon, a priest of Apollo, and his two sons, about whom, while they stood at the sacrificial altar, according to the Greek legend, deadly serpents wound their coils and strangled them, because of some crime of which the father was guilty. This group, which probably dates from the end of the third or the beginning of the second century before Christ, is the work of Agesander and his sons, Polydorus and Athenodorus, Rhodian sculptors of the highest order; it was discovered in 1506 near the baths of Titus. The right arm of the father is wrongly restored; originally it was not raised above his head as at present; nor is the right arm of the younger son correct, for in the moment of death the unhappy youth would be most likely to let it fall limply by his side. The composition of the group is as follows: The father has just received the fatal bite in his left side; a terrible pang suddenly convulses his whole frame; he falls back upon the low altar, and one can imagine the deep, agonized groan which escapes his parted lips as with his left hand he strives to grasp the venomous serpent by the throat and thus ward off its attack. The younger son has already received the death-wound in his breast, and is in the act of expiring, while the elder, as yet unharmed, tries to push off the awful folds of the serpent and looks up imploringly at his father. The manner in which the sudden, terrible torture causes every muscle to quiver, every fiber in the body to thrill, is portrayed in stone with marvelous skill. The sculptors can have had no model for this work; they created it out of their extraordinary knowledge of the human body. The ancients, who were acquainted with the legend, regarded the fate of Laocoon and his sons as the chastisement of divine justice. We, too, must bear in mind this idea lest we merely see in the happening a terrible incident, or solely admire the technical power displayed in the work.

Who, furthermore, has not heard of the Apollo Belvedere in the southwest hall? As Minerva held the first place among the goddesses as the most noble and beautiful, so Apollo, surnamed the pure, the radiant, the shining, was prominent among the gods, the deity of all that is good and beautiful in nature and in the social world, the guardian of law and order, the sun-god who fertilizes and fructifies, the god of prophecy, of poetry, and of song. Later on we shall see that in the earliest ages of Christianity the Christian artist loved to represent the Redeemer under the figure of Apollo. Pagan art in depicting Apollo lent to him the fairest form; a slender build, a small, perfectly shaped head, thick, curly locks, a frank, joyous expression of the features—all these were intended to symbolize the triumphant might of the god, his wisdom, his love of song. The statue in the Belvedere was found in 1495 at Antium, a pleasure-resort of the emperors. It is an excellent Roman copy of an original Greek statue, probably a votive offering, which represented Apollo defending his celebrated Greek sanctuary at Delphi from an invasion of the Gauls (278 B.C.). The god stands there in his character of conqueror, with his shield (aegis) in his left hand, after driving back the enemy, from whom he turns away in half-angry, proud contempt. The head is marvelously beautiful. Radiant in his youthful strength, he possesses all the charms which belong by right to life's early bloom. The disdain that flashes from his eye and plays round the distended nostrils and parted lips spells not the low revenge of a mortal, but the just vengeance of an immortal. The thick, curly hair is significant of the youthful might of the god.

Fig. 191. The Mattei Amazon. In the Vatican

Fig. 192. Stag and Hound. In the Vatican

This Roman replica was probably sculptured in the early days of imperial rule. The northeast cabinet—Gabinetto dell' Antinuo—contains the Roman copy of a Greek statue of Hermes, the messenger of the gods, which was wrongly named after Antinous, a favorite of Emperor Hadrian. Finally, in the southeast cabinet are the statues of the famous pugilists of antiquity, Kreugas and Damoxenus, noteworthy productions of the modern sculptor Canova (1757-1822), the inferiority of which, however, is apparent when compared with the best works of the ancients.

2. *The Hall of Animals*—a hall wherein Pius VII collected various antique sculptures of animals. Since there was not a sufficient number of these to fill the space allotted to them, modern ones by the sculptor Franzoni were admitted. Everything here is in correspondence; all around are the figures of animals, the floor is inlaid with old mosaics whereon are seen birds sporting amid foliage and an eagle

devouring its prey. On entering this hall the first impression is one of surprise. A moment ago one was admiring heroes and gods, standing in majestic, stately repose upon their pedestals; here all is life and movement. No less surprising is the sight of the many colors of the animals; in some cases the stone is so felicitously chosen that it strikingly resembles the

Fig. 193. Menandros. In the Vatican

natural color of the animal. A lion carved in breccia is of a truly leonine tint; the lobster is carved out of greenish marble, the crab out of porphyry; the oriental alabaster with black spots fashioned out of *nero antico* and a yellowish ground of *giallo antico* constitutes an excellent presentment of a leopard.

Scenes of the most varied sort are portrayed here; we see a goat giving suck to her young; there an elephant is allowing a bell to be hung round his throat; a stag in which a sleuth-hound has fixed its teeth is rearing; there a hare is nibbling a nut, watchdogs are keeping guard, etc.

3. *The Gallery of Statues.*—This was once a summer-house belonging to Innocent VIII; Clement XIV and Pius VI had it arranged as a gallery. This collection abounds in famous and remarkable works, so that it is difficult to select some for special mention. One of the best known

Fig. 194. Poseidippus. In the Vatican

statues is the one named the Eros of the Vatican, which was discovered in Centocelle in the immediate vicinity of Rome. The arms and also the lower part of the body are wanting. On the back are the holes for the metal pins which supported the wings; these were probably also of metal. This marble figure represents a youth of tender years; the head, covered with a profusion of soft locks, is inclined toward the ground, and is expressive of profound, dreamy absorption, or grief and melancholy. To judge by replicas in a better state of preservation, the left hand

held a bow, the right a torch reversed. The sculpture was pronounced to be Eros, the youthful god of love, deep in thoughts of love and yearning. More recently it has been more correctly judged to represent Thanatos, the genius of death, mourning over the victims struck down by his fatal arrow. The reversed torch in any case is a symbol of death. This beautiful statue was formerly almost unanimously supposed to be a copy from a Cupid of Praxiteles. If this opinion be correct the original type must have undergone many changes, for several details indicate that the work belongs to the time of the Roman emperors.

The Mattei Amazon has received this name because it was formerly in the Villa Mattei. The restoration in many parts is well executed, but in the principal matter it is incorrect. According to the restoration the Amazon lays aside her bow while with her upraised right hand she grasps a long lance which she holds in her left hand, in order to enable her to take a long leap. Every one knows that the Amazons were a fabled nation of warlike women, lightly girt, provided with shield, bow, and battle-ax as weapons of defence. Two very fine statues, sitting figures, are portraits of the two Attic comic poets, Menander and Poseidippus, the former of whom lived in the end of the fourth, and the latter in the first half of the third century, B.C. Menander loved to chastise the follies of mankind in his comedies, but without asperity. It is said of him that he went about with his hair elaborately dressed, his robe carelessly girded, his deportment easy and frank. He is so represented. His whole attitude—the right foot stretched out comfortably, the left drawn inwards, the almost indolent leaning against the chair—bespeaks a pleasing lassitude; the drapery is well executed, but not studied. On nearer inspection the head inspires a certain respect, for it is set firmly and proudly on the shoulders. One feels that below the apparent simplicity of the figure there lies a whole world of thought, that in that head an intellect lives and energizes, which sees through the ways of the world, and that praise or blame from those lips would weigh heavily in the scale. Hence the fine, delicate irony which plays about the mouth. That is the true aim of the art of portraiture, to embody in the effigy the whole life and aspiration, the thoughts and feelings, the very soul of the model;

Fig. 195. Candelabra. In the Vatican

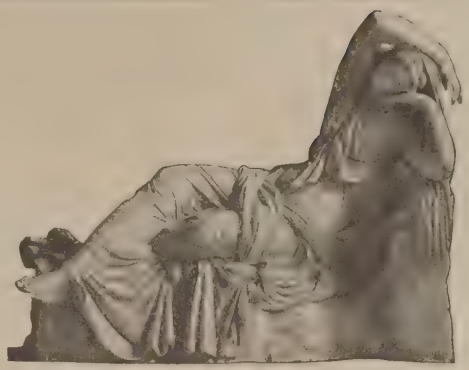


Fig. 196. The Sleeping Ariadne. In the Vatican

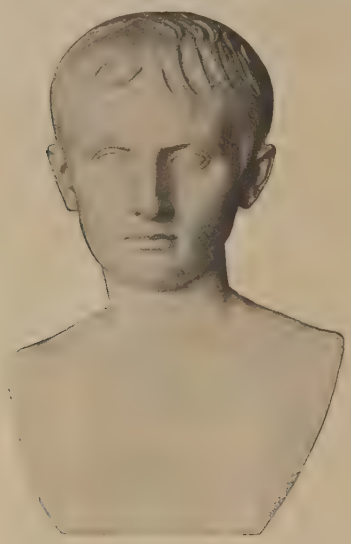


Fig. 197. Bust of Augustus when a Youth. In the Vatican

and this is the case with Menander. The companion statue of Poseidippus is a far more forced, clumsy, nervous, and unrestful presentment. The statues are sculptured out of pentelic, a Grecian marble, and the execution is free and bold, so that the spectator may be assured that he has before him probably the work of a Greek, at any rate of a very able sculptor. Formerly there were metal pins in the crown of the heads of these statues, for the bronze discs which the Greeks fixed over the heads of the statues intended for the open air, to protect them from the weather and from being soiled by birds. The sleeping Ariadne, a statue remarkable for grandeur of conception and masterly execution, represents an ideal figure of one of the gods of Greek mythology, celebrated also in heroic legend. She is portrayed slumbering on a rock in the island of Naxos, but tortured by bad dreams. The arrangement of the ample folds of the drapery is extremely picturesque and effective.

In the Gallery of Statues there are also two magnificent marble candelabra in the best Corinthian style. The Olympian gods are represented on the trilateral base; on the one side, Zeus with the thunderbolt, Hera with the scepter, Hermes with the ram; on the other, Ares with the lance, Aphrodite with a flower, Pallas with the serpent sacred to her. The delicacy and elegance of the execution proves that these candelabra were fashioned in the reign of Emperor Hadrian; they were discovered in his villa at Tivoli.

4. *The Hall of Busts.*—All round this hall on two shelves of marble are a long series of busts of deities, heroes, celebrated Romans, both men and women—a grand popular assembly in marble. A bust of Augustus in his youth may be reckoned among the most noticeable in the collection. It is a superb head, life-size, carved out of dazzlingly white marble by an able sculptor. Augustus is in about the age when his uncle, the great Julius Cæsar, adopted him as his son and destined him to carry on and complete his work: that of transforming Rome from a republic to a monarchy. The prospect of this momentous legacy and of world-wide empire somewhat clouds the bright, frank, juvenile expression of the youth. Force of will and comprehension of the gravity of life have already left their stamp on his countenance and help to impart a charming, thoughtful expression to the youthful fea-

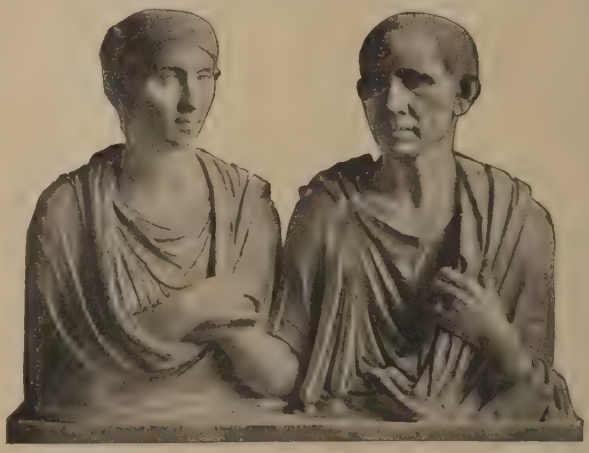


Fig. 198. A Roman Couple. In the Vatican

THE HALL OF MUSES, THE HALL IN THE FORM OF A GREEK CROSS, THE COURT OF THE BELVIDERE, THE CIRCULAR HALL, VATICAN

tures. Almost every one knows and every one admires this bust; copies innumerable have been made of it in marble, bronze, or gypsum; they are still displayed for sale in the shops. Another very interesting group is that of a Roman senator and his wife. The persons represented did not belong to the upper class of society, but to the middle-class of people who retained republican simplicity and probity, practical good sense, and moral integrity under imperial rule. Each of these busts has its own individuality plainly and strongly marked, but there is in them no trace of elevated feeling or the poetry of life. They originally stood in the four-cornered niches in the façade of a tomb, as was customary in Rome. Another of the busts bears the name of Jupiter Serapis; it is of black basalt, and of colossal size. Serapis was an Egyptian divinity, the lord of sickness and death, the ruler over the souls of the departed. Despite the enactments of the government, the cultus of this deity spread in Rome and became partly merged into that of other gods, Jupiter, Pluto, and others. This bust has Jupiter's features, but besides the gentle, peaceful expression a sinister gloom rests upon the countenance, as well becomes the deity of the inferno, recalling the eternal night wherein he dwells. The measure for corn, etc., on the head of this bust is a symbol peculiar to the divinities of earth. Far more beautiful and noteworthy is the bust of Menelaus, a fragment after an original Greek sculpture, which has been frequently copied. According to ancient tradition, the Greeks besieged the city of Troy in Asia Minor for ten long years, hoping to conquer it. One of the most illustrious generals and heroes of the Grecian army was Menelaus, while Hector, the fine, handsome son of the king, surpassed all the Trojans in heroism and valor. The end of the protracted war approached. In a mighty battle Patroclus, the friend of Achilles, who had been affronted, was slain by Hector. Menelaus immediately prepared to enter the thick of the fight and take possession of the body. Pressed hard by the enemy on all sides, in that terrible situation he cast his eyes around him for help, but in vain. Then looking up to heaven, he besought Jupiter to grant him succor and victory. That is the very mo-

Fig. 199. Bust of Pericles. In the Vatican

Fig. 200. Bust of Menelaus. In the Vatican

FIGS. 201–206. THE MUSES ERATO AND THALIA; APOLLO, THE LEADER OF THE MUSES; DIONYSIUS THE BEARDED; THE PATRON GODDESS OF ANTIOCH; ANTINOUS AS DIONYSIUS. IN THE VATICAN.

ment which the sculptor chose as the motive of his work. Only a few fragments of the group still remain; the half-length figure of Menelaus is the principal one. The countenance betrays the deepest emotions: desperation in the extremity of difficulty and danger, the resolution to dare his utmost, the fierce entreaty addressed to the god of battle on Olympus to give him victory. This tumult of emotions, amongst which trust in divine assistance comes out gloriously and does credit to heroic courage, is expressed with marvelous depth and truth. There is something infinitely powerful about it; it breathes the noblest enthusiasm.

5. *The Cabinet of Masks.*—This is so named from the antique mosaics with which the floor is inlaid, consisting of masks from Hadrian's villa. The collection, seldom open to the public, contains some celebrated statues, a Venus of excellent workmanship, bas-reliefs, etc.

6. *The Hall of the Muses.*—Against the walls of this handsome hall, the roof of which rests upon sixteen Corinthian columns of white marble, stand numerous busts and portrait statues of distinguished Greeks; famous statesmen, orators, poets, philosophers; the head of Sophocles in his old age, busts of Plato, Pericles, and others. Those noticeable are the statues of the Muses, who give this gallery its name. The greater number of these were found at Tivoli, in 1798.

Fig. 207. Statue of the Emperor Nerva in Sitting Posture. Vatican

Fig. 208. Urn. Vatican

The virginal patronesses of song are represented on the rocky heights of Parnassus, where they were supposed to dwell, sitting, standing, or solemnly advancing. Apollo, the god of all that is beautiful, of poesy and song, naturally takes the part of Musagetes, i. e., leader of the chorus of Muses. In this character he appears clad in a long, flowing robe, his head crowned with a wreath of laurel, his fingers lightly touching the strings of his lyre. His beaming countenance, the whole figure, in fact, bears the impress of lofty inspiration; the head is raised, while a stream of melody flows from his half-opened lips; the divine singer moves to the rhythm of his own music.

This statue is generally admitted to be a copy of the Apollo of Scopas, brought to Rome by Augustus, and erected in the temple of Apollo on the Palatine. It is a splendid figure, considered only in its intrinsic merit, but doubly beautiful as representing the god as leader of the

Fig. 209. Amphora. Vatican

chorus and dance of the Muses. As yet they remain in their quiet posture, their thoughtful attitude, but before long the inspiration of their leader will seize upon them also: Erato, with the lyre, the dignified representative of lyric poetry; Melpomene, the Muse of tragedy; Thalia, the Muse of pastoral poetry and comedy, contrasts with her graver sister Melpomene; she sits in an easy, careless attitude; and if in spite of her mirthful art a certain tinge of melancholy is seen on her countenance, it is because she is obliged to laugh at the follies of mankind; Terpsichore, the Muse of music and dancing, who leads the dance, playing on a lyre adorned with the horns of oxen, and so on.

7. *The Sala Rotunda* (*the Round Hall*) was, like the Hall of the Muses, built by one of the most famous architects of the last century, Simonetti, during the reign of Pius VI, on the model of the Pantheon. The hall is lofty, roofed with a cupola, and in the circumference there are ten deep niches, two of which serve as doors, the others containing statues of considerable size; between the niches are eight colossal busts on pedestals; these are almost all works of interest and importance. The most noteworthy bust amongst them is a colossal one of Jupiter, found in the ruins of Otricoli, by which name it is known. It is said of the original statue of Jupiter by Phidias that he who gazed on it became oblivious of all care and sorrow, so peaceful and gentle is the expression, yet at the same time he would not forget that he looked upon the supreme deity "at whose beck the pillars of heaven tremble and are afraid." The bust of Jupiter is not only the most beautiful of the busts in the Round Hall, but it is the finest extant. Some features of the Greek model are retained, but new ideas are also expressed in it which are more in harmony with the younger Attic school. The countenance is both gentle and majestic; about the mouth a slight smile hovers, grace and favor are on the lips. The deep-set eyes look out on the universe with a restful, far-seeing gaze. The treatment of the hair is quite novel and peculiar; the beard is full, and thick locks grow luxuriantly above the forehead and fall in curling masses on both sides. In this presentment the artist has taken his cue from the poets, who all ascribe a wealth of hair to the supreme god, as symbolical of the divine power and might. The curling locks upon the temples more especially are intended, as in the Apollo Belvedere, to signify the intellectual fire and the divine penetration that lie dormant within the head.

In the antique statuary in Rome and elsewhere the figure of a beautiful youth is frequently met with, gazing sadly into vacancy, or else looking on the ground, as if he had a presentiment of the sad fate which would cut short his years in the bloom of his young life. It is Antinous of Bithynia, the favorite of Emperor Hadrian and his companion on his journeys. He died, some accounts assert, offering himself as a voluntary victim in superstitious obedience to an oracle which demanded the sacrifice of his life to prolong that of the emperor. Hadrian proclaimed him a hero, and caused effigies of him to be made in various characters, as Dionysius, Hermes, and several of the gods, besides more realistic portraiture. In the

Sala Rotunda he is represented in a colossal statue as Dionysius; the drapery, formerly of bronze, is a restoration in marble. Antinous is also represented in a colossal bust, and this portrait is more true to nature. Hera, the queen of the gods, also holds a place in this gallery in two very large statues, one of which is fashioned after an old Greek type, while the other is of a newer style; in the former the goddess appears simpler, more composed, more dignified; in the latter she is grand and imposing, but more sensual. There are also several excellent portraitures of celebrated Roman women, colossal busts of Plotina (d. 129 A. D.), the wife of Emperor Trajan, of Faustina (d. 141 A. D.), the spouse of Antoninus Pius, and of Julia Domna (d. 217 A. D.), the wife of Septimius Severus, a remarkable work for the age from which it dates. The colossal bust of Emperor Hadrian (d. 138 A. D.) also deserves mention; it idealizes the monarch, representing him in blooming health, not as he appears in more realistic portraits, suffering from a nervous malady.

The colossal sitting statue of Emperor Nerva is an instance of how Rome loved above all to represent her emperors as deified heroes. One end of the toga falls over the left arm, the other is turned round the back and is brought forward on the right, covering the knee with its ample folds. Only the nude part of the figure was discovered, and it was placed on the draped portion of another sitting statue of a man, a matter of no great difficulty, since numerous similar statues of the same proportion existed. The surmise that portions of drapery were on hand in the workshops of sculptors ready to supply what was missing to effigies of heroes is not without foundation. The statue embodies the highest ideal of the Roman emperor; the likeness is striking and lifelike, the brow is deeply furrowed, the expression is grave, with a slight infusion of scorn.

8. *The Sala a Croce Greca* (the Hall in the form of a Greek Cross) was also erected under Pius VI by Michelangelo Simonetti. This beautiful hall takes its name from the four arms of equal length which branch out from the body of the hall. In those on the right and on the left are the two gigantic sarcophagi of St. Helena and of St. Constantia. There is nothing of particular interest among the antiques.

Fig. 210. Gallery of the Candelabra. Vatican.

Fig. 211. Woman Runner. Vatican

9. *The Sala della Biga* (the Hall of the Two-Horse Chariot).—In the center of this circular, domed hall, round the walls of which stand statues and busts, a splendid chariot drawn by two horses meets the eye; it was probably a votive offering to Demetrius. Of the horses only part of the one on the right is ancient, all else is a restoration of Franzoni. The marble chariot served for centuries as the bishop's throne in the choir of the church of San Marco in Rome. It is ornamented all over with ears of corn, poppies, and a wealth of leaves in bas-relief; a work of the most finished taste. Chariots of this kind were used in festive processions and for the races. The charioteer standing in the chariot must be supplied by the spectator's imagination.

Among the marble statuary two *discoboli,* or discus-throwers, are interesting works. The first statue portrays a young man before the cast, taking careful note of direction and distance previous to putting himself into position and throwing the disk. In the second the discobolus summons all his strength and force to make the cast: the next moment the disk will whiz through the air to the target. In both statues the mental and the physical strain are excellently rendered. The first is attributed—without good reason—to the Greek Alcamenes, a pupil of the great sculptor Phidias; the second with certainty to Myron, a contemporary of Phidias. Since the head of the latter statue is a modern restoration, the illustration here given is taken from a replica—and a better one—of the same in the Palazzo Lancellotti. Other excellent works in this hall are the statue of a bearded Bacchus and of a Roman offering sacrifice; the toga he wears is, on account of the sacred act he is performing, drawn over his head.

10. *Galleria dei Candelabri* (the Gallery of the Candelabra) contains eight ancient candelabra, hence its name. In this collection there are also amphoræ, splendid goblets of marble or alabaster, bowls, and the like. Among the allegorical sculptures several sarcophagi with carvings in relief are noticeable; one depicts the fable of Orestes, another the rape of the Leucippides, a third the Niobids, etc. There are also some fine works among the statuary; witness the statue of Antiochia, the patron deity of Antioch, distinguished for her gracefulness, after a statue in bronze of the Greek sculptor Eutychides, a pupil of Lysippus. The ears of corn in her right hand symbolize the fertility of the surrounding region; at her feet the river god of the Orontes rises out of the earth, an allusion to the long space for which the course of that river ran underground, until it rose to the surface in the vicinity of Antioch.

Fig. 212. Marble Vessel. Vatican

Another statue, evidently a copy of an older Greek work in bronze, represents a young feminine athlete girded to run a race. It is wonderful how the ancient Greek artists treated such subjects, in a pure, noble manner, free from all ulterior purpose, above all without aiming at sensuous charm in their works.

Fig. 213. New Museum in the Palace of the Conservators, Rome

## 2. THE CAPITOLINE COLLECTION OF ANTIQUES

ONE wing of the palace on the Capitol contains the second large collection of Greco-Roman objects of art; it also is a creation of the Popes. In the year 1471 Sixtus IV presented the sculptures and other art-treasures which were preserved in the Papal palace as a gift to the Roman people. Before his time Nicholas V had already brought thither works of art. The Capitol, once the religious and political center of ancient Rome, was destined to be the treasury of art for modern Rome, yet for many centuries the monuments were not collected in a museum, but erected as ornaments in public squares, halls, and galleries. More recently Pius V gave thirty statues and a considerable number of busts to the Capitol. Clement VIII laid the foundation-stone of the museum of the palace; under Clement XI the collection was arranged. The latter Pope and Clement XII deserve to be regarded as the actual founders and generous patrons of the Capitoline art-collection. The learned Benedict XIV availed himself of the financial difficulties of Duke Francis III of Modena, in order to purchase some magnificent statuary for the Gallery. Clement XIII made similar acquisitions. In 1765 the collection was considered as closed, yet since then additions have continually been made to it, principally in quite recent times by the Italian government, to which various alterations in the arrangement of the objects are due.

If one goes up in a westerly direction to the modern Capitol of the present day, one

Fig. 214. River-God, Called Marforio. Capitol

FIGS. 215, 216. HEAD OF A FAUN, AFTER PRAXITELES; THE BOY WITH THE GOOSE. CAPITOL

comes out higher up on an open space, the Piazza del Campidoglio, which on three sides is bounded by the same number of palaces. On the farthest side is the Palace of the Senators, on the right the Palace of the Conservators, on the left the Museo Capitolino; the two last contain a fine collection of antiques.

There are also monuments of no slight interest on the piazza, and the most remarkable of all is the bronze equestrian statue of the Emperor Marcus Aurelius, standing in the center of the square. It is a simple, unostentatious, almost unattractive work, but all the more on that account a characteristic representation of the imperial philosopher, clad in a military cloak, sitting serenely, almost stiffly, upon his horse, his right hand stretched out in the act of granting pardon to an adversary. The horse, which is depicted moving at a gentle pace, is of heavy, solid build; it is evidently a faithful portrait of a favorite charger. This statue was originally gilded.

1. *The Museo Capitolino.*— Here are preserved an extraordinarily large number of sculptures, besides very noteworthy finds. In the background of the court, over the fountain, lies a huge river-god with a shell in his hand, probably a symbol of the Rhine or the Danube. It is known all over Rome by the name of Marforio, an appellation said to be derived from the site where it formerly stood below the Forum of Augustus, popularly called the Forum of Mars, in the vicinity of the Mamertine Prison.

The obese colossus was supposed in bygone days—he does it still occasionally—to hold a dialogue with another mutilated but famous statue which goes by the name of Pasquino, standing at one corner of the Braschi Palace. In the fifteenth century a humpbacked tailor called Pasquino lived near, whose witty and caustic criticisms made him notorious in Rome. After his death his name was transferred to the statue, on whose pedestal were appended the satirical remarks and queries published concerning events of the day. The repartees were ascribed to Marforio. When Napoleon Bonaparte I occupied Rome, Pasquino asked: *"I Francesi sono ladri?"* ("Are the French thieves?") Marforio answered: *"Non tutti, ma buona parte"*

FIG. 217. SATYR WITH GRAPES. CAPITOL

The Hall of Philosophers and the Hall of Busts. Museo Capitolino, Rome

("Not all, but a good number"), a play on the name of Bonaparte.

The Capitoline collections contain a great number of fine sarcophagi adorned with sculptures in relief: e. g., the sarcophagus whereon the hunt led by Meleager is represented; the large sarcophagus which depicts the victory of the Romans over a Gallic army; the sarcophagus showing scenes from the life of Achilles, dating from the best period of Roman art (in the Stanza delle Urne); the Prometheus sarcophagus, the carvings on which have for their subject the creation of man and the final fate of human souls, etc. In Greek mythology, in the suite of Bacchus, the god of the vine and of wine, the satyrs come to the fore, fanciful figures with goats' legs, more than half beasts. It is quite in accord with Grecian taste to ennoble these rural deities, a cross between man and the lower animals, to clothe them in human shape and only to display the animal and sensual part of their nature in the low narrow forehead, the thick woolly hair that covers their bodies, the tilted nose, the thick lips, the pointed ears, and the goat's tail. The type, the original model, was the creation of Praxiteles. It has been largely reproduced, and the best copy is the Satyr in the Gladiators' Room.

The Centaurs are also mythological figures; they, too, are a cross-breed, the upper part of the body being that of a man, the lower that of a horse. Two centaurs, one young and the other old, were discovered in Hadrian's villa at Tivoli. They are chiseled out of gray marble, and are the work of two Greeks, natives of Aphrodisias; their names, Aristeas and Papias, are engraved on the pedestals.

In the *Stanza del Fauno* is the satyr which gives its name to the room, a work executed with great technical skill in the hard red marble (rosso antico). The half-human child of Nature is resting comfortably against the trunk of a tree, looking with delight at the enticing bunch of grapes that he holds up in his right hand. "The Boy with the Goose," in the same room, is more pleasing: the youngster is exerting all his strength with a most determined air to master a goose, which on its part obstinately endeavors to free itself from the arms that hold it.

In the *Stanza del Gladiatore* "The Girl with the Bird" is to be seen; the child,

Fig. 218. Mosaic with Doves, from Hadrian's Villa. Capitol

Fig. 219. Section of the Old Plan of the City. Capitol

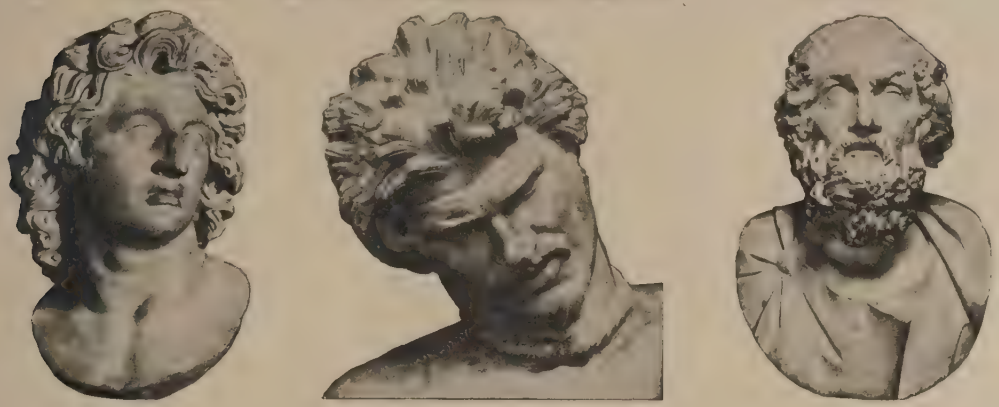
dressed in a long, flowing garment, with her left hand wraps the gathered up folds of her dress round her pet, while she raises her right arm as if to ward off a snake that lifts its head and darts out its forked tongue. The situation is one of no great danger, for tame snakes were often kept in Roman houses. Other simple figures of the Hellenic period are: "An Aged Shepherdess with a Lamb," "A Fisherman," and so on.

The mosaic with the doves must not be passed over without mention here. Pliny the Elder writes thus in his Natural History: "Flooring artistically manufactured and painted was first made in Greece, but mosaics presently took its place. Sosus was much famed for this kind of work. One mosaic which he accomplished is of singular beauty; it represents a dove in the act of drinking; the head of the bird casts a shadow on the water, darkening its surface. Other doves are perched on the edge of the basin, sunning and preening themselves."

When Cardinal Furietti in 1737 caused excavations to be made on Emperor Hadrian's villa, he discovered, as the centerpiece of a floor, the mosaic with the four doves now preserved in the Room of the Doves.

He, as well as many connoisseurs, imagined it to be the one described by Pliny, yet it is only a copy, and not a perfect one either. As many as 160 different pieces of stone have been counted in the space of a single cubic inch; however, the shadow, which in Sosus' work was cast on the water by the dove that is drinking, is omitted in the replica. On each side of the staircase leading to the upper story, let into the

Figs. 220, 221. Girl with Bird and Snake; Portrait Statue of a Roman Lady. Capitol



Figs. 222-224. Bust of Alexander the Great, Head of the Dying Gaul, Bust of Homer. Capitol

walls, are fragments of a plan of Rome which was made between the years 202 and 211 under Septimius Severus and Caracalla, but was chiefly modelled on a survey of Rome made at the beginning of imperial rule. The copy is somewhat hasty and incorrect. The plan was fixed on the outside wall of one of the temples dedicated to the city of Rome, which was used as a repository for archives. The plan was about twenty meters in breadth and fifteen meters in height; it was on a scale of one to one hundred and fifty.

The statue of Aphrodite is one of the principal pieces of statuary in the Capitol. The time to which it belongs is the third or second century B. C. The motive is borrowed from the child-like Aphrodite of Praxiteles, but the original type is greatly modified. Technically regarded, the execution is masterly.

One of the most interesting rooms of the museum is the *Stanza degl' Imperatori,* or the hall containing the busts of the emperors. The first thought that suggests itself to one on entering is this: How many marble effigies of the emperors alone and their nearest relatives must have existed in ancient Rome, since in this far-off time of ours so many superb ones have been preserved and have come down to us, even though the busts and statues of bad emperors were mutilated and broken to pieces after their death! And one recalls to mind the words of the African, Cornelius Fronto, who was a professor of rhetoric in Rome and stood high in the favor of Emperors Hadrian and Antoninus Pius. He wrote thus: "One sees likenesses of the Emperor in exchange offices, shops, workshops, standing under every projecting roof, in every fore-court, at every window, not to speak of the public squares and government buildings."

The next impression one receives is that of an æsthetic nature. The portraits of

Fig. 225. Thank-offering of Marcus Aurelius. Palace of the Conservators

the emperors as they are seen in succession illustrate the gradual decline of art, although it proceeded much more slowly in portraiture than in other branches. Even in later times we sometimes meet with a bust of undoubted skill and ability, and excellent as a portrait. And a third impression is the appreciation of natural features. It is most interesting, while contemplating each of the sculptured heads before one, to form an idea of the character, the mental life of the individual represented. The features of the Julian race are without exception handsome and pleasing. The physiognomies of the succeeding emperors and members of their family down to Commodus (180-192), the degenerate son of M. Aurelius, "produce the impression that one has to do with personages in whom Italian blood predominates, and who stand in close relationship to Greco-Roman culture. In the countenance of Septimius Severus (193-211) we perceive for the first time a non-Italian, a heterogeneous element, which thenceforward appears more frequently and in a more marked manner, until it reaches its climax in the coarse, semi-barbarous features of Maximinus, the Thracian (235-238)." [1] In the center of the room is the portrait-statue of a noble Roman lady, sitting in a well-bred, easy attitude. The left arm rests on the elbow of her chair, the right lies on her lap; the arrangement of the drapery is beautiful in its simplicity. This statue was formerly held to represent Agrippina, the wife of Germanicus, but wrongly, for the features of that lady were of a very different type.

[1] W. Helbig. Guide to the Public Collections of Classic Antiquities in Rome. Leipzig, 1891, I, p. 355.

Fig. 226. Bronze Horse. Palace of the Conservators

The next room is the *Stanza degli Nomini Illustri,* or the Philosophers' Room. Row after row of heads are here, all busts of celebrated men of antiquity, great orators, poets, statesmen, sages, generals. We will select five, four of whom are Greeks: Homer, the most delightful of poets; Socrates, the noblest of philosophers; Hippocrates, the father of medical science; Demosthenes, the most famous orator, with the addition of Alexander the Great, the mightiest conqueror.

Homer belongs rather to legendary than to historic lore. A blind poet who, on the coast of Asia Minor and in the islands of the Ægean Sea, sang in grand epic poems the champions, the battles and wars, the sagas and romances of remote antiquity; this is all of certainty that tradition and legend have handed down to us concerning him. As a matter of course no historic portrait of Homer has been transmitted to the Greeks, hence art had to create one. The accompanying illustration will give the reader some idea of the noble countenance wherewith it has endowed him. "I acknowledge," says Burckhardt, "that nothing gives me a more lofty appreciation of Greek plastic art than the manner in which it has divined and portrayed the countenance of Homer. A blind singer and poet—no more was told to guide the sculptor's chisel. Yet art imparted to the brow and whole contour of the old man's face this mental struggle, this effort and anxiety, and at the same time the expression of serenity and peace which it is the privilege of the blind to possess."

Socrates, the sage of Athens, was born in the year 469 B. C. A sculptor in his early years, he afterwards made it the task of his life to raise, refine, and improve mankind. The best men of his time speak of him as a man distinguished for piety,

self-control, firmness of character; as a good patriot, a faithful friend. It is certain that both in his teaching and in his manner of life he was far superior to his contemporaries, that he was an honorable exception to them, and felt in a certain manner a dim presentiment of the glory of Christianity. This rendered it all the more easy for his opponents and detractors to accuse and arraign him before the judge as an enemy of religion and of the State, and a corrupter of youth. Prejudiced and unprincipled judges condemned him to death; with indescribable cheerfulness and unruffled equanimity he drank the fatal draught. Socrates was not gifted with physical beauty; on the contrary, he was decidedly ugly, as he himself was always ready to admit. Of the three portraits in this hall two seem intentionally to reproduce the unintellectual expression, while the third reveals his hidden strength and greatness of soul.

The first Greek who entered scientifically and seriously on the study of therapeutics was Hippocrates; he was born about 470 years before the Christian era. The sharply-cut features and high, broad forehead betoken great natural gifts and earnest aspirations.

Fig. 227. Boy Plucking Out Thorn. Palace of the Conservators

Fig. 228. Camillus. Palace of the Conservators

The head of Demosthenes, the greatest of Greek orators, is equally characteristic. This bust much resembles the portrait-statue in the Breccio Nuovo (see insert). The countenance is not exactly beautiful and intellectual, but it expresses a strong will, unwavering resolution, persevering effort. All this Demosthenes was in his life and activity, an orator of marvelous power, although treated by nature somewhat in the fashion of a stepmother. His finest orations produced little effect on the easy-going Greeks, yet all his life long he battled for the same end: the liberty of his native land.

A colossal head of Alexander the Great indisputably reproduces his features in an admirable manner: "The powerful, handsome head with the brow crowned by curling locks and the expression of almost passionate emotion decidedly conveys the impress of a character more than human. It is interesting to observe how the artist has cleverly disguised a defect which disfigured the otherwise perfect physique of the universal conqueror. Alexander's

throat was in fact awry. In the bust in question this defect is idealized so as to become a peculiarity consistent with the character of the great king, for the act of holding the head on one side is quite in keeping with the proud, forceful expression that dominates the countenance." (Helbig.) The bust which bears the name of the Roman orator Cicero is a very interesting portrait, expressing a nervous disposition.

The *Stanza del Gladiatore Moribundo* is so called from the statue of the dying Gaul. In the center of the hall, upon a high pedestal, lies a dying warrior. Formerly this statue was held to be that of a gladiator who had succumbed to his wounds, but the moustache, the shaggy, curly hair thrown back from the forehead, the metal ring, twisted like a rope round his neck, a national ornament of the Gauls, the big shield, the crooked horn, all proclaim him a Gallic soldier. This fine statue is a genuine Greek work of the Pergamenic school, the sculptors of which, in contrast to ideal art, sought to give to their productions the impress of faithful adherence to nature and reality. As such the dying Gaul is a masterpiece of the first order. The hero has fallen on his shield, at his side are his weapons, the only witnesses to the death-struggle; the muscles are relaxed, the right leg convulsively drawn up, the left is feebly stretched out, the left arm supports the weight of the body in the last agony, yet it seems hardly able to sustain the burden; the head is sunken, the brow wrinkled with grief and pain, the eye fixed, the lips parted—an affecting death-scene reproduced in a manner so directly true to nature that one can but marvel at and admire the skill that knew how to immortalize in marble the last moments of the dying man. So forcible will be the impression made by this group as a whole on the spectator at first sight, that he will hardly notice how cleverly the whole structure of the body is rendered, the muscles following the curve of the spine, the swollen veins, the horny welts on hands and feet, the somewhat blunt features and sturdy build peculiar to the inhabitants of Gaul. We shall speak later on of the origin of this statue.

In the Room of the Gladiator is also the bust said to be that of Marcus Junius Brutus, who gave Cæsar his death-blow. The sinister, coarse, hard features are characteristic of the republican.

2. In the Hall of the Palace of the Conservators three large relievos that formed part of a monument in honor of Emperor Marcus Aurelius are set in the wall. One of these represents the emperor offering sacrifice in thanksgiving. A boy, called Camillus, holds the incense-boat, into which the emperor is in the act of putting his fingers. In the background the temple of Jupiter on the Capitol stands out distinctly. In the palace itself the most noticeable works are preserved in the Hall of Bronzes. One of the prominent statues is a bronze horse, a thoroughbred, perfectly true to nature and in technical execution most admirable. It is undoubtedly copied from a Greek model, perhaps one by Lysippus. The horse once had a rider, as the aperture in the back proves, one, too, who kept a tight hand on the bridle. The bronze statue of a *camillus* is in a state of wonderful preservation. *Camilli* was the name by which were known the boys who

Fig. 229. Trajan with Retinue. Relief from the Forum of Trajan

served the altar at the time of sacrifice; only well-bred boys of good family were chosen for this office; the boy here represented certainly fulfilled these conditions. Formerly there were sacrificial vessels in his outstretched hands. The statue of the boy plucking out a thorn is a genre subject of quite an idyllic character; it represents a boy absorbed in the occupation of drawing a thorn out of one of his feet, the half-open mouth and eager lips give it a very natural appearance. The somewhat rough form of this statue proves it to be a production of the old period of Grecian art, the transition time from the antique to the perfected style. The brass wolf, the symbol of ancient Rome which reaches back to the fifth century B. C., represents a still earlier period of antique art. This remarkable work has been much defaced by clumsily performed restoration; the fore-legs are made thicker, pieces of bronze having been soldered on in a most unskilful manner, the marking of the skin is also effaced in many places. The head and neck have suffered least; they present artistic work of signal excellence. The wolf, the venerated foster-mother of the founders of the Eternal City, was undoubtedly privileged to occupy a prominent position in ancient Rome.

## 3. THE COLLECTIONS OF ANTIQUES IN THE LATERAN AND IN THE VILLAS. THE MUSEO NAZIONALE DELLE TERME

1. *The Lateran Museum.*—In the year 1844 Pope Gregory XVI appropriated a portion of the Lateran Palace for the reception of two collections of objects of art, one Christian and one pagan. The end of the latter collection is to prevent overcrowding in the Vatican, and especially to provide a suitable standing-place for the statue of Sophocles.

The collection fills sixteen rooms. The first impression made on the visitor is by no means so favorable as in the Vatican; the halls are much more simply constructed and so arranged as to afford as much space as possible before the walls for the erection of the antiquities. Then the museum contains a great number of very

Fig. 230. Frieze from the Forum of Trajan. Lateran

Fig. 231. Sophocles. Lateran Museum.

Fig. 232. Orpheus and Eurydice. Albani Collection

beautiful bas-reliefs, sarcophagi, and remarkable fragments of all kinds which strike the spectator as much more unpretentious than the endless rows of statues of the gods, of heroes and of toga-clad Romans in the halls of the Vatican, which seem to turn a curious gaze at the stranger as he passes among them. Yet this museum is of the greatest value. Many among the relievos are not replicas or imitations, but genuine original Greek works; countless others afford information rarely found and greatly prized concerning religious, social, historic, even geographical conditions amongst the ancients, since the sculptures, those on the splendid sarcophagi in particular, represent mythological fables, funeral rites, hunting scenes, games, buildings, and townships of ancient Rome. In addition to these there are several busts and statues which are reckoned amongst the most remarkable that are known; and remains, such as portions of the entablature, friezes, and relievos from Trajan's Forum, which invite comparison with the very best specimens extant. Thus the collection is one of no slight interest to the antiquarian, the lover of art, and the student of art. The great Danish sculptor Thorwaldsen is known to have said that he gained many and varied ideas and suggestions for his own creations from fragments of this kind, statues and lesser pieces such as are to be seen in the Lateran.

The gem of the whole collection is the statue of Sophocles, which stands facing the entrance in the corner room, where two wings of the building meet, and thus it can be seen from a distance both in full-face and in profile. Sophocles, the noblest and greatest dramatic poet of Greece, was in his youthful years chosen, as one of the

Fig. 233. Atrium of the Villa Albani. Rome

HEAD OF MELEAGER, OF ANTINOUS, AND OF EROS; MINERVA GIUSTINIANI, NIOBE'S DAUGHTER, AND PUDICITIA; BUST OF LEPIDUS, OF TRAJAN, AND OF MARC ANTONY. IN THE VATICAN

most beautiful youths of Athens, to head the band of singers in the triumphal procession, when, after the battle of Salamis, a festival was held in celebration of the victory. If we did not know whom the portrait-statue in the Lateran represents, we should regard it as the ideal image of manly beauty. There he stands on the high pedestal, so simple, unaffected, and natural, and yet so grand and dignified. His figure is enveloped in a simple garment, the left hand rests lightly on the hip, the right hand is wrapped in the folds of his mantle, which is drawn together tightly, yet not too closely, to allow the outline of the body to be plainly distinguished. There is not a superfluous fold, not a line that could be dispensed with. The countenance is that of a cheerful, pleasant, noble, and manly individual; the eyes and mouth are indescribably beautiful.

Fig. 234. Statue of Aristotle. Palazzo Spada, Rome

2. One of the most famous private collections of sculpture was formerly in the *casino of the Villa Borghese,* a splendid creation of Cardinal Scipio Borghese, a favorite nephew of Pope Paul V (1605-1621). In the year 1805 Prince Camillo Borghese sold the museum to his brother-in-law, Napoleon I; it now adorns the Louvre in Paris. A fresh collection has since been made by the family of the Prince; it is lodged in handsome rooms resplendent with gold and polished marble. To art students and antiquarians it has, like that of the Lateran, much that is instructive and formative.

3. *The Albani collection* met with a similar fate. The magnificent villa, situated at a short distance from the Salara gate, the beautiful buildings in exquisite taste, and the lovely garden with its wondrous view of the distant Campagna, were creations of Cardinal Albani. In this palace he arranged 150 statues, 176 busts, 161 relievos, 49 groups of animals, besides a great number of columns, inscriptions, sepulchral monuments, altars, etc.

This collection suffered more severely than any other in the French Revolution; 294 of the finest specimens were carried

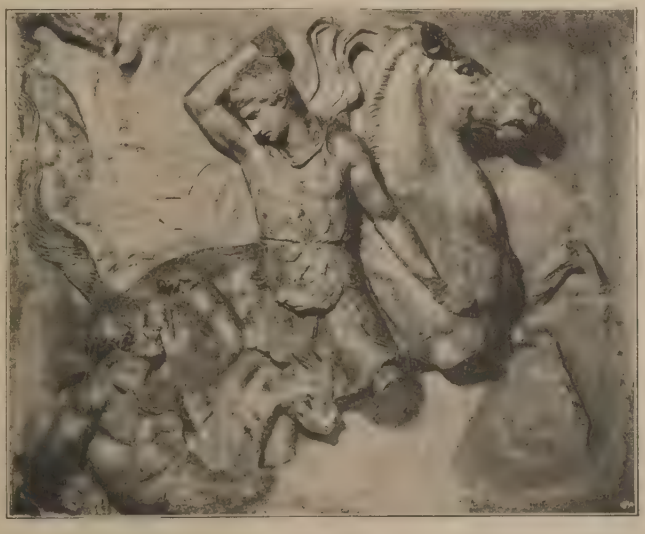


Fig. 235. Relief on the Tomb of an Athenian Knight. Villa Albani

away to Paris, where later on they were sold at auction. One single relief was brought back to Rome, but another large and valuable collection has been made to replace the old; in 1860 it passed, together with the villa, into the possession of Prince Torlonia. Conspicuous among the treasures of this villa is the relief on the sarcophagus of an Athenian knight; the young warrior has dismounted from his horse, with his left hand on the bridle he controls the rearing charger, while holding the sword in his right hand he raises his arm to give the deathblow to the foe whom he has felled to the ground. The horse's bridle and the sword were probably of metal. This relief is one of the most beautiful of Attic sepulchral sculptures, and on that account was brought by some Roman to his own country. It dates from the golden age of Attic art; consequently, the features of the warrior are idealized, rather than strictly true as a likeness. Another bas-relief, a genuine Greek work, recalls the period when art attained its highest development: the Parting of Orpheus and Eurydice. Orpheus, the mythical singer, descended into the infernal regions in order to recover his wife Eurydice, whom he had lost soon after their nuptials. The king of Hades, moved by his sorrow, permitted him to take his wife back with him to the upper regions on one condition: that he should not turn to look at his beloved before he had crossed the threshold of Hades. Orpheus could not, however, resist the longing of his heart; he forgot his promise and, looking round, took hold of Eurydice's hand, which rested on his shoulder. Hence the condition was not observed, and Hermes, the guide of souls, already lays hold of Eurydice's right hand to conduct her back to the world of the departed. Thus Greek art depicted the most touching, pathetic scenes with dignified composure and moderation.

Fig. 236. Cross Passage of the Museo Nazionale delle Terme

4. *The Palazzo Spada* also contains some very valuable antiquities. The palace was built in 1540 by Cardinal Capodiferro, but in 1632 passed into the possession of Cardinal Spada, who altered and adorned it. Amongst the finest sculptures are several reliefs, e. g., Paris and Eros, the death of Opheltes, Bellerophon and Pegasus, etc. In addition to these is a statue alleged to be that of Cneius Pompeius, a sitting figure, generally known as the statue of Aristotle; the body probably belonged to a statue of the Greek philosopher Aristippus, while the head, though certainly antique, evidently did not orig-

FIG. 237. RELIEF FROM THE GATE OF PEACE. MUSEO NAZIONALE

inally form part of the statue; it is the portrait of an attractive and intelligent Roman.

5. The most recent collection of antiques is the *Museo Nazionale Romano delle Terme*. It bears this distinctive appellation because it is to a great extent built on the ruins of the *thermæ* or baths of Diocletian, the remains of which were given in the year 1561 by Pius IV to the Carthusians, who constructed their monastery on the site. The principal parts are the splendid cloisters, which were built from a design drawn by Michelangelo. The Museum bears the additional names of Nazionale and Romano because it is a foundation of the Italian Government, who took the monastery away from the Carthusians and arranged it for the reception of the collection. The finds made in the course of the last ten years in Rome and the surrounding district are preserved there. The Museum was opened in 1889, and has since been repeatedly enlarged. The objects exhibited there are very numerous, and are much appreciated by all who are interested in art and the history of art.

Extensive restoration of the mutilated works is never attempted, a rule much to be approved of. One of the most interesting statues is an Apollo chiseled in Grecian marble; it was discovered in the bed of the Tiber and is consequently greatly eroded by the action of the water. The conception is serious and austere; many persons are inclined to believe it to be the work of the great master, Phidias. In striking contrast to this is the statue of Dionysius; the treatment is positively feeble. It is a further development of the style introduced by Polycletus, and was sculptured in the early years of imperial rule in Rome. The best known but by no means the finest work the museum can boast is the bronze statue of a pugilist resting after a boxing-match. The head is raised, looking upwards towards the

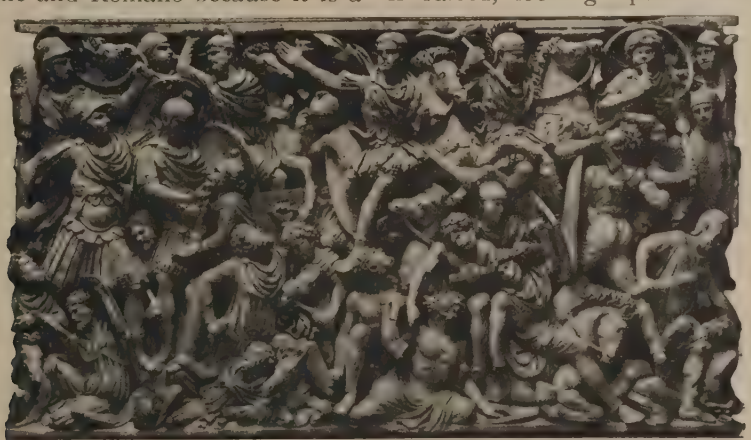


FIG. 238. BATTLE BETWEEN ROMANS AND BARBARIANS. MUSEO NAZIONALE

Fig. 239. Head of a Statue of Apollo. Museo Nazionale

right, the upper part of the body is bent forward, being supported by the arms, which rest upon the thigh, the hands are covered down to the lowest joint of the fingers with a glove fastened on with leather straps and brass buckles, which serve the purpose of augmenting the force of a blow with the fist. That the man himself has felt the impact of hard blows is testified by the flattened ears, the abrasions of the skin from which drops of blood are oozing, a swelling below the right eye, etc. The presentment is clever, but so realistic as to be almost revolting.

The Museo Nazionale contains a vast number of other important works, for instance the Discobolus (discus-thrower) recently discovered in Castel Porziano; the parts that were wanting, the head, the right arm, and the feet were restored under the superintendence of Rizzo and Furtwängler after the best reproduction of Myron's famous work, so that the statue makes a pleasing impression on the beholder. The figure of the Maiden, probably a Greek priestess, attributed to the fourth century B. C., comes from Anzio, and was purchased by the Italian Government for the sum of 450,000 lire. To the same period belongs the head of a sleeping girl; the eyes are closed, the lips slightly parted, one fancies one can hear the gentle breathing; it is a wonderful production.

6. In one part of the spacious halls of the Museo Nazionale the statuary which formerly adorned the Villa Ludovisi is exhibited; it was one of the smallest, but by far the most valuable of private collections. The superb villa on the heights of the Pincio was built in the seventeenth century by Cardinal Luigi Ludovisi, a nephew of Pope Gregory XIV. It comprised three magnificent buildings surrounded by large gardens and extensive, park-like grounds. Thick laurel-hedges, evergreen ilexes, dark cypresses, pines with their spreading fan-like branches, long winding avenues, ponds, babbling brooks, and

Fig. 240. Head of a Sleeping Girl. Museo Nazionale

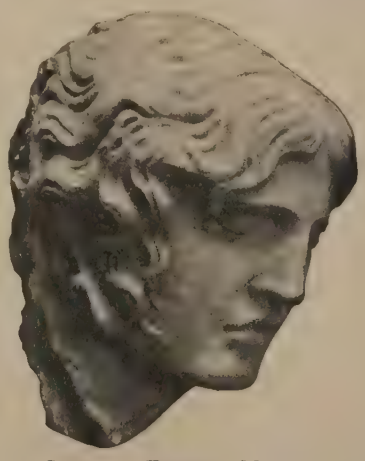
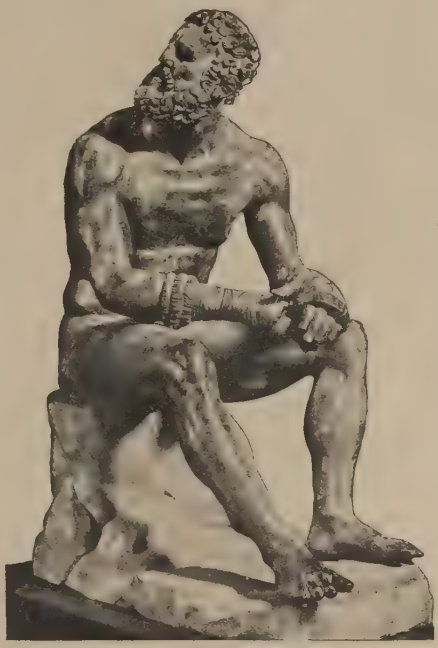
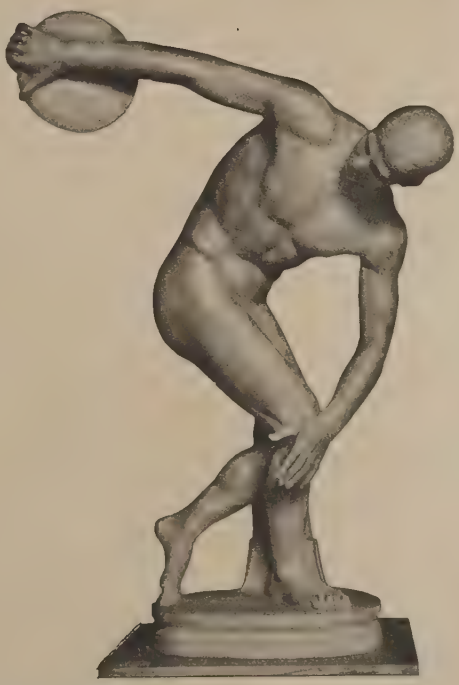


Fig. 241. Sleeping Erinys. Museo Nazionale





FIGS. 242-245. STATUE OF A GIRL FROM ANCIO. PUGILIST RESTING AFTER A MATCH; TORSO OF A DISCUS-THROWER AND RESTORATION OF THE SAME. MUSEO NAZIONALE

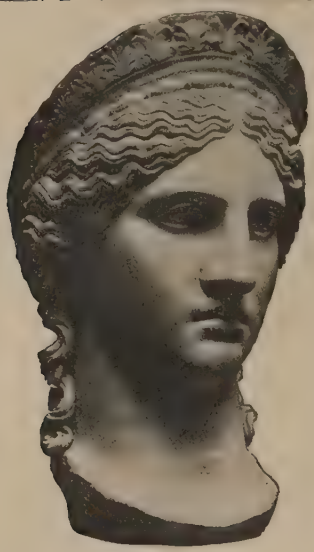


Fig. 246. Juno Ludovisi. Museo Nazionale

splashing fountains imparted coolness to the air and ample shade from the midday sun. The villa descended to Prince Piombino, a member of the House of Buoncampagni; in the year 1900 the museum was sold for the sum of 1,400,000 lire to the Italian Government, by whom the collection will be transferred to a new museum erected for the purpose. It comprises many works of superior and second-rate merit. To these the relief belongs which represents the head of a sleeping Erinys. The Erinyes (Furies) were in Greek mythology ministers of the vengeance of the gods, who pursued the criminal, leaving him no rest until his sin was expiated. The beautiful head in question depicts one of these Furies; she is reposing for a moment, but even in sleep her features retain their menacing aspect. A colossal statue of Pallas, the virginal protectress of Athens, is an imitation, or rather a copy, of the majestic model which Phidias created. The sculptor to whom this statue is attributed, a native of Athens, belonged to the later period, when artists confined themselves to producing replicas of the masterpieces of an earlier epoch. The colossal head of Hera, or Juno, is one of the finest and best specimens of antique statuary. The queen of the heavens and consort of Jupiter wears upon her brow an upright diadem in the shape of a crescent, ornamented with palm leaves, and curving elegantly round her head. The soft, silky hair is plaited with a woolen fillet which follows the curve of the diadem and falls loosely behind. The feminine element is otherwise mostly shown by gentleness, grace, or beauty, and in this superb head those qualities are combined with a dignified gravity, an awe-imposing grandeur. The sternness of the brow is tempered by the soft, curling hair; on the gently-rounded cheeks rests the imperishable bloom of youthful beauty. The strongly-marked lips and chin have somewhat of a virile character, but are illumined by the luster of marvelous beauty. This head acts as a sudden revelation to the beholder of what the proportion and beauty of Greek art really is. It is indisputably a most successful copy of a Greek model, which is attributed to the most distinguished sculptors (Polycletus, or Alcamenes, a pupil of Phidias). At the first view it is so powerful, so astounding, that Goethe, in the year 1787, after his first visit to the villa, wrote: "No words can give any idea of it. It is like one of Homer's poems." And Schiller wrote: "It is not grace nor dignity that strikes us in the magnificent head of the Juno Ludovisi; it is neither of the two, because it is both the one and the other. The countenance as a whole is restful and self-contained, a finished creation complete in itself, an immortal, unyielding, unresisting. No force is there that could contend with other forces, no vulnerable spot where tenderness could find access."

Another admirable work is a fine representation of Ares (Mars), the god of war, at a moment of repose; both hands, together with his sword, are laid on the left knee which is drawn backward, the big, round shield rests by his side, an Eros, or Cupid, is playing at his feet. A somewhat similar subject presents itself in the handsome young warrior lying on the ground in a negligent attitude, his arms and legs crossed, a sword held in his right hand. The body is apparently an original

Greek work, while the head belongs to a later period. Amongst other excellent pieces of statuary we may mention a most characteristic portrait statue, the sitting figure of a Roman wearing a toga; it is from the time of the Republic. The sloping surface of the seat seems to indicate that the statue was destined to occupy an elevated position. A large-sized and beautiful marble bust presents the noble features of a Roman who is arrayed in military accouterments. One very pretty group depicts a noble lady who appears to be either welcoming or taking leave of a young man; this is the great fault of the work, that the motive is not clearly expressed; thus it conveys no definite meaning to the mind of the beholder. It is an achievement of the Greek sculptor Menelaus, who lived in the early years of the emperors.

The last work which we shall have occasion to mention shows at the first glance that the two persons represented must be of the same nationality as the dying Gaul, which was described above: we speak of "The Gaul and His Wife." The foes are in the immediate vicinity, the warrior sees with horror that no hope of rescue remains. In order not to fall alive into the hands of the enemy, he has just given the deathblow to his wife. His left arm still embraces her sinking form, and with a last look at the enemy he severs with his sword the large artery on the left side of his throat. The supreme resolve, the despair, the intense mental and physical agitation are rendered in stone with marvelous ability. Whence, it may be asked, do all these representations of Gallic warriors come? What is their origin? Pliny states that the sculptors Isigonus, Pyromachus, Stratonicus, and Antigonus immortalized in bronze statuary the victories gained by Kings Attalus I (241-197 B. C.) and Eumenes II (197-159 B. C.) over the Gauls; and the statues or groups were erected in Pergamus. Furthermore, Pliny asserts that King Attalus I presented to the Athenians a series of sculptures celebrating his victories over the Gauls. Therefore it is highly probable that the dying Gaul and the Gallic couple are replicas and copies of the bronze statues executed by the sculptors of Pergamus. This is the more probable because the dying Gaul and the Gallic husband and wife are sculptured in Grecian marble after bronze models.

Other and smaller collections exist in many Roman palaces and villas; in fact, almost every house of considerable size, every artist, every connoisseur of art, possesses some fine works and remarkable finds. And how many productions of ancient Roman art are to be seen in museums and collections all over the world! As the legions and armies of ancient Rome went forth into all climes to conquer the world, so her marble statues have gone out to conquer, yet not like them to achieve victory with steel and iron, but by the charm and influence exercised by the beauty of Art.

Fig. 247. Warrior Resting. Ludovisi Collection. Museo Nazionale

# PART II
# SUBTERRANEAN ROME

Fig. 248. An Interment in the Catacombs. From a Painting by A. Grass

Fig. 249. Sarcophagus with Scenes from the Passion. Lateran

# I. The Subterranean Christian Burial-Places

## 1. THE RE-DISCOVERY OF SUBTERRANEAN ROME OR THE CATACOMBS

ON MAY 31, 1578, some laborers were at work in a vineyard not far from Rome, digging out the sand called *puzzolana,* which when mixed with chalk is known to make an excellent cement. In consequence of the disturbance of the soil an arch fell in, disclosing an underground passage, from which long galleries branched off, leading to rooms of ample dimensions excavated in the rock, or to sepulchral chambers. The walls and roofs were decorated with paintings and covered with a great number of epitaphs. There was no masonry employed for the support of the galleries and chambers, for they were excavated out of the soft rock, on the surface of which the strokes of the pick-axe were distinctly traceable. In the side walls oblong recesses were excavated horizontally above and alongside one another; in these were bodies, the graves being closed with tiles. The monogram of the Saviour, the Cross, the dove with an olive-branch, and other representations of a similar nature, afforded unmistakable evidence that the discovery had been made of a Christian place of burial, dating from the earliest times.

This discovery created the greatest sensation; all Rome, high and low, learned and unlearned, hastened to the spot, and descended into the dark passages. A contemporaneous writer, Baronius, says: "Rome was taken by surprise and astonished when the tidings spread of the existence of subterranean cities within its precincts, regions which constituted the dwelling-places of the Christians in times of persecution, but which now contained nothing but graves; and the eye beheld with wonder and admiration that which till then had only been read about in books." The newly-discovered subterranean sepulchral vaults were called "Catacombs." What was the origin of this name?

At some distance from Rome the most famous road of the ancient city, the Appian Way, leading southwards, passes through a low-lying region, which bore the name of *ad Catacumbas,* "to the Catacombs." In the vale stands the ancient, once famous church of St. Sebastian, adjoining which there was also an old Christian subterranean place of burial, wherein the remains of the Princes of the apostles were for some time interred; in conse-

quence of their situation both the church and the cemetery acquired the distinctive appellation of "in the Catacombs." This term, first applied to that particular cemetery, was later on generalized and given to all underground sepulchral chambers. Even in the eighth century we read of Christian, Jewish, and other Catacombs.

As far as we are concerned, the Christian Catacombs may be called Christian Rome underground. May 31, 1578, the day on which the Catacombs were re-discovered, may justly be termed the natal day of the name and archæology of "subterranean Rome."

The discovery was a most happy dispensation of Providence, and all who visited the excavations had every reason for amazement. They looked into regions which had been closed and forgotten for nearly a thousand years. Even in comparatively recent times subterranean crypts and galleries have been opened where for a thousand, nay more than a thousand, years, no foot has ever trod. And the paintings and sculptures, the symbols and inscriptions, afford incontestable, positive testimony in word and imagery to the thoughts and feelings, the faith and hopes, the love and sufferings of our predecessors, the Christian communities of the first centuries of Christianity, as far back as the times of the apostles. Who would not experience a holy longing, or at least an impulse of curiosity, urging him to traverse those darksome galleries through which the early Christians passed, to pray where they prayed, where they celebrated the holy mysteries, where they interred the remains of their loved ones, where the noble martyrs, the heroes who laid down their lives for the Faith and for love of Christ, were laid to rest—such as St. Sebastian, St. Pancratius, the venerable Fathers of the Church, the Princes of the apostles, and the holy Popes; also the saintly virgins of angelic purity, Agnes, Cecilia, and many others! Who would not rejoice to gather from the pictures and inscriptions ample and certain proof that the early Christians, these martyrs and heroes of the Faith, believed, hoped, loved as we do after the lapse of fifteen hundred years!

In the centuries immediately preceding the discovery of the Catacombs innovators had arisen who endeavored to disprove the unbroken connection existing between the Catholics of their own day and the Christians of the first centuries, proclaiming loudly to all the world that Rome and her priests and pastors had falsified, defaced, vitiated the genuine, pure Christian faith. Nay more, Catholic theologians even were found who, in virtue of a science that repudiated faith, openly rejected the time-honored traditions, the venerable and touching legends dating from the primitive ages of Christianity. Then, suddenly, a ray of light penetrated into a sepulchral vault, whose epitaphs and emblems no one could possibly have falsified, because for a thousand years they had been buried in darkness. The unimpeachable testimony afforded by the tombstones and pictures proved more clearly than anything else could have done that the line of continuity with apostolic times had not been severed by any tampering with the Faith of our forefathers; it proved, moreover, that the primitive ages of Chris-

Fig. 250. Inscription on Grave, with Representation of the Resurrection of Lazarus

tianity were far more venerable, more affecting, more holy, than we had believed them to be.

In the following pages we propose to relate briefly, truthfully, and simply what the Christian pilgrim sees, learns, and experiences in the Catacombs; what in a great measure we ourselves have seen and felt. It will be necessary in the first place to pursue further the history of the rediscovery of the Catacombs; then to review the history of the Church in the earliest ages. Afterward we shall visit the most celebrated Catacombs, walk through their corridors and sepulchral galleries, contemplate their pictorial decoration, and endeavor to decipher what they taught to the early Christians.

After the discovery of the Catacombs the most learned men of Rome visited the sepulchral chambers in order to explore them and publish the result of their investigations. No one rendered greater services in this respect than Antonio Bosio, who for six and thirty years may be said to have frequented this subterranean world, devoting all his intellect, his energy, his time, to gain a thorough knowledge of everything concerning it. It was for him a labor of love; he was justly called the Columbus of the newly-discovered world. Nor did he content himself with going down into one or another of these sepulchral vaults; he searched the writings of the Fathers of the Church and other authors, for the purpose of obtaining definite information concerning the early Christian cemeteries. On finding that there must be a large number of Catacombs around Rome, similar to the one that was discovered, he roamed tirelessly about the vineyards and gardens in the vicinity of the city, in the hope of finding the entrances to the hidden burial-places. In this he was sometimes successful, but more often his exertions were unrewarded. Serious mishaps did not deter him from pursuing his labors; the very first time, when with a companion he made his way into a Catacomb through a narrow aperture (Dec. 10, 1593), in his eagerness to carry on his researches he lost his way in the labyrinthine galleries and could find no outlet. To add to his perplexity, the light which he was carrying went out. "I began to be afraid," he writes, "that my unworthy body would have the presumption to make its last resting-place beside the tombs of the martyrs"; however, finally, a faint streak of light was perceived, which happily served to guide the alarmed explorer back to the upper world.

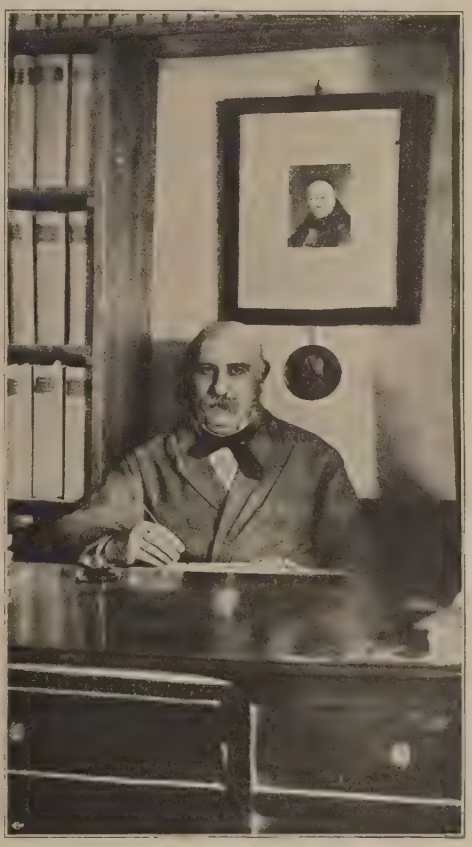


Fig. 251. John Baptist De Rossi

At the time of his death, in 1629, Bosio had explored about thirty Catacombs. After his decease, and not until then, some of his works were published. They were not only valuable to the learned and to explorers, but were the fortunate occasion of leading several adherents of

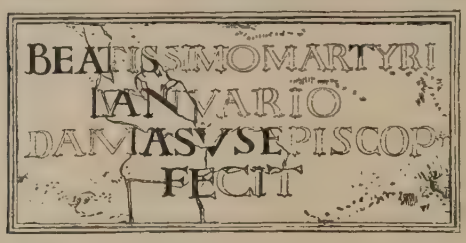



Fig. 252. Epitaph of St. Januarius, Erected by Bishop Damasus

another creed to return to the fold of the Church of Rome.

From that time explorations were continually carried on in the Catacombs, but for the most part without system, without the necessary supervision and the requisite knowledge of the subject. For a long time the sole object of the researches was to find and remove relics of the saints; some religious associations and even private individuals were allowed to engage in excavations on their own account. This led to countless antiquities being lost, thrown away by the workmen, or sold by them for a mere nothing. From the year 1668 a stop was put to this state of things; the Popes appointed overseers and guardians of the subterranean cemeteries. But few possessed Bosio's zeal and ardent desire to acquire knowledge. Not until recent years was a man again found who united in his person all the qualities requisite to achieve greater and better things than were accomplished in the three preceding centuries: love for and interest in subterranean Rome, untiring zeal, profound knowledge and erudition, and a faculty of prediction which often enabled him to foretell the most remarkable discoveries. We refer to John Baptist De Rossi, who was assisted in his work by his brother Michael.

John Baptist De Rossi was born in Rome on February 23, 1822. He was educated in the Roman College, and devoted himself specially to the study of Christian and Pagan antiquities, under the guidance of the able and learned archæologist, Father Marchi. At an early age De Rossi distinguished himself by the publication of a treatise on the geography of ancient Rome. We shall frequently have occasion to speak of the immortal services he rendered in respect to Christian antiquity. He died on September 20, 1894. One instance may be given of the way in which he made his most important discoveries.

In the year 1848 the entrance to a Catacomb was discovered in the Appian Way. Immediately De Rossi set to work making researches in old handbooks for pilgrims, in the legends of martyrs, in ecclesiastical calendars, etc. Careful study of the situation of the Catacomb and local details convinced him that in former times it bore the name of Praetextatus. He gave the reasons for this opinion in a monograph, which, four years later, he read before the Papal Commission of Christian Archæology; he also expressed his belief that in the Catacomb in question the tomb of St. Januarius, the eldest of St. Felicita's seven sons, the sepulchers of SS. Felicissimus and Agapitus, besides those of SS. Tiburtius, Valerianus, and Maximus, who suffered at the same time as St. Cecilia, must and would be found. All the arguments he adduced in support of this view proved correct. Five years later De Rossi penetrated into a sepulchral chamber which was beautifully decorated with rural scenes and foliage; the inscriptions on one of the tombs indicated that the martyrs mentioned above were interred there. Again after the lapse of six years De Rossi found the fragment of an epitaph with the three letters: B E A, in which he instantly recognized Pope Damasus' style of writing—a style which, as we shall see later on, is easily recognizable. Somewhat later he discovered some other fragments, by the help of which he was able to put together the following inscription: BEATISSIMO MARTYRI IANUARIO DAMASUS EPISCOP FECIT. "Bishop Damasus erected this epitaph to the blessed martyr Januarius." The reader will remark that De Rossi compiled the whole epitaph from the few letters that are not in outline in the accompanying illustration. Several other fragments that were found later on, containing the

words of the epitaph exactly as he completed them, proved that he had not been mistaken.

In this manner Chevalier De Rossi made his most remarkable discoveries; for years he carried on his work of exploration in the Catacombs with astonishing acuteness and admirable acumen. To him we owe the most solid, valuable, and important information we possess concerning the Catacombs. To most of the Catacombs of Rome he gave the correct name and history. For one thing he had the advantage of possessing generous patrons in Pius IX and Leo XIII. By no Pope since the days of Pope Damasus, that is for 1500 years, has so much been done for the last resting-places of the early Christians, or so much pious interest and holy veneration been shown for them as by Pius IX and his successors Leo XIII and Pius X. De Rossi bequeathed to posterity the result of his researches in two important volumes: *Roma Sotterranea,* "Subterranean Rome," and in a large collection of ancient Christian inscriptions, besides a great number of monographs.

Since De Rossi's time the exploration of the Catacombs has happily been carried on with the utmost assiduity and intelligence. Raphael Garrucci wrote upon almost every branch of Christian archæology, especially on the subject of painting and sculpture. De Rossi himself directed a staff of able scholars who followed in his steps: Henry Stevenson, Mariano Armellini, Pietro Costrarosa, and Orazio Marucchi. The last named wrote a work on The Elements of Christian Archæology in three volumes: introductory information on the subject in general, and a guide to the Roman Catacombs and to the basilicas and churches of Rome. Signor Marucchi was so obliging as to place a series of his own sketches at our disposal for the present work, for which we here express to him our warmest thanks.

For many years a German ecclesiastic,

Fig. 253. Painting in the Chapel of St. Januarius in the Catacomb of Praetextatus

Monsignor Joseph Wilpert, has pursued his researches in Rome with great activity and admirable success. He was born in 1857 at Eiglau, in Silesia; in the year 1902 he discovered the Catacomb of SS. Marcus and Marcellianus, with the vault of Damasus; he is undoubtedly one of the most able investigators of the Catacombs, and the best informed on the subject. His attention has been chiefly directed to the paintings and pictorial decorations of the Catacombs. In his work entitled "Principienfragen der christlichen Archæologie" [1] (1889 and 1890) he defended the theological signification of the pictorial decoration and proved the correctness of the interpretation given of it in contradistinction to the construction placed on it by Protestants and rationalists. One great service rendered by Wilpert consists in his having published studiously correct facsimiles of the mural paintings in the Catacombs.[2] Earlier reproductions of the pictures were often inaccurate and faulty, if not actually false.[3] Wilpert's reproductions have never been surpassed; we are therefore greatly indebted to him for the generous permission accorded us to illustrate this work with a great number of prints from the copies he published.

[1] "An Inquiry into the Principles of Christian Archæology."

[2] "Paintings in the Chapel of the Blessed Sacrament of St. Callixtus," 1897; "The Paintings of the Catacombs," 2 vols., 1903.

[3] See "The Paintings of the Catacombs and the Early Copies of Them," 1891.

## 2. THE SYSTEM OF CHRISTIAN BURIAL IN ROME

AT THE period when Christianity first made its appearance in Pagan Rome the custom of cremating the dead prevailed there to a great extent. The ashes were collected and placed in an urn or small square receptacle, which was either deposited in a sepulchral monument or, more generally, in the villas or alongside the principal highways. Intramural interment was prohibited by law. Cemeteries common to all classes were rare in Rome; only the nobility built places of sepulture for their families, or constructed subterranean vaults for themselves, their relatives, and also for their slaves. In the walls of these vaults small niches were made, to hold the urns containing the ashes of the deceased; on account of their resemblance to a dove-cot they received that name, in Latin, *columbarium*. More characteristic of heathen Rome is the fact that for slaves and the poorer classes, who were considered unworthy of funeral obsequies, pits (*puticuli*) were merely dug, in which they were unceremoniously interred. In earlier times it was not customary to cremate the dead, and in later years the practice again went out of fashion.

From the outset Christians looked with horror on the prevalent custom. They embalmed the dead, wrapped the corpse in linen cloths—sparing no expense, if their means allowed of it—and deposited the remains in graves, for they believed in the resurrection of the body. They regarded the lifeless body as the former abode of the immortal soul, hallowed by the reception of Christ's body and blood; as the instrument whereby the soul acted and suffered, and earned the celestial reward in which it also would share after the resurrection. Therefore loving care for the departed seemed to them a holy, religious duty. Furthermore, as the Christians, both high and low, considered themselves to be brethren and sisters, members of one and the selfsame family, they naturally preferred to be near one another in their last rest, that of death. Hence arose the large Christian cemeteries, common to all, the "sleeping-places," or cemeteries, as they were called after a Greek word. For Christians, St. Jerome says, death is not death, but a long rest, a sleep, until the great day of the resurrection of the body.

But how was it possible for the Christian inhabitants of Rome to construct their places of sepulture, or Catacombs, since they were not under the protection of the

Transferring the Body of a Christian Martyr.
From the Painting of A. Baur.

law; on the contrary they were often exposed to the cruelest persecution? The creed, the customs, nay, even the legislation of Rome stood the Christians in good stead in this respect.

All the cultured nations of antiquity reverenced the tombs of the dead, and the Romans were no exception. "Every one can at his own pleasure give religious consecration to any plot of land by burying a corpse in it"; so ran the law. Thus the ground or field was hallowed and received a religious character through the mere interment of the dead; the spot became sacred, inviolate ground, just like the enclosed precincts of a temple of the gods. From that time forward the portion of land could not be bought or sold, it could not be bequeathed or confiscated; it remained the inalienable property of the family whose deceased members rested in the hallowed earth. And from the fact that this inviolability was not confined to the grave alone, but was imparted to the whole area, the field, the portion of land in which the grave was situated, the formation of a burying-ground on a large scale was possible. We learn from ancient epitaphs how great was sometimes the extent of the land or cultivated ground appertaining to a grave. One hundred and twenty-five square feet seems to have been a moderate size for the territory surrounding a tomb, and instances have been met with in which it was 1000 feet long and 300 feet wide, or even 1800 feet by 500 feet.

Now there is no doubt that amongst the early Christians in Rome there were persons of the highest rank, members of the most noble families; of this the Catacombs afford abundant proof. To them belong, *e.g.*, the martyr Flavius Clemens, a nephew of the Emperor Domitian, and his wife Flavia Domitilla, who was also related to the emperor, the saintly virgin Domitilla, a member of the same family, and many others, whose names are on the tombstones in the Catacombs. In order to have a common place of sepulture for themselves and other Christians, these wealthy Romans only had to build a tomb

Fig. 254. Columbarium on the Appian Way

on their property and enclose a considerable portion of land around it, and this would be under the protection of the law equally with that of any other Roman citizen. Examples of this mode of procedure, and proofs that many Catacombs originated in this manner, are numerous. An inscription which was found in the Catacomb of St. Domitilla, and which probably dates from the first century, runs thus: "Restitutus made this burial-place for himself and his family, who trust in the Lord." And on another stone are the words: "A monument for the freedmen and those who come after them, who belong to my religion." A piece of land measuring one hundred feet in front and one hundred feet in depth on the further side, surrounded the grave where St. Lucina, a Roman lady of rank, was interred. In one single sepulchral chamber De Rossi counted more than seven hundred niches, or shelves, in which the dead were laid. If one reckons in the space occupied by passages and galleries which have been demolished or not fully excavated, the comparatively smaller Catacombs, not overcrowded with remains, could easily contain two thousand bodies.

Another custom existing in Rome enabled the early Christians to construct common burial-places in a perfectly legitimate manner. Among the different states and callings, the soldiers, sailors, masons, huntsmen, fishermen, wine merchants, goldsmiths, farriers, etc., there were associations, guilds, and confraternities. Not only did their common trade or calling form a bond of union among the members; they all had an expressed end in view, that of assuring honorable obsequies to one another. From an epitaph we learn that the rule of these societies or guilds required each member on his reception to contribute a cask of wine and four hundred sesterces (about twenty-five dollars) and after his reception he was to contribute five *as* monthly (about thirty cents) to the general fund. On the death of one of the members, provided he had fulfilled his obligations regularly, the society gave four times the entrance fee to defray the expenses of his funeral. If a member died at a distance of more than twenty miles from Rome, three of his fellow-associates brought in his remains. On the anniversaries of distinguished members or of the founders of the society the survivors met round his grave and held a festive banquet.

One can readily understand that the early Christians availed themselves of the liberty granted to guilds and sodalities; in fact, it is obvious that they should do so, in order mutually to assure themselves of Christian obsequies and of a common resting-place after death. The persecutions of the Christians had already required them to make countless sacrifices, yet no one had disputed the exercise on their part of this right with regard to the dead.

When the Emperor Trajan prohibited their religious assemblies he made an exception in favor of the societies of the poor, who met together every month to pay the subscription which was destined for the defraying of funeral expenses. As the Pagans assembled on fixed days at the graves of certain personages to hold funeral banquets, so the Christians under the shelter of that custom could, without attracting observation, meet together on the anniversaries of martyrs and saints, for the purpose of divine worship and of celebrating commemorative feasts.

The first enactment concerning the Christian Catacombs was, as far as we know, issued by the Emperor Valerian in the year 257. It was not, however, his intention to withdraw the liberty to use them as burial-places; his decree related to the Catacombs because they were at the same time places of assembly and of refuge for the Christians.

When reading the legends of the martyrs and the history of the persecutions, one cannot help wondering that the remains of those who were put to death with sufferings and tortures of every kind were taken away and buried by the Christians. This fact is, however, easily explained by the enactments of the Roman law, which ordered that the body of any one who was executed should be given up to those who desired to give it burial. "The corpses of those who are executed must be handed over to any persons who may demand them for sepulture"; such was the wording of the regulation of the Roman legal code. Exceptions to this rule were rarely made in early times, and then only in the case of Christians, with the view of depriving them of the consolation of possessing the relics of the martyrs. Some of the best known Catacombs owe their names and their origin to celebrated martyrs, whose remains were asked for and buried by Romans of high rank.

In order to explain the greater freedom of action enjoyed by Christians in Rome in the earliest ages of Christianity it must be remembered that at the outset the Christians were to a great extent considered as identical with the Jews. Since the time of Julius Cæsar the Jews were tolerated throughout the whole Roman Empire, although their privileges were occasionally and temporarily withdrawn. We learn from the Acts of the Apostles that at first the Roman officials made no distinction between Christians and Jews, for we are told that the imperial governors in Judea and Achaia dismissed the Jews

who brought accusations against St. Paul, in the belief that it was merely a question of differences of opinion in one and the same religion (*Acts* xviii. 12-17; xxiii. 29; xxv. 19). In consequence of this view being taken by the Romans, utterly unfounded as it was, the Christians enjoyed the same liberty as did the Jews, and equally with them had the right of freedom of burial. Tertullian, the renowned Christian writer, says in the second century: "We were considered as

Fig. 255. A Last Farewell
Painting by G. Max. Scene from the time of the Christian persecutions

standing in close relationship to the Jews, and lived under the shadow of their far-famed religion, the exercise of which was tolerated." But the Acts of the Apostles tell us that even at that time the Jews were everywhere ready to denounce and accuse the hated Christians before governors and potentates. This was the case in Rome. Consequently the Roman legislature was obliged to speak explicitly in respect to the Christians. Would it tolerate the religion of the cross at an epoch when sufferance was accorded to all alien religious customs smuggled into Rome, even the most disorderly and unseemly? The Emperor Nero, who laid the burning of Rome to the charge of the innocent confessors of Christ, who covered them with pitch and set them alight for the sake of having the gardens of his golden palace lighted up by living torches, gives a negative answer of the most emphatic and terrible nature to this query.

Nero was the first persecutor of the Christians. From his time to that of Constantine no less than nine fierce persecutions of the Christians are to be counted. Space forbids us to enter upon a detailed description of these blood-stained times of trial, but the reader will find their main features in the historical summary appended to this book. We will now turn to the question: How did the Christians bury their dead?

## 3. THE CONSTRUCTION OF THE CATACOMBS

ON FEBRUARY 9, 1875, the writer of these pages had the privilege, for the first time, of inspecting a Christian Catacomb. We drove out of the city through the gate of St. Sebastiano; at a considerable distance from the town wall we alighted, and leaving the old highroad turned off to the right out into the open country. After a few hundred paces the path led to a newly made flight of steps, by which we descended into a deep shaft. Our kind guide opened a door, and, each with a lighted taper in his hand, we went down a few more steps, and found ourselves in the Catacomb of St. Callixtus. We proceeded through galleries so narrow as scarcely to allow of two persons walking abreast; here and there other passages branched off to the right or left, chiefly at right angles, or the galleries intersected one another; then long flights of steps led down to lower stories, where the dark galleries again crossed and re-crossed one another, forming so intricate a labyrinth that after pursuing these subterranean streets for a short time one entirely lost one's bearings, and was glad to follow the guide blindly. In the vertical walls of the galleries oblong niches were excavated, a series of narrow shelves or rectangular receptacles in horizontal rows. Very often there were seven rows beside and above one another in the walls; in these the bodies of the dead were deposited, wrapped in linen cloths, their hands crossed upon their breasts. A coffin of wood or stone was unnecessary, for the aperture of the grave was sealed hermetically by a slab of marble or by tiles covered with cement. Sometimes two or even more bodies were laid in one grave. In the graves where children or women were buried trifling objects are not infrequently found, such as bracelets, rings, earrings, little bells, etc. The inscription was cut upon the marble, or scratched in the wet mortar. On small pedestals or in niches little earthen lamps were placed, as symbols of the light of faith.

Michael De Rossi has calculated that the galleries and corridors of all the Catacombs would, if ranged in a straight line, attain a length of 876 kilometers (120 geographical miles), which would almost reach from one end of Italy to the other. The superficies undermined by the Catacombs would measure about 2,466,778 square meters, which may be roughly estimated as equal to a square mile. Since

then many new Catacombs and galleries have been opened.

The individual Catacombs, whose galleries are such a complete network, had small and modest beginnings, as has been already indicated. Noble and wealthy Christians, like their Pagan fellow-citizens, situated their places of sepulture, with the portion of land appertaining thereto, on the highroads which led out of Rome. The entrances to the tombs gave upon the road, as was the case with the heathen monuments, and could be seen by every passer-by, because they, like the others, were under the protection of the law. As the Christians all regarded and loved one another as children of one family, it was natural that the graves belonging to Christians of position should become family-graves in a wider sense, and that rich and poor should alike find a resting-place there, provided only that they professed the faith of Christ. At the outset, no doubt, no one thought of constructing vast underground cities of the dead; the need for more space was not felt until the number of Christ's disciples increased. Then the subterranean chambers had to be enlarged, and galleries and passages excavated as far as the width and breadth of the portion of land allowed of this being done.

There is no doubt that in the earliest times the work of excavating the galleries and the manner of burial was entrusted to the *fossores,* the sextons. These constituted a religious craft, or confraternity; in fact, the opinion of some antiquarians that the *fossores* formed a minor ecclesiastical order in the primitive Church is not improbable. They are frequently represented in the Catacombs with the distinctive implements of their craft, and with the lamps which afforded them light in the dark shafts. The formation of the Catacombs was by them carefully planned and systematically carried out. While the oldest Catacombs consisted only of one tolerably wide corridor, later on other passages were excavated at a suitable distance; but for the sake of husbanding space they were made considerably narrower, and

Fig. 256. A Fossor. Catacomb of St. Callixtus

finally the galleries which ran parallel to or crossed one another were only separated by thin partitions. There are various indications, and indeed positive proof, that the ground of the galleries was made lower, to afford more room for the niches wherein the bodies were laid. In some places where there was not space enough for an excavation sufficiently large to admit the body of an adult, or the nature of the ground did not allow of it, narrow cells were made wherein children were interred, so as to make use of every available space. For the same reason the niches were made higher and deeper at the head than where the feet were to be, and were excavated exactly to the measure of the body that was to be laid there. If, despite such careful arrangements, no more space could be found in one of the Catacombs for fresh graves, the fossores (sextons) were obliged to excavate a second, a third, a fourth story, and connect them with one another by flights of stairs. In the Catacomb of St. Callixtus there is even a fifth story, but at such a depth that the air is foul and insalubrious, and there is no outlet for the water. That fifth story is twenty-two meters (72 feet) below the surface of the soil, and to the summit of the hill beneath

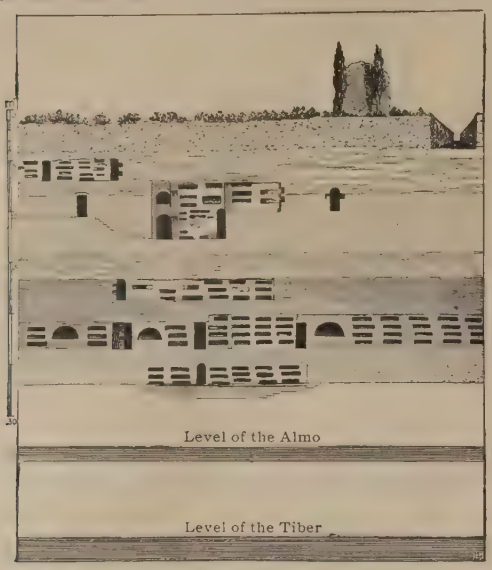



Fig. 257. Sectional View of a Part of the Catacomb of St. Callixtus

which the Catacomb extends the measurement is twenty-five meters (79 feet). As the galleries are always horizontal and level, stretching on without any elevation or depression, their distance from the surface of the ground varies according as the latter sinks or rises. The uppermost story generally begins about seven or eight meters underground; if the ground above slopes downward, the distance is reduced to five or perhaps three meters (almost ten feet); but if, on the contrary, the ground rises, the distance may become from eighteen to twenty meters.

The statement that all the different Catacombs are connected by underground passages is quite false. If it were so, as the several Catacombs are separated by deep-lying valleys and by the bed of the Tiber, it would have been necessary for the connecting passages to have an issue on the surface. It is, however, certain that some Catacombs, situated close to one another, were connected and united. This took place at a period when the rights and liberties of Christian cemeteries were no longer recognized; and the Christians then did not scruple in excavating the subterranean galleries to exceed the limits of the plot of land originally recognized by the law as a burial-place.

Many Catacombs are even in the present day blocked with earth and rubbish; and in the case of others it is evident that in past times they were similarly filled up, but soon afterwards were excavated anew. This fact is partly explained by the action and destructive force of long centuries. Moreover, nothing was more natural than, when all the space for burial was filled up in one gallery and there was no tomb of any importance in it, that the fossores should deposit there the earth which had to be removed to make new excavations. Finally, in times of peril and persecution the surest means of preserving the graves of martyrs, saints, Popes, and others from desecration and demolition was to fill up the gallery in which they were.

Even an unpractised eye can detect in the galleries and stories of the several cemeteries certain differences and dissimilarities whereby a gradual development can easily be traced in them. In the uppermost stories, that is, in the oldest portion, the decoration of the chapels and sepulchral chambers consists of cement and masonry. As time went on, and the nature of the material in which the work of excavation was carried on became better known, the mural ornamentation was not laid on, but cut and carved out of the soft tufa; thus columns, pillars, capitals, cornices, chairs, and benches were chiseled out of the tufa. And whereas the more ancient sepulchral chambers are small and square, in later excavations these crypts are cruciform, hexagonal, or octagonal in shape, with molded festoons on the vaulting.

A few words of explanation concerning these burial-chambers is required. Even in the earliest times they were made to the right and left of the main galleries, being at first of modest proportions, many of them not measuring more than two and a half by three meters in length and breadth. The primary object of their construction was to afford more room for interments. Very frequently they contain, opposite to the entrance, a tomb of

greater importance, fashioned more elaborately. A deep coffin-shaped cavity is hollowed out of the rock or built up against the surface of the wall, and closed with a slab of marble laid horizontally. A semicircular arch generally spans the recess above a tomb of this description, which is known by the Latin appellation, *arcosolium;* or, when the recess is rectangular, as is more rarely the case, it bears the title, *sepulcro a mensa.* Some of these crypts were merely family sepulchers; others contained the remains of martyrs in the more prominent tombs. On the anniversary of their torture and death their graves served as altars whereon the divine mysteries were celebrated, the chamber thus becoming a chapel and place of assembly for the Christians. In order to render it possible for a large number of the faithful to assist at the sacred function, several of the chambers were connected so as to afford room for a hundred persons to be present. A still greater number could find a place in the adjacent galleries. The chambers thus connected were lighted and ventilated by means of a *luminare,* an aperture or shaft, communicating with the air above. In times of peace Christian worship was solemnized in the city, in Rome, but in the days of persecution and danger divine service was usually held in these subterranean mortuary chapels. The priests and deacons carried holy communion from the chapel where the Holy Sacrifice was offered to the faithful in the surrounding chambers. The seats hewn in the rock were for the bishop and the clergy. The chapels were thus from the outset arranged with a view

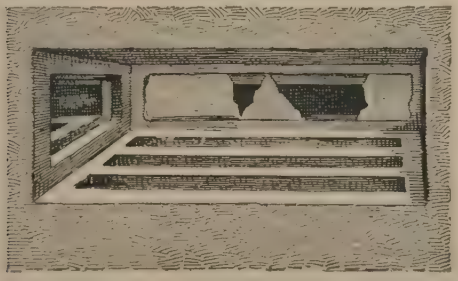


Fig. 258. Mensal Grave for Several Bodies. From De Rossi, Roma Sotterranea Cristiana

Fig. 259. Mensal Grave, with Arcosolium. Catacomb of St. Callixtus. From De Rossi

to holding divine worship there. As we shall see later on, many of these chapels were decorated with remarkable paintings and ornamentations carved in marble or molded in cement.

Even now the opinion prevails to a great extent, chiefly among Protestants, that the excavation of the Catacombs, with their countless galleries and corridors, is due only in a very small measure to the Christians, that they are nothing more or less than unused sandpits (*arenaria*) and quarries (*latomia*). This theory is, however, completely disproved and refuted, and the fact that the Catacombs are exclusively the work of the Christians is indisputably established.

The soil of Rome, beneath the crust of the earth, consists of three different components: *puzzolana, tufa litoïde,* a hard stone, and *tufa granolare,* sandstone. The puzzolana is friable earth, a pure sand much esteemed by the ancients. The stone-tufa is hard and rough, but most serviceable for building purposes; on account of its color it was formerly called "red-stone." Even in the present time it is still quarried and used in large quantities.

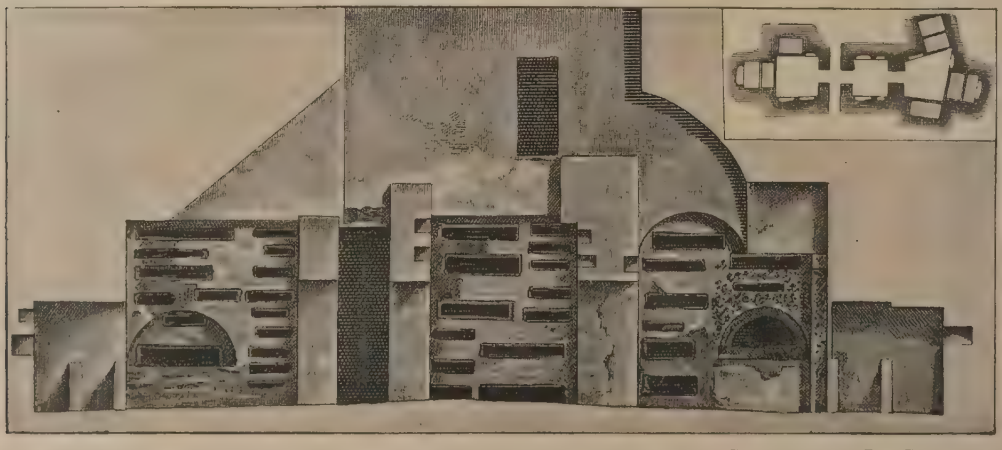
One of the first things a newly-arrived visitor notices in Rome is the dark-red blocks, heavy loads of which are brought from the country to the city, especially if his way through the narrow streets is stopped by a long procession of creaking, groaning carts.

The sand-tufa is granular, mixed with earth, yet solid and firm. It is unsuitable for making cement or mortar, as it is too hard and granular for the purpose, and

it is much too soft and brittle to be employed for building. In fact, it is not easy to see to what use the sandstone can be applied. Now it is precisely in this soft, rocky substance that the Catacombs are excavated. Useless for any other purpose, it was admirably suited for the construction of the subterranean passages. The labor of excavation was immensely facilitated by the soft nature of the stone, the pick-axe being the only implement required by the fossor. On the other hand, the granular nature of the tufa gave it consistency enough to allow of long galleries and sepulchral chambers being excavated without any danger; while in consequence of its porous, almost sponge-like, quality, the water easily trickled through and ran off, so that at the lowest level the galleries were not damp and unhealthy. Many instances occur in which the fossores, on coming to a stratum of puzzolana-earth, abandoned the work of further excavation, because soil of that nature is quite unfitted for the construction of Christian burial-places; although, on the other hand, the output of puzzolana would have been highly remunerative.

The old sandpits bear some resemblance to the Catacombs, but the difference between the two is far more striking than the similarity. In the sandpits the galleries are made without system, tortuous, irregular. In order to convey the sand to the surface as easily as possible the passages are broad, spacious, and highly arched; where two passages intersect each other the edges and sharp corners are rounded off. The Catacombs are constructed on principles exactly contrary to these. The walls are quite perpendicular; the roofs are flat or slightly arched; the galleries are cut at sharp angles and very few corridors are the width of a meter; the majority are not more than from fifty to ninety centimeters wide—all circumstances which in the present day render the clearance of the galleries a difficult matter, as only small hand-barrows can be used.

Whenever the fossores carried the galleries on into a sandpit they were obliged to build walls to support the galleries and to wall up the recesses in which bodies were laid, a work which involved too much expense and labor to be carried on to any great extent. Yet a connection between the Catacombs and the sandpits was considered desirable, because in times of persecution, when the usual and generally known entrances to the cemeteries had to be closed, other and secret modes of ingress and egress could be arranged through the galleries of the sandpits. Moreover, if the Christians were pursued even into the Catacombs, as was not infrequently the case, the passages connecting them with the sandpits facilitated flight. From what has been said the reader will easily arrive at the conclusion that the Catacombs are not old disused sandpits, still less stone-quarries, but were constructed by the Christians as last resting-places for their brethren, who departed this life in the hope of a future resurrection.



FIGS. 260, 261. LONGITUDINAL VIEW AND GROUND PLAN OF A PART OF THE CATACOMB OF ST. CALLIXTUS

THE LIVING TORCHES OF ROME. SCENE FROM THE CHRISTIAN PERSECUTIONS.
FROM THE PAINTING OF H. SIEMIRADZKI.

# 4. THE HISTORY OF THE CATACOMBS

## I. IN THE TIME OF CONFLICT

From the Death of the Princes of the Apostles until Constantine's Victory (67-312)

THE history of the Church is but fragmentary until the victory gained by Constantine, until the time, that is, when she enjoyed a lasting peace. Written records by reliable authors who lived and wrote in those centuries are few and scanty. This is easily explained. The tenth and last persecution of the Christians under Emperor Diocletian aimed at the destruction of all the monuments of Christianity, the obliteration of all memorials of it; the sacred books and ecclesiastical writings were required to be given up in order that they might be committed to the flames; in short, Christianity was to be annihilated, extirpated, so that not a vestige of it should be left. The absence of written records dating from the two first centuries makes it easy for anti-Christian writers; in fact it gives them an apparent right to raise doubts in regard to the most ancient and time-honored traditions, to dispute the authenticity of annals compiled at a later period and the genuine character of the legends of the martyrs, nay, even to question whether some of the most famous martyrs, *e.g.*, St. Cecilia, St. Domitilla, and others, ever existed. Catholic authors, too, have been led astray, and have actually added their weight to the unhallowed work of representing the introduction of Christianity into Rome and its diffusion in the Eternal City as if it had surreptitiously crept in, and only found its earliest adherents among members of the poorer and most ignorant classes.

The monuments in the Catacombs serve partly to compensate for the lack of written records of the primitive ages of Christianity. De Rossi's discoveries especially,

Fig. 262. The Papal Vault (Partly Restored). Catacomb of Callixtus

*e.g.,* the Papal crypt, the tomb of St. Cecilia, etc., combined with the sagacious elucidations and explanations of the learned explorer, have thrown a strong searchlight on points hitherto obscure. Thus it will now be our task, with the help of the discoveries in the subterranean cemeteries and the information gleaned from them, to inquire whether truth is to be found on the side of the old legends and ecclesiastical traditions, or rather in the assertions and personal opinions of new and erudite scientists who would do away with all legends without exception.

In the year 67 A.D. the Princes of the apostles bore testimony to the faith of Christ by suffering martyrdom, and were, according to the statement of trustworthy witnesses, buried in subterranean vaults. Hence we can not but conclude, and other traditions confirm the fact, that the first catacombs were constructed previously to the death of the apostles, in imitation of the Jews, who undoubtedly must have had such excavated burial-places at that period. The question now arises: How was it possible for the early Christians in Rome to excavate the subterranean galleries and corridors?

As we have already remarked, Christianity, immediately upon its introduction into the capital of the empire, gained adherents in the highest patrician families, and had converts even in the imperial palace. St. Peter, during his first sojourn in Rome, was hospitably entertained on the Janiculum Hill by the married couple whose names are known to us through St. Paul's epistles, and who were highly esteemed in Rome, Aquila and Priscilla. After his second arrival in Rome the Prince of the apostles transferred his residence to the best quarter of the city, on the slope of the Viminal, his host being a member of the Cornelian *gens,* that is, house or clan. Either this was a relative of the centurion Cornelius, with the first name of Pudens, of whom we read in the Acts of the Apostles that his fear of God and his almsgiving merited for him the grace of the Christian faith, and that he was baptized by St. Peter; or, what is probable, the centurion himself, whose wife was named Priscilla; their granddaughters were the saintly virgins Pudentiana and Praxedes. Furthermore, St. Peter counted among his first followers and most faithful disciples members of the House of Caecilii. Two illustrious families (*gentes*) distinguished themselves more than any others in the history of Pagan Rome, the Cornelians and Caecilians; their houses gave to Rome her most glorious heroes, the most sublime examples of patriotism, of valor, of civic virtue. And it is precisely these names, the proudest and noblest of which Rome can boast, which we meet with in the earliest annals of Christianity in Rome; which we read upon the most ancient Christian monuments of Rome; to which finally the construction of the first Catacombs may with all certainty be ascribed, the Catacombs of St. Priscilla, St. Lucina, St. Callixtus, and others.

These opulent patrician converts built, as did their Pagan fellow-citizens, on their own property in the vicinity of the chief highways, mausoleums for themselves and their descendants, which subsequently grew into the great Christian family graves, family graves, indeed, in the most wide and beautiful sense, for the poorest of Rome's slaves, as soon as by the waters of regeneration he had attained the freedom of the children of God, was a brother and member of the families of the Cornelii and Caecilii, and qualified to rest beside them in the sepulcher. Externally, there was nothing to distinguish the Christian burial-places from the Pagan: high gateways, arches, and colonnades marked the entrances which faced the highroad, and could not fail to attract the notice of all who passed by. The explanation of this has already been given on an earlier page, namely that the burial-places of all religious denominations could claim the protection of the law.

Thus the Catacombs originated in family graves belonging to noble and illustrious houses. The number of Christians in Rome multiplied with extraordinary rapidity, so much so as to arouse the sus-

picion of the Emperor and excite the rage of the heathen populace. Then the persecutions began. The liberties of the Christian burial-places were not at first attacked. Yet the danger that was apprehended could not but increase with the increasing number of Christians and the extension of the area of the cemeteries. There was at first no surer means of warding off the peril that menaced them than

Fig. 263. Entrance to the Family Vault of the Flavians in the Catacomb of St. Domitilla

to detach the Catacombs from the property of private individuals, and declare them to be the common property of the Christian community and corporation, for the Emperor Septimius Severus (193–211) awarded anew to all burial clubs or confraternities the right to construct places of sepulture, and to be represented before the law by a steward or man of business. We know that the Christians availed themselves of this privilege from a document [1] written in the commencement of the third century of the Christian era, but not discovered until the year 1842, wherein it is said of Pope Zephyrinus that in the year 197 he appointed the deacon, afterward

[1] *Philosophumena;* or, Confutation of all Errors; by an opponent of Pope Callixtus, composed between 220 and 230 A. D.

Pope Callixtus, overseer of the cemetery situated, as a later document states, on the Appian Way, in which the remains of many bishops and martyrs rest, and which, having been constructed by Callixtus, bears his name until this day. From apostolic times there was a Christian Catacomb on the Appian Way, which was the private property of the noble house of the Caecilii; this was now made the common, as it were, official cemetery of the Christian community in Rome. Deacon, afterwards Pope Callixtus, was the overseer of the burial-ground, the director of the Christian burial-guild, and at the same time its representative and advocate before the law and courts of justice. This is also the reason why the Popes, from the time of which we speak until the times of peace, were no longer interred in the Vatican vaults beside the tomb of St. Peter, but in the officially recognized cemetery of the Christians; the catacomb of St. Callixtus, where we shall presently see the crypt of the Popes.

The liberty conceded to Christian places of sepulture had hitherto been respected even by those emperors who in other ways persecuted the Christian community, by

Nero, Domitian, Trajan, Hadrian, Septimius Severus, and even by the cruel Decius. At that period particularly work went on busily underground round about the city walls. New cemeteries common to all were constructed, the old ones were enlarged and altered, spacious chambers with semi-circular cavities were excavated alongside of narrow passages, which afforded room for a large number of worshipers when divine service was held and enabled all present to see the altar. During the reign of the emperors Alexander Severus (222–235) and Philip (244–249), who were lovers of peace, chapels were built over the tombs of celebrated martyrs, which rose above the surface of the ground, into the open air.

In the year 257 the persecution under Valerian broke out. "The emperors Valerian and Gallienus have forbidden assemblies to be held anywhere without or within the cemeteries"; such was the imperial edict issued against the Christians. Interments were permitted in the Catacombs, but to the use of them for any other purpose the penalty of death was attached. Pope St. Sixtus II who, notwithstanding the prohibition, met together with some of the faithful in the Catacomb of Praetextatus for prayer and offering the Holy Sacrifice, was arrested, dragged to Rome, then conducted back to the crypt, and put to death with his deacons and assistant clergy, "because they had set at naught the Emperor's decree."

Before many years had elapsed, in 260, the Church recovered her rights. The emperor, probably at the request of his Christian consort, restored to the Christians their places of worship, and permitted free, unrestrained use of the cemeteries. Pope Dionysius, successor to the martyred Pope Sixtus II, actually allotted the churches and cemeteries to the clergy of the town and their several parishes; the basilicas raised over the tombs of the martyrs were repaired and ornamented with marble and other costly decorations.

The Christians had at least learned one thing by experience: that in seasons of persecution they could not rely on the inviolability of the resting-places of their dead. Accordingly, they closed the usual entrances and constructed secret doors; sometimes the way led through disused sandpits. Many instances are recorded in which the Christians were pursued into the Catacombs, as was Sixtus II. The Greek martyrs Chrysanthus and Daria were dragged by the Pagans into a sandpit and there buried alive. Such crowds of their fellow-Christians went down to the spot to pray beside their tomb that this circumstance became known to their persecutors, who showered down upon them from above earth and stones, thus burying the worshipers alive, as the two holy martyrs had been before them. The entrance was by the emperor's command closed up and walled in so that none could escape. St. Gregory, bishop of Tours, adds that when, after the persecution was over and the tombs of the martyrs, with the bodies of those who were buried alive at their shrines, were discovered, the silver cruets were also found in which the wine for the Holy Eucharist was brought, for the massacre took place while preparations were being made for offering the Holy Sacrifice. St. Emerentiana died in a similar manner. While she was praying at the tomb of St. Agnes she was observed by some Pagans, who threw a volley of stones down on her through the opening to the Catacomb. St. Candida was thrown down the *luminaria*, or ventilating shaft, and buried beneath a heap of stones which were cast after her. In spite of these dangers, the dark galleries of the subterranean cemeteries often afforded Popes and bishops a last and most secure hiding-place; as is related of Popes Alexander, Callixtus, and Caius. St. Stephen (Pope) lived in the Catacombs for eight entire years. Down in the depths of the earth the successors of St. Peter discharged the duties of their sacred office; they baptized, preached, ordained priests and consecrated bishops, held assemblies and synods, issued their pastoral letters to all the faithful scattered over the face of the globe, and prepared themselves to undergo cruel martyrdom.

Fig. 264. An Attack in the Catacombs. From the Painting of A. Baur

In the year 303 the last and most terrible persecution of the Christians broke out, a desolating storm of intended extermination, under the emperors Diocletian, Galerius, and Maximian. The churches were burned down, the cemeteries and the landed property pertaining to them being confiscated by the State. The Popes could no longer be buried in St. Callixtus; it was absolutely necessary to provide new cemeteries for the victims of the persecution. Yet the storm was too violent to last long; in the year 306 Maxentius ordered it to cease, and five years later the property of the churches was restored to them. In the following year, 312, Emperor Constantine, under the protection of the cross which gleamed upon his standards, gained a victory over Maxentius before the gates of Rome, in consequence of which he confessed his faith in the Crucified and gave peace and liberty to the Church.

About this time the Church in Rome counted twenty-five parishes, with one cemetery or more attached to each; the Catacomb of St. Callixtus remained under the special superintendence of the Supreme Pontiff.

### 2. THE CATACOMBS IN THE FIRST CENTURY OF PEACE (312-408)

The first Pope who fixed his seat in the Lateran, Melchiades, is the last who was interred in the Catacomb of St. Callixtus, not, however, in the Papal vault, the entrances to which were probably not yet cleared of the rubbish with which they were blocked up in the period of persecution. His immediate successors were buried in the churches above ground, which were erected over the tombs of the martyrs. The faithful soon imitated this example; before long interments in churches became more frequent than in the Catacombs. However, a total change in this respect, a return to the Catacombs, took place under Pope Damasus (366–384), who, in order to keep alive or perhaps to revivify the primitive heroic spirit of Christianity, led the faithful back to the graves of the martyrs in the Catacombs. He caused the passages and galleries which were closed to be reopened and widened to admit of processions of pilgrims; he made fresh flights of stairs and convenient entrances, which conducted by the shortest way to the most celebrated shrines, to the chapels of St. Sixtus, of St. Cecilia, and others; in the Catacomb of St. Callixtus alone there were eleven celebrated mortuary chapels approached by eleven flights of steps.

The chapels of the martyrs were splendidly decorated, marble slabs lined the walls and paintings adorned the roofs; where it appeared necessary, walls were built and supporting buttresses were added. A number of fresh shafts to admit light (*luminaria*) dispelled the darkness and enabled the pilgrim to find his way through the labyrinth of galleries from one sanctuary to another.

In almost all the Catacombs numerous traces are found of the pious activity of this energetic Pontiff. The testimony most characteristic of him is borne by his inscriptions which he placed in the most frequented spots. They are carved in marble, in large, peculiar, and very elegant letters. The individual who carved all these beautiful epitaphs, of which the authorship is easily recognizable, was a certain "Furius Dionysius Philocalus, one who venerated and loved Damasus, his Pope." The activity of St. Damasus had a twofold result: numerous pilgrims flocked to the Catacombs, and burials in the vicinity of the martyrs' tombs again became of very frequent occurrence.

The impression made upon a youth of religious mind and an enthusiastic nature by the Christian cemeteries before the changes wrought in them by St. Damasus is shown by St. Jerome, who thus relates his experiences: "While in my boyhood I was pursuing the higher studies in Rome, on Sundays I used, with companions of my own age and way of thinking, to visit the tombs of the apostles and martyrs and descend into the vaults which are excavated in the bowels of the earth. On either

St. Paul Preaching to the Jews in Rome.
From the Painting of A. Baur.

FIGS. 265–266. CHAPEL OF ST. SIXTUS OVER THE CATACOMB OF ST. CALLIXTUS: GROUND PLAN AND EXTERIOR

side, as one enters, the walls are filled with the dead, and it is so dark everywhere that one might almost think the prophecy was fulfilled: 'they went down alive into hell.' Rarely indeed does a ray of light pierce through the terrible darkness; and then one would think the light came through a crevice, not through a shaft."

Very different is the description given by the poet Prudentius, who sang of the Catacombs some forty years later. First of all he mentions the new shafts constructed by Pope Damasus to admit light and air to the subterranean regions:

"Not far from the boundary walls of Rome, the city eternal,
Lies buried a crypt, far down in earth's most darksome depths.
Into its hidden recesses the steep flight of winding stairs leads,
Not a single ray of the sun dispels the gloom that is there.
Through the doorway alone the bright gladsome light of the day
Illumines the threshold, and shines on a part of the way.
But as you go farther on a darkness nocturnal enwraps you,
So dense as to blind the eye in these subterranean mazes.
Yet see! the roof here and there is pierced by apertures large,
Whence comes the light of the sun to brighten the darkness of night.
Although the passages branch and turn in this direction and that,
Lest the wanderer's steps might easily lead him astray,
Rejoice in the friendly rays which fall through the wide open shaft,
Showing the way in the mountain's dark bowels below,
Making the narrowest chambers, the sepulchral galleries bright,
Lighting up crypts with the sunshine of heaven above."

The poet proceeds to describe the small sepulchral chapel of St. Hippolytus:

"The earthly abode of his soul, his mortal remains
This chapel, gleaming with silver, his relics contains.
Tablets of stone, bright as a mirror, the surface polished and smooth,
Are seen on the walls, placed there by donors of wealth.
Pillars of marble, pure white, from Parian quarries conveyed,
Glistening with silver, the threshold and entrance adorn."

From the above this conclusion may certainly be drawn: if the sanctuary of which the poet speaks was so splendidly decorated and adorned, how much more magnificent must the tombs of celebrated martyrs have been!

In the following lines Prudentius depicts the crowds of pilgrims who every year on the recurrence of the ecclesiastical anniversary flocked to the tomb of the martyr; pious worshipers who repeated their visits on the anniversaries and feasts of other holy martyrs. With somewhat of poetic licence, perhaps, yet in the main with substantial truth, he says:

"When in the next year the day recurs, the festal day of the saint,
When leaving this earth, he was borne to heaven above,
Thou scarce canst conceive what crowds with fervent zeal for religion
Early flock to the shrine to pay their vows and adore.

Fig. 267. Constantine the Great. In the Vestibule of St. John Lateran

From Rome, the imperial city, a mingled stream issues forth,
Both lowly and high, all by the same faith are inspired.
Thus the crowd of plebeians jostle their neighbors noble and rich,
Christian patricians, who scorn not the humble and poor.
Albano's gates open wide to send forth a host of the faithful,
A white-robed host is this, others decked in festal attire.
Louder and louder waxes the noise on all the highways and byways,
Here men from Picenum, there Etruscan peasants approach. . . .
Hither hastens the Samnite bold, and the gentle herdsman of Nola,
From Capua's heights a number of country-folk come,
Fathers and mothers, husbands and wives, with children little and big,
Joyously onward they trudge, nor heed the toils of the way.
The broadest of roads seems too narrow for all who onward would pass,
The thickly packed crowds scarce have room in the widest of fields,
And as for the mouth of the crypt, highly arched though it be,
Admittance it cannot afford to all who would seek to go in."

The enthusiasm for the underground world of the Catacombs awakened by Pope Damasus had a further result, that of bringing subterranean sepulture again into vogue. What could be more natural than the desire to be laid to rest after death beside or at least near to the martyrs? An epitaph of the time of Pope Damasus informs the reader that a noble lady, a benefactress of the poor, had, as a reward for her great merits, the privilege of a grave in the vicinity of the martyrs accorded her, "a thing many desire, but few obtain."

It appears that transactions concerning burial were not any longer under the particular jurisdiction of the clergy of the parish to which a cemetery belonged, but were entrusted to the fossores, to whom a fixed sum was paid if the place of sepulture was chosen in a favorite spot.

It will easily be imagined that, owing to the pious desire of the faithful, and perhaps also to the fossores' greed of gain, sufficient prudence and caution was not always observed in making graves near the tombs of the saints. Paintings and other decorations were unscrupulously injured, and the uniformity and symmetry of the chapel was too often disfigured by forming fresh niches. No one, of a truth, had a better right to be laid to rest in the Catacombs, nor, in fact, in the Papal vault, than St. Damasus. Yet he renounced this claim in order not to encourage the indiscreet zeal of Christians. He himself inscribed these words on a memorial tablet to be placed in the chapel where many of his predecessors were buried: "I, Damasus, confess that I fain would have laid my ashes in this spot, were it not that I feared thereby to disturb the sacred ashes of saints."

In the epitaph of a deacon in St. Laurence we find some plain speaking:

"Little it profits one by the tombs of the saints to rest:
A virtuous life alone celestial glory will gain.
For thy soul to be near the saints, not thy body, is best,
The body is surely safe, if the soul salvation attain."

The desire to find a last resting-place in the Catacombs, excited by Pope Damasus,

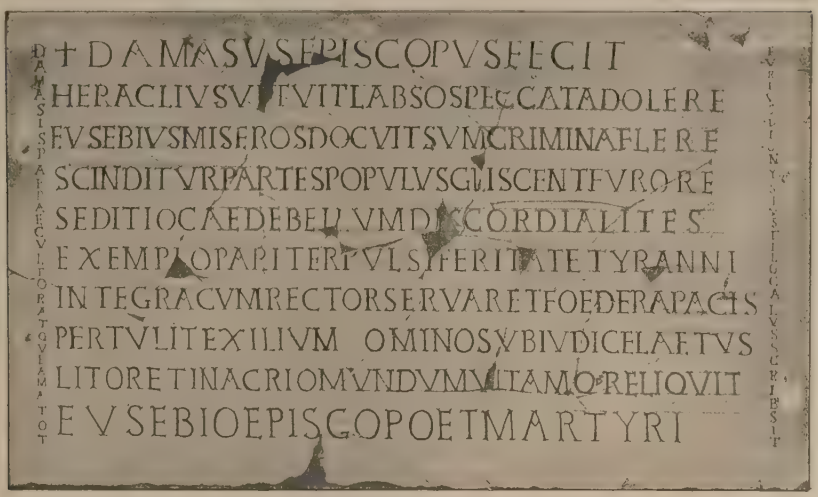

DAMASVS EPISCOPVS FECIT
HERACLIVS VT TVTIT LABSOS PEC CATA DOLERE
EVSEBIVS MISEROS DOCVIT SVM CRIMINA FLERE
SCINDIT VR PARTES POPVLVS GLISCENTE VRORE
SEDITIO CAEDES BELLVM DIRA CORDIA LITES
EXEMPLO PARITER VLSI FERITATE TYRANNI
INTEGRA CVM RECTOR SERVARET FOEDERA PACIS
PER TVLIT EXILIVM DOMINOS VBIVDICE LAETVS
LITORE TINA CRIOM VNDVM VLTIMO RELIQVIT
EVSEBIO EPISCOPO ET MARTYRI

Fig. 268. Inscription on the Tomb of St. Eusebius

soon appears either to have cooled or to have met with hindrances. At the beginning of the fifth century burial in the Catacombs seems to have been almost at an end; the epitaphs record no instance of it after the year 410. The tombs of the martyrs, however, were constantly visited by devout worshipers and pilgrims, until they were taken up and transferred to the basilicas of the city.

### 3. THE DECAY OF THE CATACOMBS

The year 410 marks a lamentable event in the annals of Rome and one which was deplored and bewailed most bitterly by contemporary writers. In the two preceding years Alaric, king of the West Goths, had surrounded and besieged the city, and had only been induced to withdraw at the price of an enormous ransom. In the year 410 Rome was, for the first time for many centuries, conquered and plundered by a barbarian monarch. In the following centuries one siege and conquest of Rome succeeded another. The barbarians indeed appear to have spared the graves of the saints at first, but later on it was otherwise. On the incursion of the East Goths under their king, Vitiges, they penetrated into the Catacombs, destroying and looting everywhere.

When these devastating storms were over Popes Vigilius (540–555) and John III (560–573) re-established divine worship in the subterranean cemeteries and repaired much of the damage. Of the last-mentioned Pope it is said: "He restored the tombs of the holy martyrs, and ordained that every Sunday the oblations, the sacred vessels used for divine service, and the lights should be given out to the several cemeteries from the Papal palace." Of Sergius I it is said in his praise that when a simple priest he frequently offered the Holy Sacrifice in the Catacombs. In the same manner as John III, Gregory III provided that the anniversaries of the saints should be duly celebrated in the Catacombs. But presently the army of the Lombards under King Astulf invested Rome, and the relics of the saints were more eagerly and covetously sought after by the soldiers than gold, and carried off by them to their own country as precious booty. In consequence of this Paul I (757–767) determined to exhume the remains of the martyrs and transfer them to the churches of the city. In a document which he issued, after bitterly be-

wailing the destruction wrought by the Lombards and the robberies they committed, he goes on to say: "The people became indifferent and negligent in the respect due to the Catacombs. Cattle were admitted into the hallowed vaults and sheepfolds made there, so that all manner of abuses and improprieties went on in them. In consideration of this careless indifference I have thought it advisable, with the help of God, to remove thence the remains of the martyrs, confessors, and virgins of Christ. I caused them to be conveyed to Rome, with solemn canticles and sacred hymns, and deposited in the churches of St. Stephen and St. Sylvester, which I built." His immediate successors did not follow his example, but we read of repairs made in the crypts by order of the Sovereign Pontiffs. This proved useless; Pope Paschal I (817–824) reverted to the opinion of his fourth predecessor, Paul I; an inscription in the church of St. Praxedes in Rome dated July 20, 817, says that Paschal I caused 2300 bodies to be brought out of the Catacombs into that church. This mode of procedure was continued for some time.

After the Catacombs had been robbed of their most precious treasures they had little attraction for devout pilgrims and fell entirely into decay and ruin. The history of the Catacombs ends with the beginning of the ninth century. The very place of many of the vaults was soon forgotten, and of those which were connected with basilicas or convents only the galleries and chambers nearest the surface were accessible. A world had come to an end.

Fig. 269. Ornamental Band in the Chapel of St. Januarius, Catacomb of Praetextatus

# II. A Visit to the Catacombs

## 1. THE TOMBS OF SS. PETER AND PAUL ON THE CORNELIAN AND OSTIAN WAYS

WE HAVE already spoken of the manner in which many of the Catacombs or subterranean burial-places originated—in the appropriation of a plot of land on the property of a wealthy Christian for a cemetery, either subterranean or otherwise. Elsewhere the natural desire of Christians to be laid to rest after death near to the remains of a venerated martyr led to the construction of places of sepulture in immediate proximity to the tomb.

Whenever circumstances permitted, the early Christians loved to inter the martyrs on the very spot, or as near as possible to the spot, where they suffered and died for their holy faith. The Holy Sacrifice was then offered on their tombs. And when basilicas, *i.e.,* churches, were built in connection with these burial-places, whether above or below the surface of the ground, care was always taken that the altar should stand exactly over the tomb. Very frequently steps led directly down from the basilica into the Catacomb where the remains of the saints rested; or often small apertures were constructed to allow the grave to be seen, if it was otherwise hidden by the substructure.

As has already been said, the Pagans deposited the ashes of their dead in monuments bordering the principal highways leading out of Rome in all directions. There the Christians also interred the departed, and thus Christian and heathen burial-places were situated beside one another.

We will briefly enumerate the highroads which in olden times led out of Rome.

On the east there were three great thoroughfares: the Via Tiburtina, leading from the Porta Tiburtina, now Porta San Lorenzo, to what was formerly known as Tibur (now Tivoli), in a northerly direction; the Via Praenestina and the Via Labicana, issuing from the Porta Labicana, now known as the Porta Santa Maria Maggiore, and going, the former to Praeneste (the Palestrina of to-day), the latter to Frascati. There were also three highroads on the south: the Via Latina, going out from the Porta Latina, which is now walled up; the Via Appia, the best known of all the thoroughfares; and

the Via Ardeatina; beyond the Porta Appia (now the Porta San Sebastiano) these two roads branch off, the former toward Albano, the latter toward Ardea. On the west four roads lead out of the city: the Via Ostiensis passing through the Porta San Paolo, and the Via Portuensis through the Porta Portese, lead to the ports of Ostia and Porto respectively; the Via Aurelia and the Via Cornelia extend from the gates of the same names, the former passing over Monte Gianicolo, the latter skirting the Vatican. On the north, from the Forum, the heart of ancient Rome, four great arteries stretch away across the Field of Mars, where stand the splendid monuments of the time of the Cæsars: the Via Flaminia passing over what is now the Piazza del Popolo, the Salaria Vetus and Salaria Nova, the old and the new Salarian roads, both diverging from the gates bearing the same names, and, finally, the Via Nomentana leading to Nomentum (the Mentana of to-day); the gate in the city wall by which it finds egress is now known as the Porta Sant' Agnese.

Many Catacombs or portions of them are still covered up, or at least unexplored. Concerning the situation, the nomenclature, the extent of several of these subterranean cemeteries, doubt, uncertainty, and widely different opinions prevail.

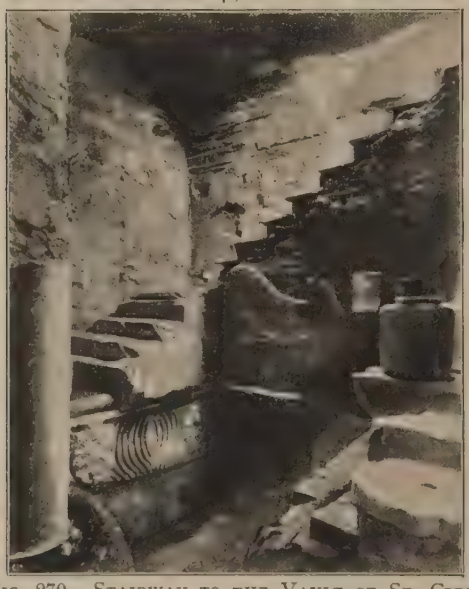


Fig. 270. Stairway to the Vault of St. Crescentio, Martyr, in the Catacomb of St. Priscilla

SERVILIA · ANNORVM · XIII ·
PIS · ET · BOL · COSS ·

Fig. 271. Inscription on a Christian Grave, Dating from the Year 111

The Catacombs derive their names, some from the owners of the original burial-places, others, and of these not a few, from the famous martyrs whose sepulcher was there.

The chief interest centers around the place where the Princes of the Apostles were interred.

St. Peter met his death, as is now almost universally believed, in the vicinity of the Vatican Hill, in fact, in the Emperor Caligula's Circus. Through misapprehension of the ancient records, the scene of his crucifixion was at one time wrongly supposed to have been on Monte Gianicolo, near to the city.

In ancient Rome the Pons Triumphalis —the bridge of triumph—occupied the present site of the Bridge of Sant' Angelo, and the city gate nearby was called "the Triumphal Gate," because the martial heroes to whom the honor of a triumphal procession was accorded entered the city by that gate after crossing the bridge. Thence the Via Cornelia led westwards past Caligula's Circus. On both sides of the way sepulchral monuments were erected. There in the vicinity of the circus St. Peter was laid to rest, almost exactly on the spot over which the magnificent dome of St. Peter's rises up toward heaven. There, too, near the tomb of the Apostle other Christians found a place of sepulture; we shall have occasion somewhat later to speak of the curious and beautiful sarcophagi discovered there. Thus a Christian cemetery was formed within the precincts of the Vatican, one, however, not nearly so large nor reaching so deep down as the Catacombs, for the conditions of the soil would scarcely have allowed of that.

St. Paul suffered martyrdom on the Via Ostiensis, the road which led from Rome to the port of Ostia. There his remains were laid in a grave prepared for him by the good offices of a noble Christian lady, by name Lucina, of whom more will be said hereafter. Beside and around the grave of the Apostle a Christian burial-place was likewise formed, entirely subterranean, a Catacomb in fact; it also was of no great size. At an early date an oratory was built over the sepulcher and later on, in the year 386, the grand church dedicated to St. Paul was erected. As it was designed so that the place of the high altar should be over the tomb of the Apostle of the nations, the small Catacomb necessarily was almost entirely demolished. Various monuments testify that this cemetery on the property of Lucina reaches back to apostolic times; the second and third earliest tombstones which have any date at all bear that of the years of 107 and 111.

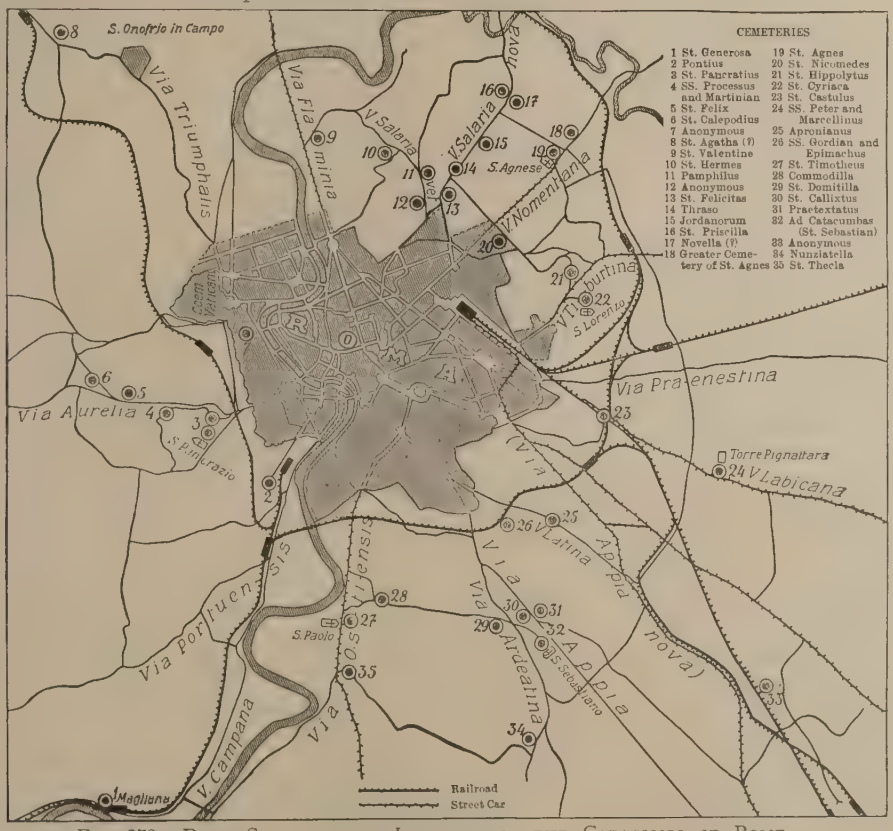



Fig. 272. Plan Showing the Location of the Catacombs of Rome

## 2. THE CATACOMBS ON THE NEW SALARIAN WAY (VIA SALARIA NOVA)

BOTH in early times and at a later period it has been said by various writers of the much talked of Ostian Way, that there was located the spring whose water St. Peter used for baptizing, and that there also his episcopal chair was kept and honored. De Rossi was convinced that

the Ostian cemetery was identical with the greater Catacomb of St. Agnes on the Nomentana Road. Quite recently, however, Orazio Marucchi asserted that De Rossi was mistaken; that what was stated concerning the Ostian cemetery really referred to the Catacomb of St. Priscilla on the new Salarian Road. The two cemeteries could be easily mistaken for one another because they were situated in close proximity. Marucchi adduced such forcible arguments to support his view that most archæologists espoused his opinion; the question is not yet, however, finally decided. The greater cemetery of St. Agnes and that of St. Priscilla are at any rate two of the oldest subterranean burial-places of Rome, and deserve to be spoken of more at length.

The Catacomb of St. Priscilla is not only the most remarkable of all those that are situated on the Via Salaria Nova, but probably the earliest Christian cemetery on the banks of the Tiber. The saint whose name is given to the Catacomb was probably the mother of the senator Pudens with whom St. Peter took up his abode on his coming to Rome. His house occupied the space now covered by the Church of St. Pudentiana. There St. Peter first celebrated the Holy Mysteries, there was the first cathedral of the Prince of the Apostles. In the Catacomb of St. Priscilla her daughters or granddaughters are interred, the saintly sisters Praxedes and Pudentiana. Furthermore, fragments of epitaphs show that Aquila and Prisca, whom St. Paul in his epistles to the Romans salutes as his "helpers in Jesus Christ," also found a last resting-place there. They dwelt on the Aventine Hill and the head and master of their

Fig. 273. Madonna between SS. Felix and Adauctus. Catacomb of Commodilla

Fig. 274. Plan of the Center of the Catacomb of St. Priscilla

house was Caius Marius Pudens Cornelianus. All this proves that the Catacomb of St. Priscilla on the new Salarian Road reaches back to the days of SS. Peter and Paul. This is also confirmed by other facts. The historian Suetonius relates of the Emperor Domitian (81–96) that he put several senators to death, amongst them one Acilius Glabrio, a member of one of the most distinguished families, on the charge of "desire of innovations" and of "impiety." De Rossi conjectured that Acilius Glabrio was sentenced to death because he was a Christian. This supposition was proved to be true by the excavations in the Catacomb of St. Priscilla in the years 1888 and 1889, for they led to the discovery of the family vault of the Acilii, who had given to Christianity many faithful confessors. Yet the absence of any mention of Acilius Glabrio in the Acts of the Martyrs as one who shed his blood for the truth could not fail to strike every one as very strange. De Rossi thought that this omission could be explained by the supposition that Acilius Glabrio and the senator Pudens were identical, Acilius having probably taken the name "Pudens" at his baptism. That being so would also account for the presence of the graves of St. Priscilla and her nearest relatives in the family sepulchral vault of the Acilii, since they were members of the same family. Thus manifold monuments and memorials in the cemetery of Priscilla on the Salarian Way carry us back to the earliest ages of Christianity, to the time of St. Peter.

Orazio Marucchi adduces various reasons for supposing this cemetery to have been the scene of St. Peter's ministry, where he baptized, preached, and taught ex cathedra. The facts already brought forward afford the strongest proof. It is therefore a matter of certainty that St. Peter was specially venerated in the cemetery of Priscilla; his name, as a consequence, frequently occurs on the epitaphs to be seen there, expressing the hope that the departed may find rest and peace in his name and under his protection.

In this cemetery, moreover, we meet with a pictorial representation of Christ giving the law to St. Peter. Furthermore, two baptisteries or baptismal

Fig. 275. Church of St. Pudentiana, Rome

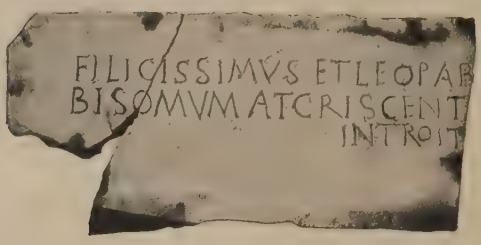



Fig. 276. Epitaph, with Mention of St. Crescentio, Martyr. Vault of the Acilii. Catacomb of St. Priscilla

springs are there, one of which was only discovered in the year 1904, while not one has yet been discovered in the cemetery on the Nomentana Road. Finally, it is a striking fact that the first Popes who filled the see of Peter after peace was given to the Church were interred in the cemetery of Priscilla, and it is recorded of Pope Liberius (352–366) that he there baptized 4,000 persons. Thus all tends to this conclusion: that the Catacomb of Priscilla was the oldest and earliest Christian burial-place in Rome.

If we descend into the cemetery by the new entrance constructed in 1865 we find ourselves in the middle and most remarkable part of it, in a large hall with cubicula and chapels on both sides. One of the latter, called the Greek chapel because of two inscriptions in that language, consists of two large rooms used, without doubt, for the purposes of divine worship. The paintings, which recall the classic style, apparently date from the beginning of the second century. Several of the most noticeable were discovered by Mgr. Wilpert, amongst these the *Fractio Panis,* the breaking of bread. Seven persons are seated at an oval table, on which loaves and dishes with fish are placed—the symbols of Christ in the sacrament of the altar; the individual who presides breaks and distributes the bread. Wilpert considers this to be the earliest representation of the holy sacrifice of the Mass. Some of

Figs. 277, 278. Susanna, the Blessed Virgin with the Divine Infant. Catacomb of St. Priscilla

Decorated Ceiling in the Cemetery of Majus, Rome.

Decorated Ceiling in the Catacomb of Lucina.

the other paintings in the Greek chapel are: Christ appearing to the disciples, the healing of the paralytic, the accusation and acquittal of Susanna, the youths in the fiery furnace, Daniel in the lions' den, Noe in the ark, etc.

One of the most interesting chambers is, as will readily be imagined, the family vault of the Acilii, distant about fifty paces from the Greek chapel. The room most to be admired in it is a polygonal chapel, discovered in 1902. Evidently it was originally a *nymphaeum*, a bathing-place belonging to the lovely villa of the family, which was situated above the cemetery; the basilica of Pope Sylvester was also built in it. All these halls and chapels contained the tombs of well-known martyrs, St. Sylvester, the saintly sisters Praxedes and Pudentiana, Pope Marcellus, the blind martyr Crescentio, SS. Felix and Philip, sons of St. Felicitas, and others; but hitherto it has not been possible to attach these illustrious names to any particular tombs.

Fig. 279. The Annunciation. Catacomb of St. Priscilla

From the basilica mentioned above a flight of twenty steps formed of travertine led down into the baptistery or baptismal font discovered in 1904. Among other interesting chambers in the Cata-

Fig. 280. Family Vault of the Acilii. Catacomb of St. Priscilla

comb of St. Priscilla we may mention the chapel of the "consecrated virgins," wherein are beautiful paintings from the middle of the third century. The mural decoration which gives its name to the chapel depicts on the left a priest seated on a raised chair, while before him stand two maidens, one of whom holds in her hand the veil which she is about to take to consecrate herself to God. The priest is pointing to a picture opposite to them, the Mother of God seated with the divine Child in her arms, the perfect model of virginal purity. In the center the consecrated virgin may be seen as an orant great and glorified. Other pictures portray Jonas, Abraham's sacrifice, the three children in the fiery furnace, etc. The finely decorated ceiling has in the center a figure of the Good Shepherd, a figure of the Saviour. The ceiling-piece in another chapel is equally beautiful; it represents the Annunciation, but the colors are very much faded.

There are other cemeteries on the Via Salaria Nova, nearer to Rome, those of Thraso, Saturninus, the Caemeterium Jordanorum, besides the Catacomb of Maximus, also called the Catacomb of St. Felicitas.

## 3. THE CATACOMBS ON THE VIA NOMENTANA

THE most important Catacomb on the Nomentana Road is the Greater Cemetery of St. Agnes. Leaving Rome by the Porta Pia—the Porta Nomentana was walled up in 1564—after about a mile and a half one arrives at the truly beautiful

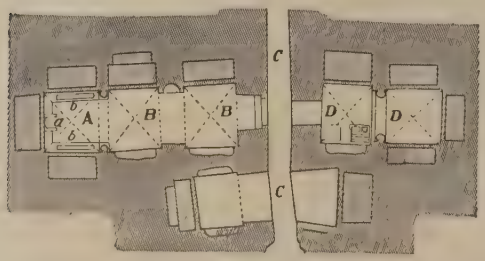



Fig. 281. Plan of the Basilica in the Cemetery of Majus

A. Presbytery (a. Cathedra. b. Seats for the Clerics). B. Section for Men. C. Gallery. D. Section for Women

and venerable basilica of St. Agnes, which shall be described in the third part of this book. Then, if one passes by the church and, after pursuing the way for some hundred feet further, turns off to the left toward the elegant Villa Leopardi, the entrance to the Catacomb at the bottom of the garden is soon reached. This cemetery has borne various names and passed through many vicissitudes. De Rossi alleged, and most probably erroneously, as we have shown above, that it was the same as the Ostian Catacomb where St. Peter administered baptism and where his pontifical chair was held in special honor. The Catacomb in question must resign its claim to this distinction in favor of the Catacomb of Priscilla. The cemetery was then called, in short, the Catacomb of St. Agnes, as if the saint herself had been buried there. That was not correct. The Catacomb of St. Agnes extends round the basilica of the saint. The cemetery of which we speak was in contradistinction

Fig. 282. Plan of the Cemetery of Majus

known as the Greater Cemetery of St. Agnes.

That it dates from the earliest Christian times is beyond a doubt; also that it con-

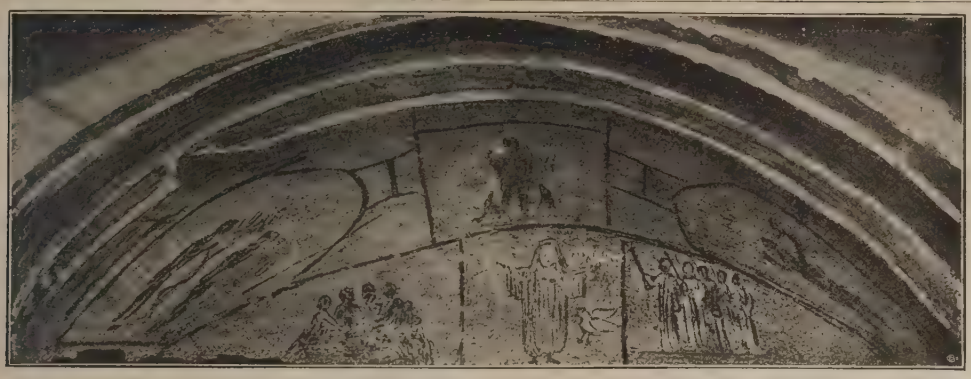


Fig. 283. The Wise and the Foolish Virgins. Cemetery of Majus

tains most venerable sepulchers, the tombs of St. Emerentiana, SS. Victor, Felix, Alexander, and others. The Catacomb is remarkable for its spacious basilica-like rooms; close to the entrance the gallery leads into one of these subterranean structures, or rather excavations, in the tufa. It consists of a connected series of five almost square rooms, two on the right and three on the left of the corridor, separated by columns, and all apparently spanned by a groined vault, yet that is but an imitation cut in the tufa-rock. The last cubiculum on the left is arranged as a presbyterium, as a choir with chancel and altar; seats are alongside the walls on either hand, the episcopal chair is at the end. The sepulchral chapel of St. Emerentiana is similar, though smaller in size; it was discovered by M. Armellini in 1876. About the year 252 the saint was assailed by brutal Pagans, who stoned her to death at the grave of her foster-sister, St. Agnes.

A group of sepulchral chapels in the center of the great Catacomb contains some notable mural paintings; in one are seen seven disciples seated at a table eating bread and fish, symbols of the sacred species in holy communion; beside this are types of the Eucharist—the marriage at Cana and the miraculous multiplication of bread. In another chamber we see Daniel among the lions, Christ as the good shepherd. In a chapel the five foolish virgins are depicted, and over against them, four wise virgins; the fifth—the individual interred in the grave below—appears somewhat lower as an orant who has already gone in to the celestial banquet.

In another chapel Christ is represented on the arch over a tomb; on each side are three disciples, one of them, an orant, being the soul of the departed occupant of the tomb. Some consider this group to represent Christ as our Judge, and the six figures as saints interceding with Him. One small cubiculum has in a semicircular niche the half-length figure of the Madonna praying with arms outstretched; to

Fig. 284. Crypt of St. Emerentiana

the right and left are the monograms of Christ, before her is the divine Child. In the arch above is a bust of Christ; below a man and a woman are introduced, perhaps the married couple whose remains were deposited here in the fourth century. Some persons only see in the Madonna a portrait of the mother interred here, a view quite at variance with the first immediate impression made on the beholder.

It has as yet been impossible to fix with any certainty the burial-places of St. Alexander and of Papias and Maurus, two Christian soldiers martyred under Diocletian.

Many short inscriptions written in elegant style bear signs of great age, of the earliest ages of Christianity.

The actual cemetery of St. Agnes, around the church of the saint, was discovered by De Rossi in 1865, and scientifically explored by Professor Armellini. The basilica constitutes the center of the not very large Catacomb, the oldest part of which was destroyed through the construction of the basilica. It occupies the spot whereon the villa stood, where the saint grew up, and where, in the family vault, she was laid to rest. Whether *Agne,* such was her baptismal name, belonged to the noble family of the Claudians or to that of the Septimians (*gens Clodia* or *Septimia*) is not definitely known. In 1901 the German Cardinal Kopp caused excavations to be made beside the high altar of the basilica, and there found the silver urn, 225 pounds in weight, wherein Paul V deposited the relics of the saint.

The Catacomb is destitute of paintings, yet it is interesting in a high degree, and much frequented by strangers visiting Rome, on account of the galleries being in the main undamaged and still entire. They also contain handsome tombs.

On the Nomentana Road, very near the town wall, is the Catacomb of St. Nicomedes, a priest who under Diocletian shed his blood for the Faith of Christ. In it are the epitaphs of several praetorians, soldiers of the imperial guard, whose quarters were in the vicinity.

## 4. THE CATACOMBS ON THE VIA APPIA

THE Appian Way was the most important highroad out of Rome, connecting as it did the city with the south of Italy and with Africa and Asia; it was also the road most noted as a favorite place of sepulture. All along its route for a great distance it was bordered on each side by most numerous and at the same time the largest and handsomest sepulchral monuments. Some of the most celebrated Christian cemeteries are also situated on the Appian Road: the Catacombs of Praetextatus, of St. Balbina, of St. Callixtus, and the *Platonia* near St. Sebastian.

1. *The Catacomb of Praetextatus.*— We possess no information concerning the founder of this cemetery. He may have been a relative of St. Cecilia, since in the vault where she is interred De Rossi found the epitaph of a certain Septimius Praetextatus Caecilianus. It is certain

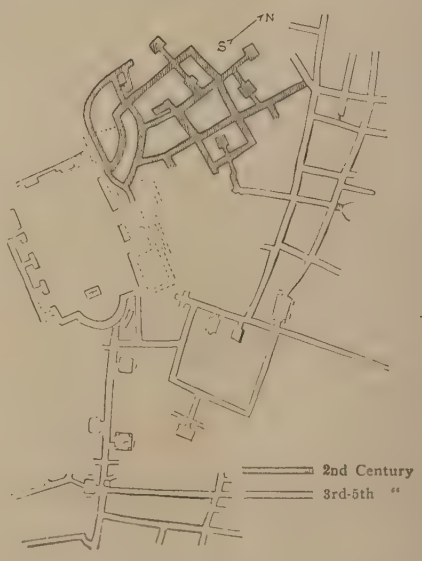



FIG. 285. PLAN OF A SECTION OF THE CEMETERY OF ST. AGNES

that the Catacomb of Praetextatus is of the greatest antiquity, for about the year 130 St. Quirinus found a resting-place there. Only a small portion of the Catacomb is explored, because the owner of the ground raised objections to research being carried on there.

In times of peace this cemetery was one of the most favored places of pilgrimage in Rome, the tombs of the illustrious martyrs being the goal of the pilgrims. As has been said, the tribune Quirinus was buried there. He was an officer who held a high post in the Emperor Hadrian's army. He was appointed to keep guard over Pope Alexander, and through intercourse with that saintly Pontiff and conversation with him the soldier gained the grace of salvation. He was baptized with all his family, and bore witness to the Faith by a martyr's death.

Thirty years later (162) St. Januarius, the eldest son of St. Felicitas, was laid to rest near him. The legend of St. Felicitas and her seven sons was formerly called in question by critics; it was, however, unexpectedly corroborated by discoveries made in the Catacombs.

St. Felicitas was a lady of most noble lineage; after her husband's death she lived in retirement with her seven sons, who were her pride and her joy. Her seclusion from society did not insure her against the observation of spies and secret informers. When brought before the prefect of the city, Publius Salvius Julianus, the eminent lawyer, who endeavored to win the noble lady by flattery and intimidate her by threats, she answered fearlessly: "Promise what you will and threaten what you will, neither threats nor flatteries shall make me waver. I bear in my heart the Holy Spirit, who will not suffer the evil enemy to vanquish me. I can therefore remain tranquil. If I live, you have not conquered me; if I die, death will add luster to my triumph over you." Publius, somewhat abashed, replied: "If you find death so sweet, at least, unhappy woman, let your children's lives be spared." "If my sons offer sacrifice to the false gods, I know they will live in

Fig. 286. Inscription on the Tomb of St. Tiburtius, Martyr

this world, but if they commit that crime eternal death will be their portion," she rejoined.

On the following day the mother, with her seven sons, was again arraigned before the tribunal. "Have pity on your sons," Publius began; "they are in the bloom of their youth, and a fair prospect is before them." "Your compassion for them is impiety; your counsel is not true kindness," Felicitas replied. Then, turning to her sons, she added: "Look up to heaven, my children; lift up your eyes! There Christ awaits you with His saints. Fight for your soul's salvation and show yourselves faithful to the love of Christ." Publius reported the matter to the Emperor Marcus Aurelius; he ordered that, for the sake of avoiding notice, the accused should be separated and brought before different judges. The mother and all her sons were martyred, but not at the same time or in the same manner, and in different cemeteries they found a glorious grave, because the sentence was passed on them in different quarters of the city. The eldest of these heroic youths, St. Januarius, who was scourged to death, was laid to rest in the Catacomb of Praetextatus; the mother and Silanus were interred in the Catacomb of Maximus, Felix and Philippus in that of St. Priscilla, Martialis and Alexander in the Caemeterium Jordanorum.

The following renowned tombs of martyrs contain the remains of the heroes of the Faith who are known to us through the legend of St. Cecilia: Valerian, to

Fig. 287. Arcosolium in the Catacomb of Praetextatus

whom the holy maiden was betrothed in her youth; his brother Tiburtius, and Maximus, the companion of both in death; finally Bishop Urbanus, whose privilege it had been to baptize them all and instruct them in the Christian faith.

On August 6, 258, another chamber in this Catacomb was the scene of a cruel deed of bloodshed. Emperor Valerian had prohibited the assemblies of the Christians. But the faithful, desirous to celebrate the holy mysteries, obeyed the precept of God rather than the unjust inhibition of man, and continued to meet together, thinking they could do so without danger, in the subterranean crypt with Pope St. Sixtus II. On one occasion, however, when thus assembled, they were surprised by their Pagan persecutors; Sixtus was slain while seated in his pontifical chair, four clerics were felled to the ground beside him, two of them being the deacons Agapetus and Felicissimus. The latter were buried here and St. Sixtus was taken to the Papal vault in the Catacomb of St. Callixtus.

At a later date, about the year 269, St. Zeno was interred in this Catacomb. It has already been related how De Rossi, guided by his quick and wonderful power of foresight, made the most important discoveries on this spot. It was while in the passages and galleries of Praetextatus' Catacomb that by a sudden illumination the whole history of subterranean Rome dawned upon him; from thenceforth he made it the subject of his study.

The fresh researches began in 1847. Eleven years subsequently the chapel of St. Januarius was discovered; it is not hewn out of the tufa, but the walls are built of solid masonry, a proof of the greatest antiquity. If other evidence were wanting, the construction and the decoration of this sepulchral chamber

Fig. 288. Cure of the Woman Sick with the Issue of Blood

alone would testify that the architect, the worker in stucco, and the painter, belonged to a period when art flourished, *i.e.*, the time of the first emperors. The walls are covered with a fivefold band of ornamentation. In the lowest space the labors of the four seasons of the year are represented; the other divisions are decorated,

Fig. 289. Ground Plan of the Catacomb of St. Callixtus

one with roses, another with ears of corn, a third with vine branches, and the uppermost with boughs of laurel. In each and all small birds are introduced among the leaves and branches, birds of gay plumage with their nests and fledglings. As in nature the changing seasons succeed one another, so in the life of the Church unceasing development goes on and perpetual renovation; there in the winter of persecution and apparent death the evergreen laurel does not fade, but is woven into immortal crowns. In the niches in the background the figure of the Good Shepherd carrying a lamb on His shoul-

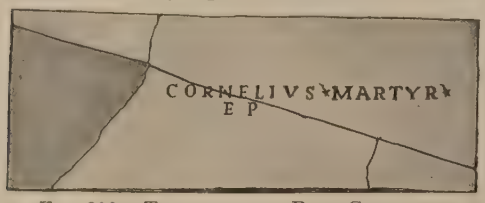



Fig. 290. Tombstone of Pope Cornelius

ders may still be discerned, though the painting has been much damaged and partially broken away in order that some one might procure for a beloved relative the privilege of resting near Saints Januarius, Agapetus and Felicissimus, as the commemorative epitaph testifies.

In 1863 De Rossi discovered another sepulchral chamber of which the building and arrangement point to a yet earlier period. This is the chapel of St. Quirinus. In the year 1869 a third chamber was opened, which, to judge by the scanty remains, was once magnificently appointed and evidently regarded as a place of honor. In 1874 Armellini discovered a *graffito,* an inscription scratched in the cement by a priest, who commended himself to the intercession of the holy martyrs Felicissimus and Agapetus; near by was also discovered the cubiculum, called in the "Pilgrims' Guide" the "Great Grotto."

Some frescoes of the second century depict the mocking of Christ, Christ and the two disciples, the woman with the issue of blood, the raising of Lazarus; they are the earliest paintings taken from Bible history. One picture of somewhat later date is strikingly emblematical: a lamb between two wolves. According to the superscription the lamb represents the chaste Susanna, whom two wolf-like old men in vain tempted to sin, and who was persecuted the more fiercely on account of her resistance. This pictorial representation was intended to convey to each individual Christian and to the infant Church a grave lesson, as well as an encouragement to trust in God.

*2. The Catacomb of St. Callixtus.*— The most noteworthy of all the Catacombs is that which bears the name of St. Callixtus, the first ecclesiastical superintendent of this burial-place; the most noteworthy because it is of very great extent; because it contains the most highly valued tombs, the Papal crypt, the tomb of St. Cecilia and others; because its sepulchral chambers are decorated with most important and rare paintings; finally, because no other has been so fully explored and minutely described by De Rossi.

It was known from old handbooks for pilgrims that in the seventh century the above-named celebrated cemeteries on the Appian Way were still the resort of devout pilgrims. Now it is true that a later inscription in the Catacombs near the Church of St. Sebastian on the Appian Road states that there the tombs of St. Cecilia and the Papal crypt wherein forty-seven Popes were interred are to be found; also that in their subterranean galleries the remains of more than 174,000 martyrs were deposited. Yet the map which De Rossi prepared, after careful study of the most reliable ancient data, placed these graves at a short distance nearer to the city, although the contrary theory was maintained by the monks of St. Sebastian. Subsequently his researches and statements were proved to be perfectly correct. From what has already been said concerning the Catacombs it will readily be understood that in the course of time the knowledge of the exact situation of the most venerable burial-places was lost, and that a wrong area was assigned to them.

In the year 1849 De Rossi discovered in

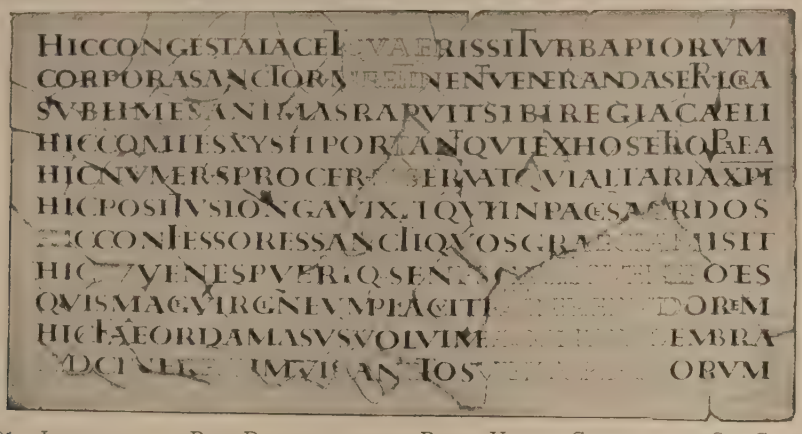


Fig. 291. Inscription of Pope Damasus in the Papal Vault, Catacomb of St. Callixtus

the cellar of a vineyard a broken marble slab on which were these letters: NELIVS MARTYR. He at once conjectured that this was a fragment of the tombstone of the holy Pope Cornelius, who suffered martyrdom in the middle of the third century, and was buried in the vicinity of the Papal crypt. Pope Pius IX purchased the vineyard in which the fragment had been discovered and explorations were commenced. In 1852, in a crypt beneath a portion of the land that had been purchased, at the foot of a tomb, De Rossi found a second fragment which exactly fitted to the former, and completed the inscription:

CORNELIVS MARTYR. EP.

"Cornelius, Bishop and Martyr." De Rossi had discovered the tomb of the holy Pope Cornelius; the title "Papa," "Pope," was at that epoch not as yet the official title of the Roman pontiffs, but was an honorable appellation. De Rossi then knew that he must have got near to the Papal crypt, and to St. Cecilia's grave; the excavations were carried on anew.

In 1854 he penetrated into the Papal crypt, and at once found some marble fragments bearing an inscription in which he immediately recognized the handwriting of St. Damasus' scribe. Out of a hundred and twenty-five broken pieces he put together the inscription which Pope Damasus had placed there fourteen centuries earlier. Soon the contiguous crypt of St. Cecilia was cleared, and a plan made of the Catacomb.

The intricate galleries and the sepulchral chambers now comprehended under the name of the Catacomb of Callixtus, did not originally constitute one single

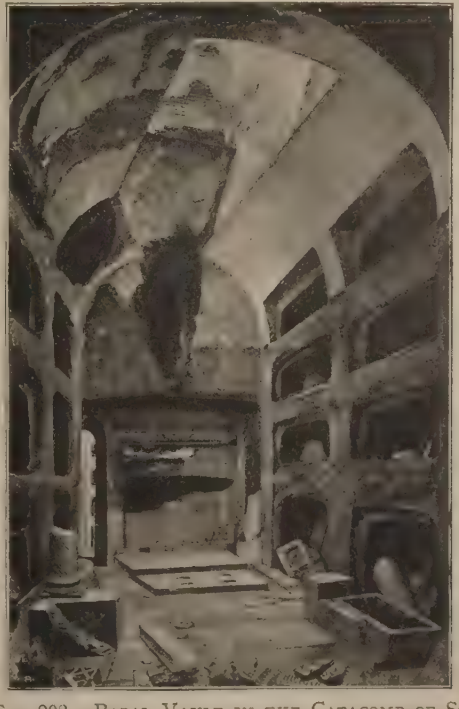


Fig. 292. Papal Vault in the Catacomb of St. Callixtus

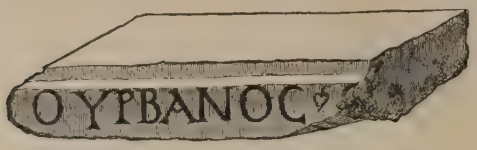



Fig. 293. Tombstone of Bishop Urban

cemetery, but several separate burial-grounds. The plot belonging to the holy matron Lucina is undoubtedly one of the oldest portions; a second plot of ground with a family vault was the property of a branch of the renowned and honorable house of the Caecilii. Many Christian scions and illustrious relatives of that race found a last resting-place there, and naturally also the chief ornament of that noble house, St. Cecilia herself. In the beginning of the third century Pope Callixtus constructed a cemetery for the Christian community on the Aventine, adjoining the family vault of the Caecilii, and the Papal crypt also, close to St. Cecilia's grave. Some half century later another more extensive cemetery was opened, of which the central point was the grave of the Pope St. Eusebius; in 249 it was enlarged by Anatolia, daughter of the consul Fulvius Petronius Aemilianus, subsequently to the interment there of the martyrs Calocerus and Parthenius, who were related to her. Under Diocletian the ever-pressing necessity for graves compelled the formation of a new cemetery; De Rossi thought he had found in it the sepulchral chamber of St. Soteris; more recent explorers, however, locate it elsewhere. Finally, in the fourth century, yet another subterranean cemetery was added on the north, the Liberian, so called because numerous epitaphs found there date from the time of Pope Liberius (352–366). Each and all of these several burial-places had its own separate entrance; later on, however, they were all connected one with another. As early as the reign of Diocletian small oratories or basilicas were erected above ground over specially honored graves.

If one leaves the Appian Way at some distance from the gate of San Sebastiano and turns to the right, into the fields, in two minutes a building with three recesses will be reached, which, at that time used as a wine cellar, was recognized by De Rossi as a structure of the third century, a small church, in fact, dedicated to St. Sixtus and St. Cecilia. On the left of this building a modern wooden stairway of thirty-five steps leads down into the Catacomb below; after proceeding a little farther one finds oneself in the Papal crypt, which was constructed in the third century.

What strikes the visitor most on the way thither are the countless *graffiti*, inscriptions scratched in the cement by pious pilgrims more than fourteen or fifteen centuries ago. These inscriptions are of three kinds. Some are merely names which indicate the Roman, Greek, Teutonic, or British extraction of their owners; others are invocations to the saints whose remains are deposited in the Catacomb: the one which recurs most frequently is that of St. Sixtus, who was laid to rest in the Papal crypt; a third sort of inscription consists of salutations, aspirations, prayers to the departed, not only on behalf of the pilgrim himself, but for the loved ones in his far-off country, who can not themselves have the privilege of praying at the tombs of the martyrs. Most touching are the simple words addressed to the departed: "Pontius, live in Christ, our God!" "Gelasius, live in God!" "Leontius, mayst thou live in life eternal!" "To Cyriacus, beloved son; mayst thou live in the Holy Spirit!"

How constantly the thought of the loved ones who were no more was present to the mind of the devout pilgrim on his visit to the Catacomb, with what ever-in-

Fig. 294. Gravestone of Pope Anteros

Figs. 295, 296. Inscriptions on the Tombs of Popes Fabian and Lucius

creasing depth of feeling, of love, and of confidence he prayed, one example will suffice to show. Before the entrance to the Papal vault, to the left of the arch, in elongated, faint, and hasty characters these words are traced: *"Sophronia vives cum tuis"*—"Sophronia, thou shalt live with thine own people!" Over the doorway of the vault situated on the west side, the same hand has written: *"Sophronia in Domino vives"*—"Sophronia, thou shalt live in the Lord!" Once more we meet with the same handwriting on the arched recess of a vault in a southeasterly direction. As the affectionate longing of the writer has grown stronger, so the up and down strokes are more firmly and symmetrically carved in the cement, and shut in by an encircling line: *"Sophronia dulcis semper vives Deo"*—"Sweet Sophronia, thou shalt live eternally in the Lord!" and finally in triumphant confidence the suppliant adds beneath the boundary line: *"Sophronia vives"*—"Yes, thou shalt live, Sophronia."

The great number of the *graffiti* affords abundant proof that we have before us a sanctuary of renown. The above picture shows the Papal crypt as it was discovered in 1854 by Chevalier De Rossi. It is only four and a half meters long and three and a half wide. In the farther end is a raised slab of marble with four openings

Fig. 297. Part of the Slab Over the Grave of Pope Eutychianos

in it; an altar formerly stood there supported by four pillars. Behind it in olden times was the principal tomb with a flat stone covering it, which served at the same time for the retable. The tombs of the Popes are in the walls, hollowed out of the sandstone rock, above and beside one another, separated by a considerable width of rock. Two stone coffins stood below on the level ground. Graves were also dug in the floor and called *formae*, for, besides the Popes, some foreign bishops and martyrs were laid in this vault. The walls were originally covered with a coating of fine stucco. Later on they were faced with marble, and ornamented with glazed tiles, pillars, cornices, and so on, of the same material, as well as of serpentine-stone, porphyry, and other decorations. The splendid ornamentation of the Papal vault was mainly due to Pope Sixtus III (432-440). Two wide shafts for ventilation were made in the roof in different directions in the fifth century.

By studying the defaced and scanty remains that he found there, De Rossi contrived to make a sketch of the Papal vault as it was when visited by pilgrims in the fifth century. The simple altar stands on the marble step; beside it is the episcopal chair with its back to the wall, facing the people. The space round the altar is shut off by a marble rail, as the sanctuary is in churches of later date. The walls are covered with slabs of delicately veined white marble, and divided into sections by fluted pilasters. In the center two ornate spiral columns support the architrave. On the wall behind the altar are two of Pope Damasus' well-known and beautifully-executed marble inscriptions. The lower of the two, of which only three fragments

exist, referred to the most eminent martyr deposited in the vault, St. Sixtus II, who, as has been related on an earlier page, was executed in the Catacomb of Praetextatus, and conveyed with some of his companions to that of St. Callixtus. The inscription runs thus:

"When persecution's sharp sword pierced the tender heart of the Church,
I, now resting here, was then Pope, teaching the laws of my God.
Of a sudden the enemy came and snatched me out of my seat,
Seeing that, the faithful willingly gave their necks to the sword.
The pastor saw their intent, and feared to be robbed of his palm,
His own head he offered, his own self a victim most willing,
So that the Pagan's rage might not injure any one else.
Christ, who a crown bestows on those who follow Him truly,
Himself performs the pastor's duty, and defends the mass of the flock."

The upper inscription is of a more general nature. As was already said, De Rossi pieced it together out of a hundred and twenty-five fragments.

"Here lie, if man wouldst know, heaped together a crowd of the faithful.
These holy sepulchers contain the sacred remains of the saints,

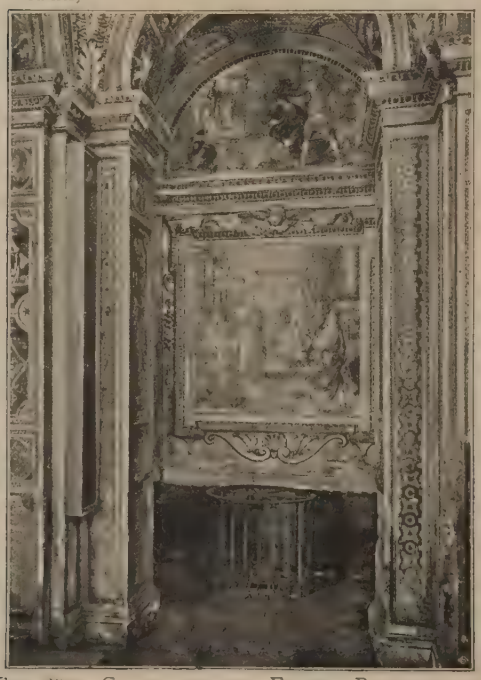


Fig. 298. Chapel in the Former Bathroom of St. Cecilia

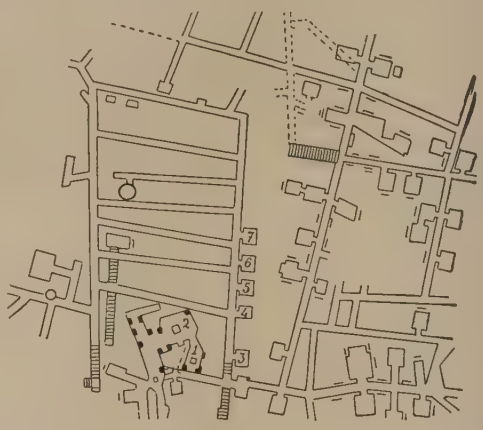


Fig. 299. Plan of the Papal Vault (1) and of the Crypt of St. Cecilia (2) with the Sacrament Chapels (3–7) in the Catacomb of St. Callixtus

But a celestial abode has received their souls in its care.
Here lie the companions of Sixtus, with trophies snatched from the foe,
Here the illustrious elders rest, who guard the altars of Christ.
Here is buried the priest,[1] who lived through years of permanent peace.
Here, too, rest holy confessors who came from the kingdom of Greece.[2]
Here also are youths, mere boys, and old men, chaste offspring of saints,
Who chose, as the better part, to keep their virginity pure.
Here, I, Damasus, do confess that I fain would lay my bones,
But I fear to disturb the saints sleeping beneath these stones."

In the twelve plain recesses cut in the sandstone of the walls, two rows of three on each side, twelve Popes are deposited. On the lid of each coffin was the name of him whose remains it contained, the name only with the addition of "Bishop"; no other title, no word of laudation, no statement concerning the period of his reign, not even his family name was inscribed there; an example of touching and sublime simplicity. In those days no one had time to place long epitaphs on the graves of martyrs!

Chevalier De Rossi had the good fortune to find among the rubbish the fragments of five Greek epitaphs of Popes:

[1] Pope Melchiades.

[2] Greek converts who suffered martyrdom in Rome; amongst others Adria, and Paulina his wife, with their sons, Marius and Neo, who were executed under the Emperor Valerian; also St. Hippolytus and others.

these were Urbanos, Anteros, Fabianos, Lukis (Lucian), and Eutychianos.

The following are the names of the Popes who were laid to rest in the Papal crypt. The first was Zephyrinus (202-218), who founded the vault. His successor, St. Callixtus, the former custodian and overseer of the Catacombs, was thrown from the roof of his house on the occasion of a popular uprising in the year 223; his body was flung into a well, whence it was secretly taken and carried to the nearest cemetery, that of St. Calepodius. The next Pope, Urban I (223-230), was interred in the Papal crypt. St. Pontianus, who inherited his supreme dignity, abdicated it later on, and died in voluntary exile on the island of Sardinia. His successor in the Chair of Peter, Anteros (235-236), suffered martyrdom during the lifetime of his predecessor. Fabian (236-250) caused St. Pontianus' remains to be brought from Sardinia and deposited in the Papal vault; the epitaph: "Pontianus Ep. et M." was only discovered in the winter of 1909.

The next Pope, Cornelius (251-253), is indeed interred, as we shall see, in the Catacomb of Callixtus, but not in the Papal vault. After him Lucius I (253-254) ascended the Papal throne; he and his successor, Stephen I (254-257), the oft-mentioned Sixtus II, Dionysius (259-268), Felix (269-274), Eutychianus (275-283), and Caius (283-296) were all buried in this same vault. The successors of St. Caius, Marcellinus and Marcellus, were interred in the cemetery of St. Priscilla, because the period of their administration fell on the time of the terrible persecution under Diocletian, when all the known Catacombs, first and foremost that of St. Callixtus, were confiscated by the Government. Eusebius, the next Pope, died in banishment in Sicily; his successor, Melchiades (311-314), during whose reign the Church enjoyed peace, caused the body of Eusebius to be brought to Rome and deposited in the Catacomb of Callixtus; he himself, Melchiades, is the last Pontiff who is interred there, but he has not a place in the Papal vault. He is the priest mentioned in the Damasian epitaph: "Who lived through years of permanent peace."

Fig. 300. Statue of St. Cecilia. In the Church of St. Cecilia, Rome

We will now take leave of the Papal vault. It belongs indisputably among the most noteworthy places and the most venerable sanctuaries of subterranean Christian Rome. Every one must feel in

Fig. 301. St. Cecilia, Christ, and Urban. Vault of St. Cecilia

his heart how much of Catholic faith, of hope, of love attaches to these walls, these tombs, wherein nine saints, nine martyrs, nine Popes, nine supreme heads, guides, Fathers of the Church were laid to rest. There is no doubt that the late Holy Father, Pius IX, was actuated by this feeling, when, soon after the discovery of the Papal vault, on May 11, 1854, he went down into the Catacomb for the purpose of praying for the first time at the graves of his predecessors. At that epoch the days were still bright, the sunshine of peace prevailed, yet in the Papal crypt he acquired somewhat of the courage of the martyrs and confessors to support him in times of strife and darkness that were to come.

3. *The Crypt of St. Cecilia.*—The crypt of St. Cecilia is separated from the Papal crypt only by a narrow passage; in one place the walls join.

It is universally acknowledged that St. Cecilia was a member of the noble house of the Caecilii, who owned the land beneath which the Catacomb of St. Callixtus was excavated. At a very early age she consecrated herself to God by a vow of virginity; she was, however, betrothed by her parents to Valerian, a youth of noble lineage, but a pagan. On the marriage-day she persuaded him to seek an interview with Bishop Urban, in the Catacomb of Praetextatus. The bishop instructed him in the Christian Faith, and baptized him, as well as his brother Tiburtius. Before long they both together wore the martyr's palm; their sublime fortitude under suffering was the means of converting the officer in command of the guard; we spoke of their graves in the Catacomb of Praetextatus. Then came Cecilia's turn to endure martyrdom; Almachius, the judge, desirous to carry out the sentence of death secretly, so as to avoid attracting public notice, had recourse to a proceeding not unusual, under similar circumstances, in Pagan Rome. He caused the maiden to be shut into the vapor-bath (*caldarium*) of her own house. All round the walls of this room leaden pipes ran, and fragments of them are still to be seen in the bath-room adjoining the Church of St. Cecilia in Rome. These pipes were heated to such a degree that it was thought that the intense heat of the air must cause death. Cecilia remained for a whole day and a night in this burning vapor without sustaining the least injury, or even perspiring. A celestial dew refreshed her, like the three Hebrew youths in the Babylonian furnace, and of her as of them it might have been said: "The smell of the fire had not passed on her." This miracle disconcerted the judge; he found himself obliged against his will to shed the blood of the noble Roman lady, since she was sentenced to death. Accordingly, he sent the executioner to behead her. At the sight of the saint the unhappy man lost his self-possession; he wavered, his strength seemed to fail him; he struck three blows without decapitating the saint, and was then obliged to desist, for the law did not allow of a fourth blow. Cecilia fell to the ground and lay there prostrate, bathed in blood, but still alive and conscious. Thus

the Christians found her when they entered the room after the hasty departure of the executioner. With linen cloths they staunched the blood flowing from the martyr's wounds, but did not raise her from the ground. For three days she hovered between life and death; she had entreated God to grant her this interval, in order that she might give over her palace to Bishop Urban to be made into a church. While the bishop was pronouncing the last blessing she fell asleep to awake to a better life. She was placed in a coffin of cypress-wood in exactly the same posture in which she had lain stretched out upon the ground; her knees slightly bent, her countenance turned downward, her arms resting side by side in an attitude denoting utter weariness; the long robe she wore, interwoven with threads of gold, was dyed crimson with her blood; at her feet were placed the cloths and the veil which the Christians had steeped in her blood. The coffin was carried into one of the most recently constructed subterranean galleries on the Appian Way, and there deposited in a recess in a sepulchral chamber opposite to and on a level with the entrance.

There Cecilia rested until the year 821. That was the time in which Pope Paschal removed the relics of 2300 martyrs to the basilicas in the town to safeguard them from desecration. Amongst others he brought the treasures out of the Papal crypt. He could not find St. Cecilia's grave, and at last gave credence to the report that the Lombards had abstracted the hallowed remains. Not long afterward Paschal was present at an early hour at a solemn function at the tomb of St. Peter. While there he felt a gentle drowsiness close his eyelids—Paschal relates this himself—and a countenance radiant with celestial beauty presented itself to his mental vision. A maiden whose fair features bespoke high nobility stood before him; she told him her name was Cecilia and reproached him for not having removed her body, with the

Fig. 302. Crypt of St. Cecilia in the Catacomb of St. Callixtus

other relics; he had been so close to her tomb, she told him, that they might have conversed together. Accordingly Paschal renewed his researches, and behold! in the cavity of the wall, carefully closed on the outside, and only separated by a partition not more than an inch in thickness from the tomb of the Prince of the Apostles in the adjoining chamber, he found a coffin of cypress-wood wherein lay the body of the saint exactly as tradition described it, arrayed in a robe wrought with gold, with the wounds on her throat, and at her feet the cloths dyed with her blood.

The body was incorrupt. Paschal reenclosed the venerable remains as he found them; only he caused the coffin to be lined with silk, edged with a fringe, and a veil of silk gauze to be thrown over the body. The coffin was then walled up under the high altar in St. Cecilia's church.

Fig. 303. Vault of Pope Eusebius in the Catacomb of St. Callixtus (Reconstructed)

Towards the close of the sixteenth century Cardinal Sfondrati, formerly Abbot in the Benedictine monastery of St. Gall, Switzerland, who took his title from the Church of St. Cecilia, set on foot some alterations in that edifice. On October 20, 1599, the arched tomb beneath the altar was opened in the presence of a number of witnesses. In the space below the arch two marble sarcophagi were found. One of these was immediately opened; in it was a cypress-wood coffin. The feelings of awe and eager expectancy of the bystanders may be imagined. The cardinal raised the thin lid of the coffin, and there lay St. Cecilia in the unspeakable majesty and beauty of her martyrdom, eight centuries having elapsed since Paschal gazed at her in the same manner, with the same profound veneration. The silk lining of the bier was still intact, only somewhat faded; the gauze veil was still over the body, the untarnished gold of the robe shining through the transparent texture. This veil Sfondrati drew aside; his hand shook as he did so. The holy virgin lay revealed, wrapt in the long robe, which was rendered far more precious by the stains of blood than by the threads of gold of the fabric; lying on her right side, her arms stretched out beside her body, which was perfectly incorrupt, her face hidden from sight, she seemed to be in a deep, sweet sleep. At her feet were the cloths stained with her blood. All Rome came to behold the saint in her sacred, incomparable beauty; amongst the eye-witnesses were the celebrated historian Baronius, and Bosio, the explorer of the Catacombs, both of whom gave a detailed account of the discovery of the hallowed remains, the accounts agreeing in every particular. After a few weeks the coffin was again closed, and restored to its former place. Cardinal Sfondrati erected a costly altar over the tomb; and beneath it he placed a white marble statue, the work of the sculptor Maderno, with this inscription:

"Behold the image of the most holy virgin Cecilia. As I myself beheld her incorrupt and recumbent in her tomb, so

THE FRACTIO PANIS, CHRIST WITH SIX SAINTS, THE BLESSED VIRGIN WITH THE INFANT JESUS.
CATACOMB OF PRISCILLA AND CEMETERY OF ST. AGNES, ROME.

I have reproduced her figure in marble, in the identical posture of body."

The marvelous charm, the beauty, modesty, nobility of the saint are well rendered in the marble, and although the countenance is not seen, this is scarcely to be regretted. The imagination of the spectator easily supplies the high-bred features, whose loveliness and attractive sweetness must have been of no common order.

In recent times it has been denied by some that such a person as St. Cecilia lived and suffered martyrdom in Rome; but in the face of such witnesses and historical evidence the assertion appears mere folly and madness.

The crypt of St. Cecilia coincides in every particular with the old legend and the account given by Pope Paschal. After De Rossi had discovered the graves of the Popes, the next object he proposed in his exploration was to find St. Cecilia's resting-place, which he knew was in the immediate vicinity. But when he had discovered an adjoining sepulchral chamber, his task was not ended, for it was full of earth and rubbish up to the ventilating shafts. The clearance proved most laborious work.

We will take a view of the vault. Enlarged by Pope Damasus, it now forms an irregular square, each side of which measures about six meters. Niches are excavated in the walls for the reception of the dead. Between the exit into the Papal crypt and the wide, lofty one, more like a gateway, into the galleries of graves, there is a recess built up with brickwork, the top arched almost imperceptibly, large enough to admit a coffin; it was there that St. Cecilia was at first laid to rest in her shrine of cypress-wood. To the left of this tomb there are some old mural paintings; next to it is a portrait of Bishop Urban, by whose orders the martyr was buried there. This bishop is not the same as Pope Urban, who governed the Church from 222-230, but a foreign bishop, or a bishop representing the then Pope. Most probably Cecilia suffered and died in 177, under the Emperor

Fig. 304. Entrance to the Catacomb of St. Lucina

Marcus Aurelius, although recently an attempt has been made to show that the martyrdom of the saint took place later, in the time of Urban I, during the reign of the Emperor Alexander Severus (222-235). To the left of this portrait, on the wall behind, is a bust of our Saviour, dating from the tenth century; this affords a proof that St. Cecilia's tomb was still venerated and decorated at a period when celebrated graves in the Catacombs were already forgotten.

Above these two paintings is one of the saint herself; she is represented as arrayed in a robe of rich texture embroidered with pearls, such as Roman ladies wore; her head is surrounded by a golden aureole, her hands are raised in prayer after the manner of Christians in the earliest ages. This painting was executed in the seventh century, on a spot where a mosaic was previously. Even the shaft to admit light is ornamented with paintings; on the highest part is another portrait of St. Cecilia; in the middle part

Fig. 305. Crypt of St. Cornelius in the Catacomb of St. Callixtus

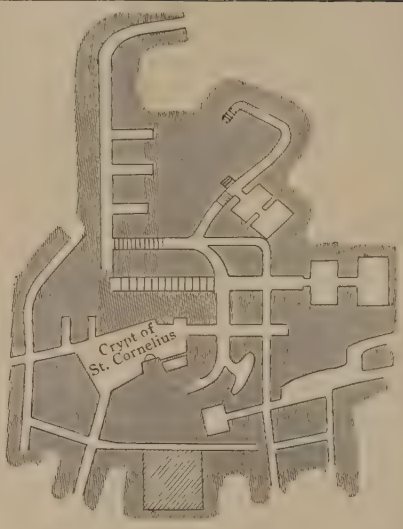



Fig. 306. Plan of the Vault of St. Lucina

is a cross toward which two lambs are hastening. This is symbolical of Our Lord and the souls of believers; below are the saints Polycamus, Sebastian, and Curinus.

The Sacrament Chapels, so called on account of the remarkable typical pictures wherewith the walls are decorated, are very near the crypts of St. Cecilia and St. Sixtus. But we will not anticipate, as we shall have occasion to describe them more minutely farther on.

4. *The Tomb of St. Eusebius.*—Pope Eusebius, as has already been stated, died in banishment in Sicily toward the close of the persecution under Diocletian. Melchiades, who succeeded him in the Papal dignity, caused the mortal remains of this exile for Christ's sake to be brought to Rome, and interred in the Catacomb of Callixtus, where a sepulchral chamber had been expressly prepared to receive them. It was richly decorated with paintings and precious marbles. After the relics had been removed in the eighth century, the crypt was pillaged and stripped of every ornament.

During the reigns of Pope Eusebius and Marcellus, his predecessor, teachers of false doctrine and agitators of a peculiar description excited the greatest unrest and insubordination in the Church.

During the long period of tranquillity the early fervor had become relaxed, and the love of many had grown cold. Thus when Diocletian suddenly began to bring every means of persecution, every method of suppression, to bear upon the Christians, those who had grown lukewarm and half-hearted had not the courage to remain loyal to their faith, to defy torture and death, so they fell away. But no sooner had the storm of persecution spent itself than they thought with equal fickleness to return to their allegiance, and demanded to be received again into the communion of the Church without contrition or penance. At their head was one Heraclius. St. Eusebius unflinchingly maintained the ancient discipline of the Church, and required the apostates to perform acts of atonement and penance, before the grace of readmission into the fold of the Church should be granted to them. On account of the steadfastness he displayed he was forced to eat the bread of tears in Sicily, whither the Emperor Maxentius had him transported. Pope Damasus alludes to these happening in the epitaph which he placed over his saintly predecessor's tomb. De Rossi found fragments of the original inscription, as well as of the transcript of it made in the sixth century.

"Heraclius would not have the lapsed do penance for
their sin;
Eusebius bade those weak ones weep, and pardon seek
to win.
Soon factions rent the people, fierce passions rising high,
Caused discord, quarrels, bloodshed; rebellion, too, was
nigh.
Then the tyrant in his wrath, to cause the strife to
cease
Banished heretic and bishop, though the bishop made for
peace.
Looking with faith to Christ his Judge, he gladly exile
bore,
Quitted this world, laid down his life on Sicily's alien
shore."

On one side of the tablet these words are added: "Bishop Damasus erected this monument to the memory of Eusebius, Bishop and Martyr."

5. *The Cemetery of St. Lucina.*—The Cemetery of St. Lucina reaches back to the earliest ages of Christianity, to the time of the apostles, and once constituted a sep-

FIGS. 307, 308. SAINTS CORNELIUS AND CYPRIAN, SIXTUS AND OPTATUS. MURAL PAINTING IN THE VAULT OF ST. CORNELIUS, CATACOMB OF ST. CALLIXTUS

arate burial-ground. The area known as the crypt of St. Lucina had a frontage on the Appian Way of one hundred feet; and an extension *in agro,* stretching away into the country, of two hundred and thirty feet. On the portion nearest the road, where a long stairway led down into the vault, a colossal monument rose, the massive ruins of which, although long since stripped of all ornament, yet strike the traveler with astonishment: a lofty brick dome is still standing, two tall cypresses keeping solemn watch on either side, while in the background, stretching away toward the south, the interminable arches of the ancient aqueducts form a picturesque feature in the landscape. The extensive dimensions of the burial-ground and the height of the monument are a sufficient proof that the vault was intended for the reception of the remains of noble and distinguished personages.

Mention is made in Church history of several noble ladies of the name of Lucina who lived in different centuries and were not in any wise related to one another. De Rossi has therefore with good reason expressed the opinion that Lucina, which means "enlightened" or "shining," is not an ordinary feminine name, but a name taken at Baptism, expressive of the effect of the sacrament. It may therefore be accepted as an unquestioned fact that the Lucina who gave her name to the cemetery in question was a celebrated Roman lady who lived in the time of the apostles, Pomponia Graecina, the wife of Plautius, the first Roman general who under the Emperor Claudius (41-54) achieved permanent conquests in the British Isles. Tacitus relates that in the year 58 A. D., that is, nine years previous to the martyrdom of the Princes of the Apostles, she was accused of holding "foreign superstitions," but acquitted by the judgment of her family. We know that the faith of Christ was regarded as a foreign superstition in heathen Rome, so if Pomponia was acquitted in the family conclave, this circumstance is naturally explained by the fact that, as is shown, to a certain extent there were Christian members of the family who were interred in the vault called after Lucina. Pomponia Graecina belonged to the noble family of the Pomponii Bassi. She was nearly related to the renowned race of the Cornelii, and they again to the Caecilii.[1] This gives the reason why the holy Pope Cornelius was not interred with his brethren in the Papal dignity in the Papal crypt, but laid to rest in Lucina's cemetery.

St. Cornelius died in exile in the seaport of Civita Vecchia. As he probably was one of the distinguished race of the Cornelii, it appears that Lucina, in virtue of his kinship, claimed the right of having his body given up for burial, and deposited in the family sepulcher. There he was not laid in a chapel, but in a long corridor lined with graves, in the wall of which is a wide rectangular cavity cut in the rock, wherein the coffin containing his remains was placed. The flat slab covering it may in earlier times have served as an altar, as did other tombs, when the Holy Sacrifice was offered on the anniversary of the martyr. To right and left of the tomb four venerable figures are painted, evidently executed at the beginning of the seventh or eighth century, probably by order of Pope Leo III (795-816), for it is said of him that he restored the crypts of St. Cornelius and St. Sixtus. To the right of the tomb St. Cornelius and the African Bishop Cyprian are painted; their feast is on September 16 and the Church commemorates them both on the same day because they both suffered martyrdom on that day, though not in the same year. To the left the oft-mentioned Sixtus II and Bishop Optatus are depicted, venerable figures in long, full sacerdotal vestments, vested in stole and chasuble, holding the book of Holy Scripture in their left hands. Bishop Optatus was in 428 interred in St. Callixtus and afterward re-

[1] As a rule free Romans bore three names: the *praenomen,* first or personal name, e. g., Caius, Publius; then the *nomen,* the name, that is, of the race or house to which they belonged, e. g., Cornelius, Flavius; the third name, *cognomen,* or surname, denoting the family within the *gens* or house; thus many kindred families belonged to the House of the Cornelii, such as the Dolabella, the Scipios, the Sulla, etc. Some families had besides an additional appellation, which served to distinguish them particularly, or to recall past exploits.

moved to St. Praxedes; nothing more is known of his life than that he was tortured by the Vandals and then brought to Rome.

Beside the pier of the arch at the right of the tomb there stands a truncated column, concave at the top, whereon, as on the tombs of other martyrs, the funereal lamp formerly burned, and wherein the oil was preserved which was distributed as a relic. In the earliest ages of Christianity reluctance was shown, out of pious reverence, to disturb the remains of the saints, still more to remove them and give portions away as relics. On the other hand, kerchiefs or scarves which had been laid on the martyr's tomb, and the oil, mixed with costly balsam, which burned in the lamp beside it, were regarded as precious memorials. Thus we read that St. Gregory the Great sent to Theolinda, Queen of the Lombards, by Abbot John, a collection of sixty-five vials containing oils taken from the lamps before the most celebrated shrines.

Pope Damasus also caused a memorial tablet to be placed before St. Cornelius' tomb. Only a few fragments of the tablet were recovered among the rubbish, and if De Rossi has been successful in correctly supplying the missing parts, it is somewhat as follows:

"See, now that the steps are rebuilt and the gloom is dispelled,
Cornelius' tomb thou canst see, the hallowed spot where he rests.
Damasus sick, yet still brave, has now accomplished the task,
Rendered access more easy, the pilgrims enabled in crowds
To seek the saint's help; by entreaties sent up from pure hearts
That Damasus health may regain, though in asking these prayers
It is not life that he loves, but for his work that he cares."

To the left of the grave wherein Cornelius rests these words are engraved in simple characters: "Cerealis and Sallustia with one and twenty." The tradition is that the soldier Cerealis, with Sallustia, his wife, and twenty-one comrades, who had all been converted by St. Cornelius, suffered martyrdom at the same time with him, and were with him interred by the noble matron Lucina.

FIGS. 309, 310. FISHES WITH THE EUCHARISTIC SYMBOLS OF BREAD AND WINE. VAULT OF ST. LUCINA

As is the Catacomb of Callixtus in general, so this crypt in particular is rich in ancient and noteworthy paintings. Some of the most beautiful pictures are to be found in the oldest part of the Catacomb, and date as far back as the beginning of the second century, when a great number of the faithful who had had personal intercourse with the Princes of the Apostles were still living. The ceiling of the oldest chamber, which consists of two communicating rooms, is decorated with paintings between which there is a connection. The lines form a cross within a circle and two crosses outside it, the eight lines of which again intersect one another. In a small medallion in the center Daniel is represented; the drawing is, however, so nearly obliterated as to render the subject difficult to discern. Two lions rest at his feet. In the four branches of the

Fig. 311. Basilica of St. Petronilla. Catacomb of St. Domitilla

larger cross the Good Shepherd is twice pictured with a lamb on his shoulders and a shepherd's flute at his side; in the other two branches an orant is depicted. In the smaller arms of the cross are winged figures, and within the circle, round the central medallion, are heads with the signs of the four seasons; while in the extreme corners of the field the doves of peace are seen hovering. Still more interesting is another painting: two fishes, each of which bears a woven basket filled with loaves; in the midst of them is a red spot, evidently intended to represent a flagon of wine. We shall speak later on of the mystical interpretation of these symbols. Other pictorial representations in the double room are: a milk pail standing on a post with two sheep beside it, and the baptism of Christ. Other chambers contain decorations whose characteristic points lead to the supposition that they date from the middle of the second century. The higher signification of these and other pictorial decorations of St. Lucina's vault will be treated of later on.

6. *The Catacomb of St. Sebastian.*— The crypt of St. Sebastian belongs in more than one respect to the most remarkable of the subterranean vaults. It was the first to which the term "Catacomb" was applied (*coemeterium ad catacumbas*) and it has given this generic name to all others similarly constructed; it is also certainly one of the very earliest Christian burial-places in Rome, for a reliable tradition states that for some time the bodies of SS. Peter and Paul were deposited there. St. Gregory the Great says: "It is a well-known fact that at the time of the martyrdom of the apostles Peter and Paul, Christians came from the east to take possession of their remains, as those of their kinsmen and fellow-countrymen; and that when they reached the second milestone from Rome, they buried them on a spot which was known by the name of *ad catacumbas.*" Whether a terrific storm, accompanied by thunder and lightning, as, St. Gregory adds, rendered it impossible to proceed farther, or whether the Christians of Rome, hearing of their loss, overtook the fugitives, is not known; at all events the remains of the apostles were deposited in a sepulchral chamber, over which Pope Damasus, about 370, built a stately basilica with three aisles. The place of interment was not, however, the round chapel excavated for that purpose, or *platonia,* an appellation indicating a chamber faced with marble, the descent into which is by the altar in the choir, for

that was first constructed about the end of the fourth or the beginning of the fifth century, when the remains of the sainted bishop Quirinus were brought thither from Hungary, but, probably, a chapel in the neighborhood. In 1909 the graffito *Domus Petri,* the house of Peter, was discovered there.

In the Middle Ages, as has been already remarked, the Catacomb of St. Sebastian was thought to be identical with the necropolis of St. Callixtus; we read of 174,000 martyrs, forty-six Popes, of St. Cecilia and other eminent saints who were said to be interred in its sepulchral chambers. These assertions are owing to confusion of ideas and misapprehensions and no weight must be attached to them. The passages and galleries of the crypt of St. Sebastian have fallen in to a great extent, and are choked with earth, but two chambers or crypts deserve notice.

*7. The Cemetery of St. Balbina.*—No historical account of this saint is extant. The Catacomb named after her and her burial-place is situated close to the city wall. The passages and galleries of it are as yet but little known. From old records we learn that it contains amongst other tombs those of St. Damasus, the Pope of the Catacombs, and of his mother and of his sister, besides the sepulchral chapels of SS. Marcus and Marcellianus. Professor Wilpert, who of late years has instituted researches in this cemetery, believes that he has found the tombs above mentioned; but the proofs of this are considered by others as insufficient.

## 5. THE CATACOMBS ON THE VIA ARDEATINA

THE most celebrated Catacomb on the ancient highroad to Ardea is the one called after St. Domitilla. The whole subterranean necropolis, the most extensive of Rome, originally consisted of different cemeteries that were at a later period connected with one another; the most noteworthy portion is the family vault of the Flavians. As the name indicates and the inscriptions found in it more definitely testify, the Catacomb was constructed on a plot of ground the property of the holy virgin Domitilla. She was a scion of the noble house of the Flavii, many members of which, both men and women, became famous in the annals of their country and of Christianity. Three emperors, Vespasian (69–79), Titus (79–81), and Domitian (81–96), belonged to this distinguished family. Flavius Salvinus, brother to the Emperor Vespasian, was Prefect of Rome at the time of St. Peter's martyrdom; the Pagans first praised his virtues and afterwards blamed his moderation. Judging by the early praise and subsequent censure it has been supposed, and not without reason, that he embraced Christianity. His son was the holy martyr, Flavius Clemens, the husband of Domitilla; her nearest blood relation, the Emperor Domitian, caused her to be tortured. The holy virgin Domitilla, who gave her name to the Catacomb, was a niece of the martyr and granddaughter to the Flavian emperors, so tradition tells. She was baptized by St. Peter, together with her mother, Plautilla, and her two chamberlains, SS. Nereus and Achilles. Domitilla consecrated her virginity to God, and received the veil from Pope Clement, to whom she was related. On account of this act her betrothed, Aurelianus, denounced her to Emperor Domitian, who banished her and her two chamberlains to the island of Pontia. St. Jerome states that in his day many devout pilgrims visited the island, in order to pray on the spot where Domitilla endured a life-long martyrdom. Her remains were interred on Terracina, whereas her chamberlains, who were beheaded, were deposited in the crypt which bears their mistress' name.

A simple but elegant and tasteful arched structure, built in the slope of a rising ground and close to the roadside, is the entrance to this cemetery; connected with

it are external chambers and splendid flights of stairs. The remains of this building were re-discovered in 1861. The impressions stamped on the tiles point back to the years 123 and 136, and some portions of the sepulcher are undoubtedly older.

Fig. 312. Decorated Ceiling, Tomb of St. Domitilla

The decorative paintings in the sepulchral chambers of St. Domitilla's cemetery date from the first century of the Christian era. The greater number of the motives, festoons, leaves and flowers, and graceful arabesques are in the style of the best classic period of Pagan art. Christian pictorial representations of a small size, such as the Good Shepherd, Daniel in the lions' den, Noe, would not attract the attention of the heathens and

Decorated Ceiling in the Catacomb of Domitilla.

uninitiated; they were amongst the most favorite genre paintings.

Nereus and Achilles, whom we have already mentioned, were among the most

Rossi believes that he has discovered the chamber where their remains are deposited, but in regard to this opinion much doubt has been raised. Another cele-

FIGS. 313, 314. LAZARUS, DAVID, MOSES, AND ANIMALS. CEILING IN THE CATACOMB OF ST. DOMITILLA (RESTORED BY ORPHEUS AFTER AN EARLIER DRAWING).

renowned personages who were interred in this Catacomb. Their long course of suffering began in 96, not thirty years after the martyrdom of St. Peter. De

brated tomb contained the mortal remains of the holy virgin Petronilla, who was likewise consecrated by St. Peter to Christ, the heavenly bridegroom. She was not

FIGS. 315, 316. BURIAL PLACE OF THE FOSSOR DIOGENES. CATACOMB OF ST. DOMITILLA

a martyr, but was greatly revered. Her name in full was Aurelia Petronilla; on her father's or mother's side she was related to the Flavii, and consequently was laid to rest beside the Flavian crypt. Tradition says that in later times, when the Church enjoyed peace, a church was built over the grave of the saint; the remains of the edifice were in fact discovered and laid bare in 1874. The building was begun in the second story of the Catacomb, where the tomb was situated; the walls and roof probably rose to a considerable height above the surface of the ground. The church was square in shape, traversed by two rows of pillars and ending in an apse. The foundation-stones whereon the pillars rested are still to be seen; fragments of marble lie scattered about them. An inscription records that the church was finished in the year 395. SS. Nereus and Achilles were also interred in the basilica.

Within the precincts of the Flavian vault is a chamber containing the grave and a representation of the fossor Diogenes, dating from about the year 384; in his left hand he holds a lamp, on his right shoulder is the mattock wherewith he dug the friable tufa; other implements of his work are at his feet. Near to this a valuable bronze medal was found of second century work, with the earliest portraits of SS. Peter and Paul; of this more hereafter.

Another very noteworthy part of the Catacomb of Domitilla is the region of Ampliatus, of whom St. Paul in his epistle to the Romans makes special mention: "Salute Ampliatus, most beloved to me in the Lord" (*Rom.* xvi. 8). In 1880 De Rossi had the good fortune to decipher the name of this disciple of the Apostle inscribed in large characters on a tombstone. As he had no second or surname, he must have been of a low class, yet he was highly esteemed by the Apostle of the nations and by the Christian community in Rome. His grandson, who erected the memorial tablet to his "incomparable" wife, was named Aurelius Ampliatus, because he had become connected with the noble family of the Aurelii. An epitaph near by is to the same effect; one Onesiphoros inscribes on a tombstone: "To my most saintly and incomparable wife, Flavia Speranda." The deceased, formerly related to the imperial race of the Flavii, appears to have espoused a slave for the sake of being united to a Christian husband. The children born of such unequal marriages inherited the senatorial rank of either their father or their mother.

The region of Ampliatus is rich in remarkable frescoes. The circular vaulted ceiling of a chapel is divided into an octagonal middle space with eight four-cornered compartments round it. In the center Christ is represented as the fabled Orpheus, taming and quieting wild beasts with his lyre. The eight lesser pictures represent Daniel between two lions, the raising of Lazarus, the youthful David with his sling, Moses striking the rock,

and four landscape scenes. Elsewhere we see Elias about to go up to heaven in a chariot with four horses, in the act of leaving his mantle to Eliseus, the prophet; a symbol of our redemption through Christ, who has ascended to His Father, but has bequeathed to us the infinite merits of His life on earth. Unhappily the pious but indiscreet zeal of some Christian has cut through the beautiful picture in his desire to open a grave for his child near the hallowed dust of a martyr.

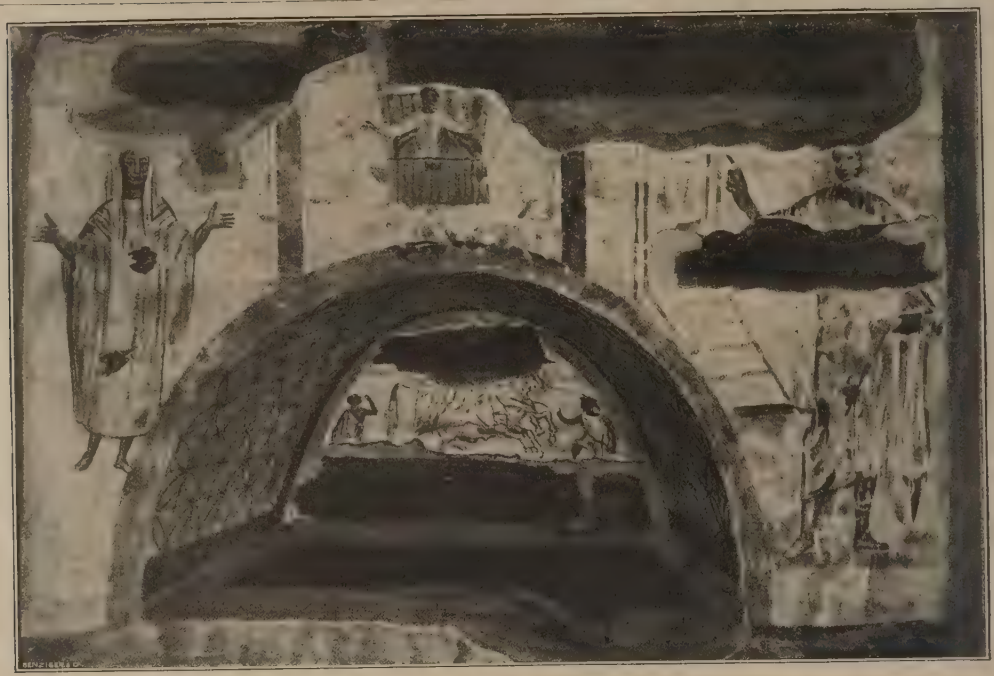
Samaritan woman at the well of Sichar; the healing of the paralytic; the annunciation; the adoration of the three kings; the miraculous multiplication of bread; Christ carrying the consecrated loaves in a fold of His garment; Christ healing the man blind from his birth; Christ surrounded by His apostles; Christ seated and teaching with the scrolls of the Law and Sacred Scriptures before Him; bust of Christ as medallion, etc. In one chapel Christ appears between three male and

Fig. 317. Lazarus, Adoration of the Magi, Man Sick with the Palsy, and Miracle at the Pool. Catacomb of St. Domitilla

Job, the man at one time so richly blessed by God and subsequently so severely tried, was frequently portrayed for the consolation of the disciples of Christ in the troublous times of persecution. The mysterious dealings of Providence could not be more graphically depicted than by the figure of Job, sitting solitary and forsaken upon the dunghill, as Holy Scripture describes him.

Other paintings affording consolation and encouragement are present: Tobias delivered from the monstrous fish that threatened him; the three Hebrew children unhurt in the fiery furnace; Moses, the leader of God's chosen people, putting off the shoes from his feet before speaking with God in the bush that was on fire. No less numerous are the pictorial representations of New Testament scenes: the

three female saints: amongst these a veiled female figure is seated, perhaps the individual who caused the picture to be painted. In another sepulchral chamber realistic scenes from daily life are depicted: men heavily laden with sacks are going up and down flights of steps, two men on horseback and a man splendidly dressed appear to have the superintendence over them. In contradiction of the far-fetched meaning attached to these paintings, Wilpert explains them as representing the unloading of corn and the conveyance of it to the granaries on the Aventine, the chapel having probably belonged to a Christian corporation of bakers. The correctness of this interpretation is confirmed by other scenes, now almost obliterated, which represent the performance of work that forms an



FIGS. 318, 319. ORANT, NOE, ELIAS, AND THE RESURRECTION OF LAZARUS, CHRIST WITH THE APOSTLES. CATACOMB OF ST. DOMITILLA

Fig. 320. Burial of St. Laurence. Painting by F. Grandi, in the Church of St. Laurence. Rome

important part of the baker's calling.

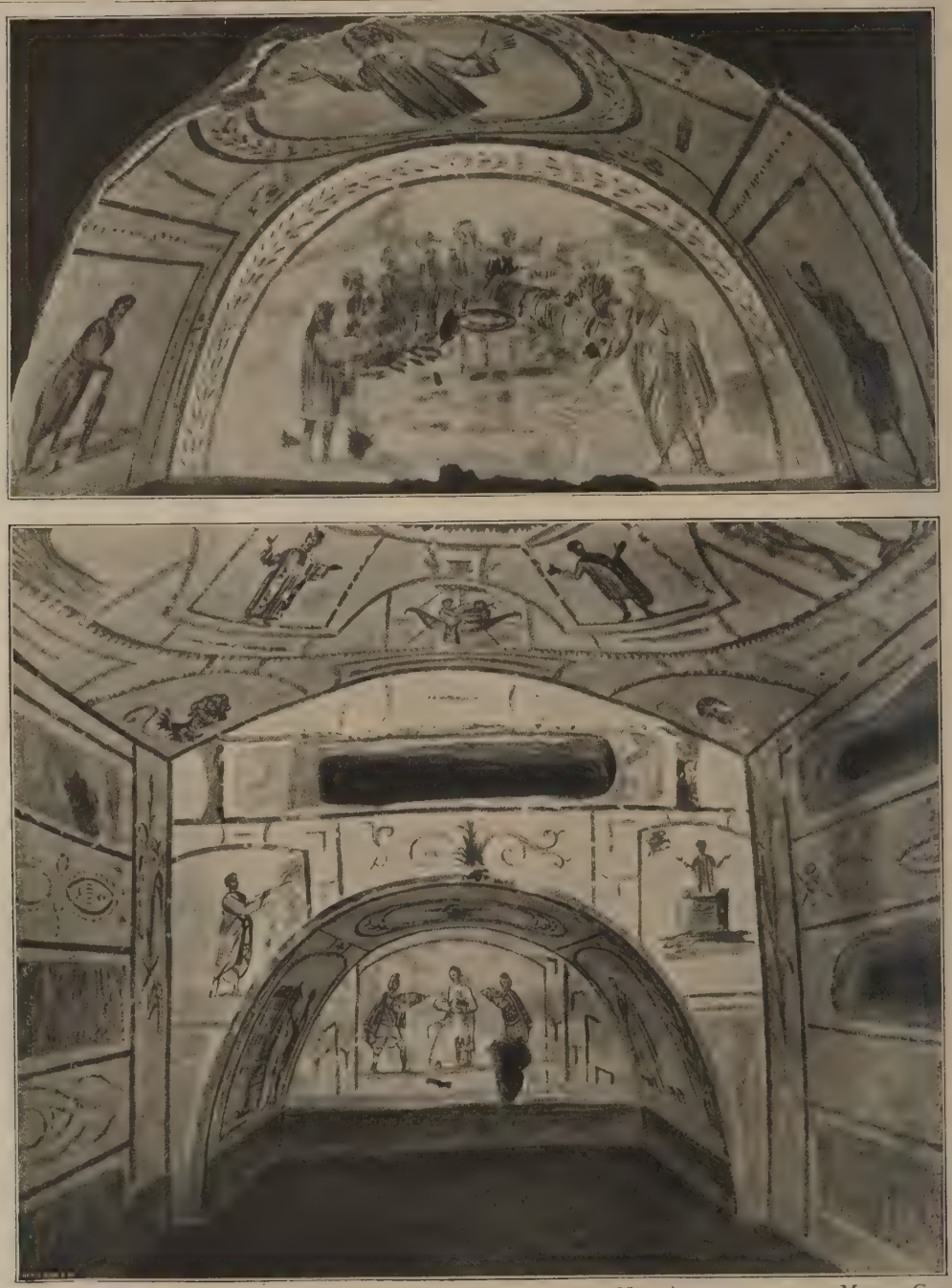
The second Catacomb on the Via Ardeatina is the cemetery of the Annunziatella. It contains some interesting paintings, for instance, a badly damaged fresco of the third century; in the center Christ appears as Judge, in the eight surrounding compartments are four saints and four orants alternately between two sheep.

## 6. A BRIEF SURVEY OF THE OTHER CEMETERIES

a. The two cemeteries on the Via Tiburtina.—To the right of the Tiburtine highroad is the Catacomb of St. Cyriaca, on the *Ager Veranus,* the estate of the Veranii, where since recent times the principal cemetery of Rome has been situated. A portion of the Catacomb was destroyed when this necropolis, which is open to all creeds, was laid out.

St. Cyriaca, who gave her name to this Catacomb, was one of those noble Roman matrons who placed their property at the disposal of the ecclesiastical authorities when the Church was in her infancy, in order that burial-places might be constructed there. As her reward she had the honor of having one of the most illustrious and glorious martyrs interred in the newly-made necropolis, St. Laurence, the loving and beloved deacon of Pope Sixtus II. Cyriaca was herself laid to rest in the immediate vicinity of the youthful martyr. The most deserving of mention among the frescoes in this cemetery are: Christ between the wise and the foolish virgins, the denial of Peter, the

Fig. 321. Mosaic Portrait of a Christian Woman. Cemetery of Cyriaca. Chigi Palace. Rome



FIGS. 322, 323. WEDDING FEAST OF CANA, MIRACLE OF THE POOL, NOE, ADORATION OF THE MAGI. CATACOMB OF SS. PETER AND MARCELLINUS

descent of the manna, Jonas reposing in the shadow of the ivy, Moses taking off his shoes, Moses striking the rock, etc.

To the left of the Tiburtine road is the crypt of St. Hippolytus, a personage respecting whom there has been much contention. In Church history he figures first as an opponent of Pope Callixtus and his followers and as one entangled in the snares of heresy, afterwards as a noble confessor of the true faith. He was a priest of the Roman Church and renowned as a writer. Later on, when exiled, he repented of his errors and ate the bread of affliction in consequence of his adherence to the true faith. His tomb was one of the most celebrated of the sepulchers of Confessors of the Faith, and much frequented by pilgrims. Prudentius, the Christian poet, writing of his wanderings in the Catacombs, says:

"Whilst all around me I gaze and the monuments view in succession,
Seeking traces of things that are hidden, of times that are past,
I find Hippolytus' tomb, he who once with Novatus,[1] the priest
Into grave error fell, and forsook the sure way of the Faith,
How he bears a bright palm, I now see, the martyr's victorious sign,
The glorious guerdon of blood which he shed for the Faith.
Deep in the heart of the rock the remains of Hippolytus lie,
Over him stands the altar of God, of God the Almighty;
Thus the selfsame table from which the heavenly bread is dispensed,
Faithfully guards the martyr's body reposing below.
The same marble slab preserves his corpse in hope of the judgment to come
And feeds the faithful of Rome with the sacred food of the soul.
With marvelous devotion those are inflamed who in confidence pray there,
Peace, assistance, and cure at the foot of the altar they find.
Myself too, if sick in body or mind, or with sorrow oppressed,
Never failed relief to obtain, when here imploring I knelt.
Joyfully, then, I returned, thee to tell how I sought and had found,
And gratefully, holy Priest, thy sacred tomb I embraced.
To Hippolytus deeply indebted am I, for Christ gives him might,
Power, and right to grant whatso'er he suppliant asks.
The chapel his body contains, gleaming brilliant in silver-decked shrine,
A trophy of victory, the triumph his noble soul won.
Slabs of stone smooth and polished, and as bright as the face of a mirror,

[1] During the persecution under Emperor Decius many tepid Christians sacrificed to the gods; but no sooner was the persecution at an end than they demanded readmission to the Church. In Africa Bishop Cyprian, dreading to open the floodgates of laxity, required public penance on the part of the apostates. A certain faction, at whose head was Novatus, the priest, rebelled against what they deemed undue and exaggerated severity. In Rome the reverse was the case. The advocates of vigor, led by the priest Novatian, rose up against Pope Cornelius, thinking he treated the lapsed too leniently. Pride and insubordination united the rebels, diametrically opposed as were their opinions; Novatus and Novatian joined hands, and a deplorable schism was the result.

FIG. 324. MORTUARY CHAPEL OF ST. HERMES

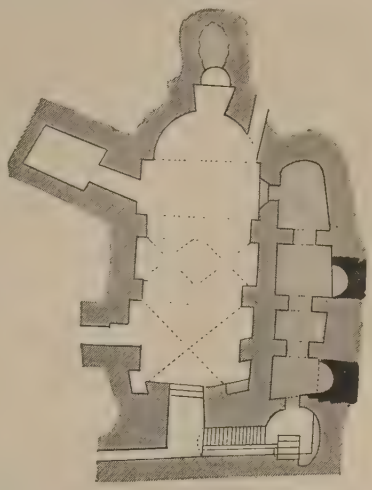


FIG. 325. PLAN OF THE BASILICA IN THE CEMETERY OF ST. HERMES

Line the several walls, the gift of a generous donor.
Columns of pure white marble, first brought from Parian quarries,
Ornamented with silver, into the interior lead.
From dawn of day until nightfall hither pious suppliants flock
To honor the glorious saint and his tomb, their homage to pay,
The people of Latium press to the spot, with others from near and afar,
All tribes are as one in the bonds of faith and of love.
Their devotion ardently glows, on the sepulcher kisses are pressed,
Balsam they pour on the stone, bedewing it too with their tears."

In the year 1851 the beautiful statue of Hippolytus, now in the Lateran Museum, was discovered near his Catacomb; it was considerably mutilated, but head, chest, back, and hands have been skilfully restored. It is a fine specimen of Christian art of the third century. On the base of the chair a list of the writings of Hippolytus is engraved.

b. On the Via Labicana, about half a mile from the Porta Maggiore, is the cemetery of St. Castulus; it is in a great measure despoiled and destroyed. About a mile and a half further on the Campagna is the Catacomb of SS. Peter and Marcellinus, a necropolis of wide extent. By the roadside stands the *Torre della Pignattara,* the so-called Potters' Tower; it is built in the ruins of the mausoleum of

Fig. 326. Entrance into the Crypt of Orpheus, Catacomb of SS. Peter and Marcellinus

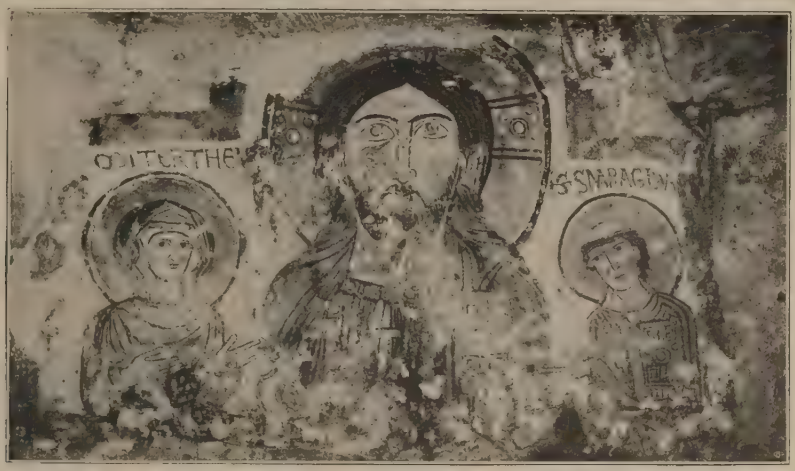


Fig. 327. Christ with the Divine Mother and St. Smaragdus. Catacomb of Albano

St. Helena, the mother of the Emperor Constantine; the Catacomb is therefore called by her name. It is also known as the Catacomb of the two laurels. The Christian matron Lucina is said to have interred SS. Peter and Marcellinus beside the two laurels; the first named was an exorcist; the latter a priest; both were martyred under Diocletian. Other martyrs who suffered during the same period of persecution were laid to rest in this cemetery; amongst others Tiburtius, the son of Chromatius, the prefect of the city; Gorgonius, an imperial chamberlain, and the "Four Crowned Ones," so called because crowns set with spikes were forced on their heads. Yet the sepulchral chamber most frequently visited was that of SS. Peter and Marcellinus. The frescoes on the walls and ceiling of some of these chambers are of great beauty and importance; this Catacomb ranks with the Catacombs of Priscilla, Callixtus, and Domitilla as possessing the most numerous and noteworthy specimens of early pictorial art. In one chamber Wilpert discovered, and afterwards deciphered and explained, a series of pictorial representations dating from the middle to the third century; although almost obliterated, it could be seen that they were originally excellently designed. The four smaller pictures above the middle of the vaulted roof depict the Annunciation, the Magi on their journey from the East, the Magi in Bethlehem offering their gifts, and the baptism of Christ. The central fresco at the top of the vault portrays Christ as a Judge with eight saints interceding with Him; the smaller pieces in the corners represent the Good Shepherd twice, and twice the individual interred in the sepulcher below, under the figure of a glorified orant. In addition to these, the following scenes are presented on the wall in which is the entrance: the healing of the woman with an issue of blood, of the paralytic, of the blind man, and finally the woman of Samaria. Throughout all these pictorial representations one and the same idea may be traced, that Christ, born of the Virgin Mary, showed Himself during His mortal life by His miracles to be the Son of God, and that consequently He is our one only Redeemer and our hope in life and in death.[1]

c. The most interesting cemetery on the Old Salarian Way is that of St. Hermes. Nothing is known concerning the life and circumstances of this martyr, except that he was put to death about the year 132, in the reign of the Emperor Marcus Aurelius, and that he bore a noble name.

[1] Vide J. Wilpert, *Ein Zyklus christologischer Gemälde aus der Katakombe der Heiligen Petrus und Marcellinus.*

The Catacomb is not a large one, but the subterranean basilica which was excavated above his tomb in the time of peace is the largest and most beautiful of those yet found. The floor and the side walls are full of recesses for the reception of sarcophagi. In the same cemetery the remains of St. Basilla and of SS. Protus and Hyacinth are interred.

d. On the New Salarian Way the Catacombs of St. Maximus and St. Felicitas are situated.

The reader has by no means been conducted through all the Catacombs in the environs of Rome, for scarcely a dozen have been described at all in detail, and yet no less than seventy of these subterranean cemeteries are to be counted round about and in more or less immediate proximity to the Eternal City. Those of which mention has been made are at any rate the most ancient, the most remarkable, the largest, and the best known; we shall speak of others in the course of this work, when we call attention to their pictorial decoration.

At a somewhat greater distance from Rome, in the towns and villages of ancient Latium, some twenty other Catacombs were excavated: in Monte Rotondo, Monte Libretti, Ostia, Porto, Castel Gandolfo, Ancio, Morlupo, and, the most important of all, in Albano. Various communities and heretical sects also had their underground places of sepulture, especially the Gnostics, who, puffed up with false knowledge, invented a creed which was to combine the essentials of Christianity, Judaism, and Paganism. Jewish Catacombs are also known to exist in the neighborhood of Rome; this is nothing wonderful, as the Jews held the living faith in a future resurrection; every one, too, is aware that it is recorded of several of the patriarchs that they were buried in sepulchers hewn out of the rock. The Jewish Catacombs are more irregular in their structure, more gloomy than the Christian; they can not be said to contain either sepulchral chambers, properly so-called, or chapels, since these were not needed for divine worship, nor did lack of space or fear of persecution render necessary the construction of such chambers. The Jewish cemeteries may generally be known by the oft-recurring symbol of the seven-branched candelabra.

Fig. 328. The Good Shepherd. Mosaic from Ostia. Lateran Museum

Fig. 329. Christian Sarcophagus in the Lateran Museum

# III. Art in the Catacombs

## 1. INTRODUCTION

THE doctrine and grace of Our Lord Jesus Christ, and consequently the teaching and grace of the Catholic Church, comprise the whole being of man, the powers of his soul, the faculties of his body, his affections, his understanding, his will. Nor is that all. The graces of which the Catholic Church is the channel embrace the whole universe, this world and the world to come, time and eternity. As when sin first came into the world through the prevarication of our first parents all creation fell with them, and incurred with them the bitter consequences of sin, so the Church is the medium whereby the whole world and all creation may participate in the redemption that is of Jesus Christ. Therefore all and everything ought to be subservient to man's chief aim and final end, to bring him back to God and to unite him to God in the bonds of faith and love. Animated by this spirit and actuated by this desire the Church, from the very outset, took Art, the handmaid of religion, into her service in the Catacombs, more particularly the art of the limner and the sculptor, since owing to circumstances there was at first little scope for the skill of the architect, whereas the dexterity of the artificer was in demand for producing lesser works of art, in bronze, glass, stone, clay, etc.

What, it may be asked, is the character of art in the Catacombs? The master who but yesterday employed pencil or chisel as a Pagan artist, today, since his admission into the Church by Baptism, labors in the service of the faith of Christ. It is easy to understand, however, that although the waters of regeneration have wrought a profound and radical change in his soul, one which must influence his subsequent career, yet his talent, his artistic taste and capabilities have not undergone a similar transformation; he who yesterday carved images of the gods in marble for the temples of Rome, who in painting or statuary glorified the cultus of lust, pandered to the passions; he who but yesterday in the palace of the Cæsars or in the mansions of the great, on gilded panels inlaid with ivory, lent the charm and attraction of color to the voluptuous scenes of heathen life, will to-day, when he descends into the dark passages of the Catacombs, surely not delineate on the rough cement the same scenes, for they are at variance with the principles of the faith he has newly professed, especially in times of conflict. Yet there is no reason why he should not employ the same festoons and garlands

with birds and winged genii flitting among branches and vine leaves, the scenes of pastoral and rural life, the elegant fantastic arabesques, and a thousand other designs wherewith he covered the lofty walls of the Emperor Titus' baths, to frame sacred pictures and decorate the tombs of martyrs. Such pictorial representations are in themselves neither Pagan nor Christian, and the artist, even the most orthodox Christian, can and will make use of them. The art of the early Christians was therefore in its fundamental features and rules, in its technique and neutral motives, identical with the art of their Pagan fellow-countrymen,[1] but, in the case of the artist who became a Christian, his art was also baptized, as De Rossi felicitously remarked. Formerly sensual, seductive, essentially Pagan in all figurative representations, now ennobled, chastened, pure, she divests herself of all that was Pagan,[2] only retaining what could further and make for religious, Christian ideas.

Yet if the newly converted artist no longer depicts figures and scenes of heathen mythology, if after his admission into the Church he banishes them not only from his heart and mind, but also from his work, other forms, other designs, take their place. To his mental vision pictures are present of which Christ, his Saviour, is the central figure, Christ in the types and prophecies of the Old Testament, the life and earthly career of Christ, His miracles and the marvels of His grace. In imagination he beholds Mary, she who is full of grace, who gave birth to the Redeemer and carried Him in her arms, of whom the prophets spoke of old, and before whom the Wise Men of the East reverently knelt; he sees in spirit the apostles, the pillars and supporters of the early Church, especially the founder and head of the Church of Rome, and him, too, whose word went forth into all the world, and who, with Peter, shed his blood in testimony to the truth; finally his fancy depicts the glorious martyrs and saints of the community in Rome, by whose graves he passes so often. What would be more natural than that the artist who has become a Christian should desire to represent these scenes, these figures, in color or in stone? Hence his work assumes a truly Christian character, since he chooses entirely new motives for his pictures. He must find fresh studies, fresh conceptions for Jesus and Mary, for the apostles and saints, for the prophets and seers of yore, and seek to impart to their features a purer, more heavenly expression, if he would accomplish his task in a satisfactory manner. Thus in the use of the brush or the chisel the Christian artist is guided by the same rules, the same technique of art as those followed by the heathen limner and sculptor; that which is merely an ornamental accessory is the same with one as with the other; but the painter of the Catacombs delineates Christian scenes and figures, and when he depicts a Sebastian or an Agnes it is of a very different type from the lovely and charming forms, the youths and maidens of the heathen painter.

Thus the work of the Christian artist is radically differentiated from that of the Pagan; yet on the other hand the similarity in technique, in the mechanical work and design, is so great, that to no slight extent the development and decline of both went hand in hand. Both had the same vicissitudes, in a flourishing or languishing condition they were inseparable. As heathen art had already passed the time of its greatest perfection and was rapidly degenerating, so the Christian artist could not arrest or check decadence in his sphere; the productions in the sec-

[1] The golden age of art in Rome was on the decline when Christianity took it into her service. It flourished again to a certain extent until the time of Emperor Hadrian (117-138); after that the decay of artistic taste and skill became more and more rapid.

[2] Some sarcophagi were discovered in the Catacombs, the carvings on which represented Pagan ideas, or even scenes from mythology and the exploits of fabled heroes of antiquity. These sarcophagi were for sale ready-made in the sculptors' workshops; it has been observed that when they were purchased and made use of by Christians, the carved side was generally turned to the wall, covered with plaster, or in some way concealed from sight. Much the same course was pursued with the slabs of stone or marble employed to close the recesses wherein the dead were laid, and on which were Pagan epitaphs or carvings; the Christians turned that side downward.

ond century of the Christian era are inferior to those of the first, and the third century displays yet more poverty of conception, less originality of design and less skill in execution than the foregoing ones. This decline continued until Christian art received a new development, a fresh vitality, at an epoch when the Catacombs were already beginning to be forgotten.

It has been said that the Church early took art into her service. The Christian artist did not devote himself to art for its own sake; when handling the brush or the chisel he was not animated and stimulated only by love for his calling; he was inspired and guided above all by the impulse of faith, and in his work he appealed principally to the understanding of the spectator; he expressed his own belief in pictures, allegorical designs, and symbols. Artistic finish and perfection of detail were for him matters of minor importance, it was enough for him if those who saw his pictures or carvings apprehended the meaning he intended to convey, if their faith was thereby awakened, enlightened, vivified. From the use of certain emblems which constantly recur, and from the manner in which the subjects are handled, one can not do otherwise than conclude that the Christian painter worked under direction and guidance, and this could have been given him only by the priests, the teachers of God's people. Paintings are an excellent means of instruction for the unlearned amongst the faithful; they are a kind of hieroglyphics, which old and young can decipher and understand, an impressive sermon whereby the Christian mysteries are elucidated, the eternal truths proclaimed, the divine mercies magnified, and above all, hope animated and invigorated. It is noteworthy that the chapels in St. Agnes' Catacomb wherein the faithful assembled for divine worship are completely covered with pictorial decoration, whereas the choir where the bishops and clergy celebrated the holy mysteries is entirely devoid of mural paintings, because that mode of instruction was not needed by them.

The most striking peculiarity of the earliest Christian art is its allegorical character. The necessity for the use of symbolism in many instances needs no explanation; if an abstract idea has to be expressed, for instance if the painter is desirous of representing some Christian virtue, humility, purity, vigilance, or perhaps a heathen vice—things unseen and immaterial—he naturally resorts to the expedient of employing a symbol intelligible to all: for hope an anchor, for purity a lily, for vigilance a cock, for sin the serpent. But what should prevent the Christian artist from portraying Christ crucified for our salvation, Christ giving Himself to His disciples at the Last Supper under the species of bread and wine, or similar subjects? Yet in primitive times he avoided doing this, and instead of painting the incidents themselves on the walls of sepulchral chambers he expressed the truths they contain under signs and symbols and allegories. Yet it can not be said that no persons or events of Biblical history from the Old or New Testament are depicted in the Catacombs, for we have already mentioned the existence of many such delineations among the paintings in the Catacombs, such as Noe in the ark, Jonas, Job, Daniel, the raising of Lazarus, the adoration of the Magi, etc. But what is so remarkable in this is that the aim of the painter was not to represent the historical event or fact for its own sake, but for the sake of the ethical meaning contained in it. Thus these pictures from Biblical history became signs and symbols of the truths and teaching of Christianity.

This conspicuous feature of early Christian art existed until the middle of the third century; from that time it became less and less prominent, and the artist painted sacred and historical scenes and personages for their own sakes. When, after Constantine's conversion, the Church emerged from the darkness of the Catacombs into the light of day, another period of Christian art commenced, but this lies beyond the scope of our present subject.

One oft-observed rule of symbolical art

was the placing of Biblical and Gospel subjects in juxtaposition. Thus there is a correspondence between the pictorial representation of the Wise Men from the East and the three children in the Babylonian furnace, because they both point to the future downfall of Paganism and the conversion of the world to Christianity: again, Moses striking the rock and Christ raising Lazarus from the dead have this in common, that in both the divine omnipotence is wondrously displayed. We are from our youth up so accustomed to pictorial representations and emblems that this mode of teaching by allegorical pictures would not strike us so forcibly, were it not employed so frequently and in a similar manner, and were not the representation of certain facts and doctrines so scrupulously avoided. This needs some explanation. It is sometimes said that the Christians had a certain dread of pictorial representations, but this dread had no real existence. Again, it has been alleged that images of the Blessed Virgin and of the saints might prove dangerous to the newly converted, as being apt to lead them to relapse into the worship of graven images. But as a matter of fact there was far less danger of relapse into idolatry on the part of neophytes than on that of older believers who had lost their early fervor. How little inclination the newly converted had to worship idols, and how slight was the fear of their backsliding is manifest in every page of the early annals of martyrology.

The most natural and obvious explanation is, however, to be found in the so-called *disciplina arcani,* the secret teaching of the Church. On account of the apprehension felt lest the most sacred mysteries and doctrines of the Church, particularly the doctrine of the adorable Sacrament of the altar and the other holy sacraments, should be misapprehended and profaned by the heathen, they were only preached openly and fully to the faithful. Even the catechumens who aspired to be received into the Church were only partially instructed in them; and only after Baptism were they fully initiated into the meaning and efficacy of the sacraments. This precaution was enforced, as a rule, in the early ages of Christianity, yet it was not always possible to guard against the coarsest misrepresentation and mockery of holy things on the part of unbelievers. Therefore what the preacher and teacher was not permitted to disclose to a mixed multi-

Fig. 330. Christ with the Scrolls of the Law, Dolphins, Gazelles, and Doves. Catacomb of Praetextatus

Fig. 331. Christ as Orpheus. Catacomb of St. Callixtus

tude, the painter must not depict before the eyes of all in the Catacombs, where the catechumens went to receive instruction, and whither the enemies of the Faith often contrived to penetrate for the purpose of spying upon those present in the places of assembly and the sepulchral chambers, and subsequently denouncing them to the judges.

The reason why even the best paintings of Christian artists in the Catacombs are inferior in artistic finish and elaboration of detail to the work of their heathen contemporaries still to be seen in the baths of the emperors or the ruins of the imperial palaces is not far to seek, when we consider that in decorating the Catacombs the painter worked by lamp or torchlight, and very often on the rough surface of the cement.

A great part, not to say the greater part, of the frescoes on walls and ceiling are hasty and superficial in execution; very many, also, are the work of an untrained, unpractised, unskilful hand. The compartments of the square ceilings or groined vaults are among the best and cleverest productions. It is really astonishing to see how many, how beautiful, how felicitous are the variations and combinations that the artist has at his command, yet the linear design is hastily thrown in, seldom is one met with that is correctly and accurately drawn. The cross is generally the principal figure, often two or three crosses intersect one another, leaving in the divisions between them space for medallions of every conceivable shape. Among the motives of the decorations in the Catacombs of Priscilla, Domitilla, and Praetextatus are single animals such as stags, lions, but particularly and above all birds, doves, parrots, peacocks, their plumage painted in bright and varied colors like a bouquet of flowers—these are by far the best productions.

The art of the Catacombs is to a great extent a condensed or abridged presentation of Biblical subjects, one might almost say an artistic form of stenography. In order to present Noe in the ark the painter depicts a man in a chest or box-like enclosure half as high as the figure itself. In the raising of Lazarus Christ stands before a small *aedicula* or temple-like tomb, in which the dead man appears fixed upright like a doll. Daniel in the lions' den is a naked youth standing with arms extended between two lions. A nude figure stretched comfortably on the

Fig. 332. Christ and the Samaritan Woman. Catacomb of St. Callixtus

Fig. 333. The Three Youths in the Fiery Furnace

ground in the shade of an arbor is Jonas, who having preached penance in Ninive now awaits the destruction of the city. This is, therefore, an abridged treatment of the most meager kind, since the limner only depicts what is absolutely necessary, and that not so much for the sake of illustrating the incident or event itself as in order to recall it to remembrance. The pictorial treatment is at the same time typical, inasmuch as in the above mentioned and other similar subjects selected for presentation we find constant and unvaried reiteration of the same primitive form. The artistic invention displayed is extremely limited.

Quite apart from what they are as artistic works, the value of the paintings in the Catacombs in regard to the history of the Church, the faith and hope, the ideas and customs of the early Christians varies according to the time in which the several pictures were produced. Attention has already been directed in the foregoing pages to many of those known to be the most ancient, and others will be noticed presently. For the rest the reader must not forget that all the pictures, unless the contrary is expressly stated, belong to the primitive ages of Christianity, to the Church of the Catacombs, to the times of persecution, to the first springtime of the Church. For did not the oppressed condition of the Church cause her faithful children to cling the more firmly to the anchor of Christian hope, to cherish the Faith more fondly, live according to its precepts and watch over its purity more zealously? At no other period did what was unsound, erroneous, unecclesiastical, un-Christian find such difficulty in infecting faith and doctrine, consequently all the paintings of the Catacombs are of the greatest importance as expressing the faith and teaching of the early Church.

The views taken of the meaning of the paintings of the Catacombs, the interpretation of their religious significance, have greatly differed. First impressions and preconceived ideas have led learned men to form diametrically opposite conclusions. There were some who aimed at diminishing the dogmatic meaning as far as possible, at steering clear of everything from which inferences could be drawn as to the beliefs of the early Christians. For such persons the only object of these frescoes was that of decoration, and to support their opinion an arbitrary misconstruction was put on the Biblical representations. Others, who did not question the dogmatic meaning, could discern little else in the Biblical scenes than a portrayal of Christ's miraculous power. Others again in direct contradiction seemed bent on discovering everywhere the expression, the pictorial presentment of the teaching of faith; according to them the iconographs of the Catacombs were the catechism in pictorial form. Many, moreover, only saw in them the representation of various historical incidents often taken from a far-off past.

Mgr. Wilpert, and other like-minded students of the Catacombs, brought the question on to their own domain by saying: "The iconographs of the Catacombs are sepulchral paintings; they must consequently stand in close and immediate connection with and relation to the dead, beside whose tombs they are found. The interpretation of these pictures must therefore necessarily be easy of comprehension and within reach of all. The explanations and opinions of the earlier ecclesiastical writers on this subject are most valuable, yet not decisive, since, according to circumstances, they attach a

The Investiture of a Virgin Consecrated to God. In the Catacomb of Priscilla.

different meaning to one and the same representation. It is more important that individual pictures should be explained by their connection with and correspondence to, or by comparison with, others of the same cycle or series. The most trustworthy elucidation is, moreover, derived from epitaphs, from the *commendatio animæ*, the commendation of the dying to God, finally the ancient customary formulas of prayer and the liturgy for the dead, the prayers of the Church in use at interments."

A large proportion of the earliest frescoes in the Catacombs are purely decorative. The motives are, as has already been said, borrowed from contemporary Pagan art: ornamental heads, masks, fabulous animals, landscapes, floral decorations, vases, candelabra, arabesques, ornamental linear designs.

In the second century of the Christian

Fig. 334. Moses Putting the Shoes off His Feet, Moses Striking the Rock. Catacomb of St. Callixtus

era figures gradually gained the ascendency over purely decorative motives in graphic art. In the third and fourth centuries a wider range of subjects was taken. Up to the present only three paintings are known to have been executed in the first Christian century: the one in the hypogeum of the Flavii, that in the oldest chamber of the Catacomb of Domitilla, and that in the hypogeum of the Acilii in St. Priscilla. The second century is represented by seventeen paintings; these are to be found in the crypt of Ampliatus in St. Domitilla, in the chapel of St. Januarius in the Catacomb of Praetextatus, in the chapel of the Sacraments in St. Callixtus, and in other places. Forty-seven productions belong to the third, and a hundred and fifty-two to the fourth century.

In respect to the import of the paintings of the Catacombs, the Christological (those that represent the person and work of the Redeemer) take the foremost rank: Christ together with Mary (the Annunciation, the crib, the adoration of the shepherds and of the Magi, Mary with the divine Child according to the prophecies of Isaias, Balaam, Micheas, etc.), Christ as a worker of miracles (the healing of the paralytic, of the blind man, the leper, the man possessed of a devil, the woman with the issue of blood, etc.), Christ and the woman of Samaria, Christ as pastor, teacher, and lawgiver (Christ under the figure of Orpheus), under the symbol of the Good Shepherd, carrying a lamb or with His flock, surrounded by the apostles and evangelists, delivering the scroll of the Gospel law to St. Peter.

The sacrament of Baptism is symbolically represented by the cure of the infirm man at the Probatica pool, by the stream that gushed forth when Moses struck the rock, by the fisherman in the Gospel, and yet more plainly and definitely by the baptism of Christ; besides this, the act of administering Bap-

tism is also depicted. The belief in the Sacrament of the Altar is expressed very often and in various ways: by the miracle of the change of water into wine at Cana, by the seven loaves and two flagons of wine, by the repast of which seven disciples are partaking, by the feeding of the multitude and the miraculous multiplication of bread, by two fishes together with the species of bread and wine, by Christ, on either side of whom are the symbols of the Eucharist, finally by the representation of the breaking of bread in the Holy Mass, or the *Fractio panis.* The frequent repetition of the raising of Lazarus, the raising of Jairus' daughter, the succession of the seasons, bears witness to the belief in a future resurrection.

The representations which are intended to voice the hope of the departed and the supplications of the survivors for the mercy of God on their behalf are especially numerous: Noe in the ark, Abraham's sacrifice, David with the sling, the oppression of Moses and Aaron by the Jews, the descent of the manna, Susanna, Jonas, Job, Daniel in the lions' den, the three children in the Babylonian furnace, Tobias with the fish, Elias taken up into heaven, Moses putting the shoes off his feet, the wise and the foolish virgins. In close connection with these are the paintings which depict the departed in the enjoyment of eternal bliss: the Good Shepherd carrying a lamb on His shoulders, the deceased in the company of saints, the celestial banquet, the orants or the presentment of the happy state of the departed, the ladder Jacob beheld, the entrance of the martyrs into Christ's presence, victors wearing a glorious crown, and so forth.

As on the sepulchral monuments of the Pagans scenes from the daily life and avocations of the deceased were frequently represented, so on funeral tablets or the frescoes of the Catacombs we find fossores, charioteers, warriors, bakers and corn measurers, dealers in vegetables, sailors, coopers, vinedressers, and others.

Mention must also be made of the pictures of funeral repasts which originally were held on the day of burial and on anniversaries, and at a later period on the festivals of some martyrs; this custom led to all manner of abuses and excesses and was consequently abolished by the Church.

The paintings of the Catacombs are frescoes, executed on wet cement; this method of painting alone could resist the influences of damp and mold. The earlier examples are in every respect superior to the later, both as to design and execution; the coating of plaster is more carefully prepared; the divisions on the space allotted to the painting are marked out with a line and scratched on the surface with a pointed iron instrument. As did contemporary Pagan art, so the art of the Catacombs rapidly declined. The painters were, on the whole, like their Pagan fellow artists, of low birth, slaves or freedmen.

## 2. SYMBOLICAL REPRESENTATIONS

THE employment of symbols and allegory is a characteristic feature that may be traced throughout the whole of early Christian art, the representation of objects not in their own and essential form, but by a sign or symbol, or under some kindred figure. This peculiarity had much to do with the spirit of the age, but also with the conditions under which the Christians lived in regard to their Pagan enemies and opponents. There was so much that was new, elevating, and sublime in the teaching of Christ that it might easily give rise to misapprehensions and erroneous conceptions in the mind of a Pagan and consequently lead to desecration. For this reason the Church had her *disciplina arcani,* her secret teaching, that is to say she jealously guarded many doc-

Figs. 335–338. Veiled Cross and Monograms of Christ in the Roman Catacombs

trines and dogmas of the Faith, *e.g.*, the doctrine of the adorable Sacrament of the Altar, of the Sacrifice of the Mass and holy communion, only revealing them to the fully initiated who had passed through the different stages of instruction and stood the test of probation, proving themselves loyal and trustworthy converts. Despite these precautions the vilest aspersions against the Christians were circulated amongst the Pagans; for instance, that in their assemblies they consumed the flesh of a child and drank his blood. In this there was evidently a malicious and distorted allusion to the sacramental reception of the sacred body and blood of Christ.

*a.* The three principal and most important symbols in use in the early Church were the cross, the monogram, and the fish.

In the year 1856 among the ruins of the imperial palace on the Palatine Hill—probably in what was the guardroom of the Imperial Guard—a rough but most singular sketch was discovered, known as the *graffito blasfemo,* a mock crucifix. The clothed figure of a man with the head of an ass is attached to a cross in the form of a T, his feet rest upon a cross-bar while the hands appear to be transfixed by nails. Before it stands another man with outstretched arms, looking up at the cross. The Greek inscription which, like the outlined figures, is scratched on the wall, runs thus: "Alexamenos worshipping his god." The supposition that it was drawn by one of the Pagan soldiers in derision at the belief of a Christian comrade is probably correct; at all events one can not fail to see in it a mockery of the crucified God of the Christians. This first supposition was confirmed in the year 1870 by another graffito discovered in an adjoining room: "*Alexamenos fidelis*"—"Alexamenos steadfast in faith."

This hideous caricature of the cross and the Crucified on the part of the Pagans serves to enlighten us as to why, for the first three centuries, the cross was very rarely presented to view in the Catacombs, and then only in a veiled manner, *e.g.*, as the *crux immissa* (+), as an equilateral, ordinary geometrical figure. The form of the Greek letter *T* (tau), the Latin T, the same as that in the above-mentioned caricature, was the only generally preferred symbol for the cross in earliest times. By the heathens in ancient times that letter was regarded as an emblem of life and of salvation; this fact enabled the Christians to employ it more readily in their enigmatical inscriptions, since tradition declared that to have been the form of Our Lord's cross. In the inscription on a marble tombstone of the third century, this symbolical letter is seen in the middle of the name of the deceased: Ire*T*ne. In Greek the letter *T* counts for the number 300; consequently this number was also employed in the earliest times as a symbol of the cross.

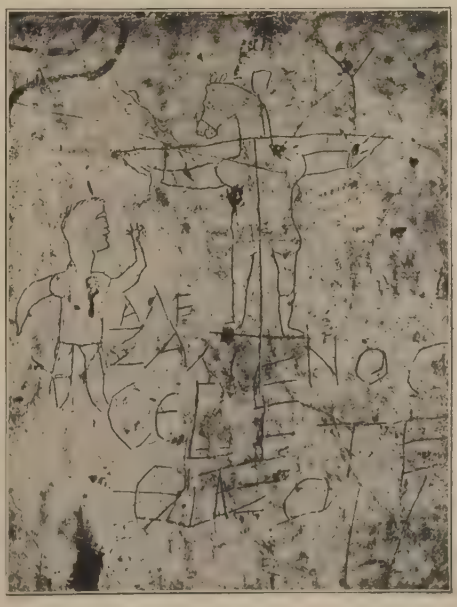


Fig. 339. Mock Crucifix in the Palatine

From the beginning of the fourth century the cross was delineated in conjunction with the monogram. The form of this sign was very various and changed often in the course of time, as is shown by the accompanying illustrations.

It will be seen that the monogram in all its diverse forms is composed of the two Greek letters X (Latin CH) and P (Latin R). These are the two first letters of the name of Christ; the first is in itself a cross. Thus the monogram recalls to remembrance at one and the same time Christ and the cross. The simplest forms are ☧ or ⚹ and ✝. Under the branches of the ✕ the first (*A*) and the last (*Ω*) letters of the Greek alphabet were placed, illustrating the words of the Apocalypse (i. 8), "I am Alpha and Omega, the beginning and the end." It is most probable that this monogram was already in use among Christians before the time of Emperor Constantine, the more so as Pagan emperors caused a similar sign—the meaning of which was certainly totally different—to be stamped on the coinage of the realm. This monogram plays an important part in history and in the conversion of Emperor Constantine. Bishop Eusebius, his biographer, relates the incident thus: "While the emperor was praying to God in humble supplication a wondrous sign, sent by God, appeared to him. Had any one else narrated the vision it might not have readily been believed, but as we have the account from the victorious emperor's own lips, and he confirmed his statement with an oath, it is impossible not to attach credence to it. . . . Toward evening, when the sun was sinking in the west, the emperor beheld above the sun in the heavens a luminous cross of exceeding brightness, the token of victory. . . . Early the next morning he summoned to his presence skilful gold- and silver-smiths, and sitting before them he described to them the celestial sign and ordered an imitation of it to be fashioned in gold and precious stones, which I have often seen. The sign of our salvation was represented framed in a circle of gold and jewels; it consisted of the two first letters of the name of Christ, the P being intersected by an X."

Fig. 340. Tombstone of the Martyr Adeodata

Since that time the monogram was employed in many and manifold ways, but always in its full meaning, so that it stood for the name of Christ or the image of Christ. It is found as an ornament on lamps, on the base of gilded glasses, as a sacred sign upon personal ornaments, *bullae,* amulets, coins, and medals innumerable which were struck subsequently to the time of Constantine. One of the coins has Constantine's head on one side and on the reverse his victorious standard with the monogram; the staff of the standard pierces a serpent. The inscription, *"Spes Publica"*—"The People's Hope," proclaims the truth that peace and hope will prevail when the old serpent is destroyed in the kingdom of Christ.

Since Constantine's reign scarcely a single grave is found in the Catacombs which does not bear this "sign of God," this sign of Christ, in a conspicuous place. If the Christians of the first centuries were accustomed, as early writers assert, to mark their houses and even the most ordinary domestic utensils with the monogram, in order to place them under the protection of Christ, still more would they love to engrave it on the tombstones,

Fig. 341. The Widow of the Martyr. Painting by G. Becker

FIGS. 342, 343. DOLPHIN TRANSFIXED BY TRIDENT, AND WITH ANCHOR

in the desire to express the hope in Christ, the peace, the hope of the beloved departed.

A very singular use made of the monogram by Constantine is recorded. Before his time it was customary to brand fugitive, runaway slaves on the forehead. Constantine ordered the monogram of Christ to be engraved on a metal plate and fastened securely round the neck of the undutiful slave. This was to make the delinquent aware that he owed the mitigation of the usual punishment to the faith in Christ.

The most remarkable, the most common, and the most sacred symbol was the *ichthys,* the fish. In Alexandria, the chief city of Egypt, medals were struck in honor of Emperor Domitian (who is notorious for his persecution of the Christians, even if they were members of his own family) bearing a Greek motto to this effect: "The sole, independent ruler, emperor, son of God Domitian, the worshipful conqueror of the Germans." It was probably in opposition to and as a protest against the deification of a man that in that same city of Alexandria the following formula originated: *Ἰησοῦς, Χριστός, Θεοῦ, Ὑιός, Σωτήρ*—"Jesus Christ, Son of God, the Saviour." The initial letters of the Greek words make up the word *ΙΧΘΥΣ*, a "fish." Immediately, that is in the first century, this acrostic was adopted verbally and in writing, also in pictorial representation, as here the word "Ichthys," so elsewhere the figure of a fish became the conventional symbol of Jesus, our divine Redeemer. Since that period until, and also after, the fourth century, we meet with the fish in graphic and plastic art on monuments and numerous small artistic objects, sometimes as an ornament, but always as an indication of Christian belief.

Very often the fish is employed in combination with other signs or symbols as figures of the Eucharist, the adorable Sacrament of the Altar. A singular emblematic representation is found in one of the sepulchral chambers in St. Callixtus. The fish is twice depicted; above it, almost as if carried on its back, is a basket woven of osiers filled with loaves; in the side of the basket, between the wicker work, is a glass containing red wine. Undoubtedly this is intended to represent the real presence of Christ in the Holy Eucharist, who gives Himself to be the spiritual food of the faithful under the appearance of bread and wine. A fresco in one of the Sacrament Chapels in St. Callixtus also has a Eucharistic signification; it represents seven men partaking of the loaves and fishes which are on a three-legged table, while at one side an orant stands; this latter is supposed to be the soul of the deceased whose remains rest in the tomb below, and who while on earth was strengthened by the bread of life eternal. In the Catacomb of Plautilla a certain Marcus Orbius Aelius put

FIG. 344. EUCHARISTIC REPRESENTATION IN THE CATACOMB OF ST. CALLIXTUS

Fig. 345. Closed Loculus in the Catacomb of St. Callixtus

up an epitaph to his friend Titus Flavius Eutyches beneath the concluding words of which, "Farewell, beloved," two loaves and two fishes are scratched, evidently a pictorial representation of the words of Holy Scripture: "He that eateth My flesh and drinketh My blood hath everlasting life." A sepulchral slab in a Christian museum on which two fishes and an anchor are engraved bears the inscription: "The fish of the living." This expresses the belief that Christ is the anchor of hope. In other paintings, *e.g.,* in St. Callixtus, the fish is represented as a dolphin transfixed by a trident or harpoon, or fastened to the crossbeam of an anchor—clearly an emblem of the sacrifice of Our Lord on the cross.

*b.* Figurative Animals and Objects.—There is no doubt that animals and other objects were often delineated in the Catacombs simply for the purpose of ornamentation. Yet even then they may possess a figurative meaning, since we know that in other places the same device bore a deeper symbolical signification. In the following pages we shall specify some of the emblems most commonly employed.

The lamb is at one time the symbol of the Saviour and Redeemer of mankind, at another of the redeemed, of the faithful lambs who obey the voice of the shepherd. When the lamb is seen alone with the shepherd's crook and the milk-pail it is undoubtedly meant to represent the Good Shepherd Himself, as in St. Domitilla, SS. Peter and Marcellinus. But an allegorical reference to the faithful is, on the contrary, intended when, as in St. Lucina, two lambs stand beside a milk-pail. Times without number one sees frescoes of ancient date in the churches of Rome where, in the center, the Lamb of God is standing, whilst from the right and left six sheep are approaching: these symbolize the apostles and the souls of believers.

The dove represents a pure human soul, pre-eminently the soul of the elect; when it holds an olive branch in its beak it signifies everlasting peace. Sometimes it is a symbol of the Holy Spirit, a use sanctioned by the Gospel narrative.

The peacock and the fabled phoenix are symbols of the resurrection and of immortality; the peacock, because the ancients held its flesh to be incorruptible; the phoenix, because of its rejuvenescence from the ashes of its funeral pyre. The eagle has the same figurative meaning, as the Psalmist says: "Thy youth shall be renewed as the eagle's." The cock is also supposed to symbolize the Resurrection, since after the dark night he heralds the first dawn of day; he is also a symbol of vigilance. Not unfrequently are representations of cock-fights met with; the on-

Fig. 346. Tombstone from the Cemetery of St. Lucina

lookers generally have palm branches in their hands; this recalls the words of the Apostle: "He that striveth for the mastery is not crowned unless he strives lawfully."

The horse illustrates another similitude employed by St. Paul, who compares the life of man to a chariot-race in the race-course, wherein all the competitors spare no labor and exertion in striving to win the prize.

The stag signifies the longing of the catechumen for the regenerating waters of Baptism; it is an image used by the Psalmist: "As the hart panteth after the fountains of water, so my soul panteth after Thee, O God." The lion is the symbol of strength; the serpent, either the symbol of prudence ("Be ye wise as serpents"), or of the cross ("As Moses lifted up the serpent in the desert, so must the Son of man be lifted up") [upon the cross]; again it occasionally calls to mind the old serpent in paradise.

Various explanations are given of the use of the hare as an emblem. As it is often represented together with the horse, even on the slabs that cover the tombs, the idea intended to be conveyed is most probably that life is a race to be run with speed.

Trees and flowers are symbolical of the joys of paradise. The palm, the wreath, and the crown betoken the victory over sin and death and the reward of that victory; the celestial wreath, the crown of

Fig. 347. Tombstone of Firmia Victora. Lateran Museum

eternal life. Among the Pagans the olive branch was the guerdon awarded to the conqueror in the public games and prize-fights; for the Christian it is the emblem of eternal peace when the battle of life is ended. The anchor which holds fast the ship during a storm and saves it from shipwreck signifies hope. The ship itself symbolizes the happy voyage to the shores of paradise when the storms and perils of life are past. A fresco in the Catacomb of St. Callixtus depicts this in a pleasing manner: an orant goes on his way in a boat, whilst nearby a drowning man is battling with the waves.

Not unfrequently one finds small vessels engraved upon sarcophagi or tombstones, the meaning of which is problematic. Some critics suppose that the empty vessel symbolizes the soul of man separated from the body and is an allusion to the future resurrection. As the flagon is worthless and purposeless without the wine, so the human body is useless without the soul; and as wine invigorates mind and body, so the soul imparts life and energy to the body which it informs. Others are of opinion that the representation of a vessel upon tombs is one of those plays on words in which the ancients delighted. The Latin for cask (dolium) has much the same sound as *dolere* (to grieve, to be afflicted); on a sepulchral tablet above the image of two small casks are these words: "An afflicted father to his son Julius" (*dolicus* instead of *dolens*).[1]

A pair of scales engraved on a sepulchral stone, generally together with other symbols, may perhaps be intended to signify the rule of eternal justice, the balance of the divine Judge wherein the good and evil works of mortals are weighed. At a later period the souls of the departed were often represented as being weighed in the scales at the Last Judgment. Sometimes the scales are only the ancient sign in use among the Pagans for the conclusion of a business transaction, and indicate in such case that the place of sepulture has been purchased in due form.

On several tombs feet, or merely the soles of feet, are depicted, the meaning

[1] Similar instances of a play upon words often occur. On the tomb of a maiden named Navira (*navis*, ship) a ship is outlined, on that of one Dracontius a dragon (*draco*), on that of Onager an ass (*onager*, a wild ass), on that of Porcella the phonetic synonym, a little pig (*porcellus*, a pig) is depicted.

of which is doubtful. The Pagans employed this sign on votive tablets to express gratitude for a prosperous journey begun and ended. The inscription usually appended thereto was: "For a fortunate journey to and fro." The Christians may have borrowed this as they did other devices; the meaning, therefore, of the soles would be thanksgiving to God for the happy ending of the journey of life. This interpretation is the more likely to be correct because occasionally below the figure are the words: *"In Deo"*—"In God;" *i.e.*, he has ended his earthly pilgrimage trusting in God.

Other symbols have already been explained on an earlier page of this work; others are too familiar to need elucidation, such as the lily of innocence, the ship of the Church, etc.

Finally, mention must be made of the nimbus or aureola, a circle of glory or disc of light wherewith the Pagans used to adorn the head of their gods, heroes, kings, and emperors. In the East more especially it was the distinctive mark of personages of high rank. Since the middle of the fourth century the Christians thus distinguished the representations of the Saviour; somewhat later the cross or monogram was added within the disc. Sometimes the recognized symbols of Our Lord, such as the lamb, also have the nimbus. From the end of the fifth century this note of dignity was also given to the saints. A square nimbus of blue or green color distinguished persons of high position who were still living when their portraits were taken.

Fig. 348. A Deceased Woman as an Orant

## 3. ALLEGORICAL REPRESENTATIONS

IT has repeatedly been observed that the early Christian iconography, especially what is merely decorative, also other motives which have nothing striking or objectionable for the eye of a Christian, retained much that characterized Pagan art. The mythical singer Orpheus, who tamed wild beasts with his lyre, is one of these borrowed types. This representation is met with several times in the Catacombs, in St. Callixtus, SS. Peter and Marcellinus; the lovely fresco in St. Domitilla unhappily no longer exists and is now known only through reproductions. For the Christian Orpheus was a symbol of the Good Shepherd. For that reason He is more often depicted surrounded by lambs than by wild beasts.

One of the most beautiful, pleasing, and popular allegorical types is that of the Good Shepherd, who like the ideal Christ

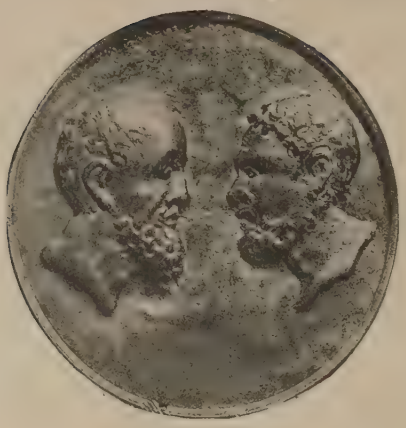


Fig. 349. The Apostles Peter and Paul. Bronze Medal, Vatican

is represented as a youthful, blooming figure of idyllic, cheerful character, frequently with the pastoral staff or the flute, with the shepherd's pouch and the milk-pail, generally bearing a lamb on His shoulders amid rural surroundings. This subject undergoes every possible variety of treatment and is repeated more than a hundred times in the paintings of the Catacombs from the close of the first century forward.

Yet more numerous in the frescoes of the Catacombs are representations of persons both male and female standing with arms outstretched and raised in the attitude of prayer customary among the early Christians; hence they are called orants. Saints of the Old and New Testaments, such as Noe in the ark, Daniel in the lions' den, Susanna, Mary the Mother of God, the three Wise Men from the East, and others are represented as orants. Yet the majority of these figures are ideal and depict the souls of the deceased who have entered paradise. The female orants are more numerous and are found even above the tombs of deceased men. The inscriptions and symbols placed beside them, such as doves, lambs, flowers, trees, the monogram of Christ, leave no doubt as to the signification of the orant. A further proof consists in the evident endeavor of the artist to reproduce in many of these figures the characteristic features of individuals.

The personifications also which are of an allegorical nature, that is, the representation of the heavens, the sun and the moon, the ocean and the rivers, the seasons, the virtues and the like, under the image of a personal being, were often adopted by Christian art from Roman classic art. We have already seen the personification of the seasons in the crypt of St. Januarius in the Catacomb of Praetextatus, as well as in the frescoes on the ceiling of the Greek chapel in the Catacomb of Priscilla.

The representation of the *Majestas Domini*, the figure of the glorified Redeemer, the supreme lawgiver and teacher, is also an allegory. Christ is portrayed as a youthful figure sitting enthroned, sometimes among cases filled with scrolls, which contain His divine commandments, as in the fresco of the ceiling of the Catacomb beneath the Vigna Massimi, sometimes surrounded by the apostles, as in a ceiling fresco in SS. Peter and Marcellinus. The art of a later period enlarged this conception and imparted to it a more definite form by representing Christ delivering the scroll of the law to St. Peter, these words being added: *"Dominus legem dat"*—"the Lord gives the law."

Fig. 350. Sacrifice of Abraham. Catacomb of St. Domitilla

The Gospel parable and allegory of the Wise and Foolish Virgins has as yet only been met with twice in the paintings of the Catacombs. The earliest representation is in the Greater Cemetery of St. Agnes. Below a picture of the Good Shepherd the deceased maiden, Victoria by name, is seen as an orant; close by the celestial banquet is represented, at which, however, only four virgins are seated, the orant counting as the fifth. The second interesting representation of the parable, only discovered in 1860, is in the Catacomb of Cyriaca.

## 4. THE REPRESENTATIONS OF GOD, OF MARY, AND OF THE SAINTS

NO representation of God or the Holy Trinity is found in the paintings of the Catacombs. The Christian artist evidently did not venture to create any image of a mystery which was new to him, and of which there was no type that would serve as a model. The ecclesiastical authorities also doubtless feared lest a material representation of the Trinity might suggest to the mind of the newly converted the Pagan plurality of deities rather than the worship of the one God "in spirit and in truth." Recourse was therefore had to a symbol to represent God, a hand reaching down from the clouds to interpose in the fortunes of men. Among the Pagans the hand was an emblem of strength, of power. The Christians employed the same symbol for the "strong hand," "the mighty hand of the Lord," "the right hand of the Lord that hath wrought strength," as Holy Scripture expresses it. Thus this divine hand appears when Abraham is about to sacrifice Isaac and commands him to desist; the same hand is depicted as giving to Moses, the leader of God's chosen people, the tables of the Law, the embodiment of the divine will, by observing which man acknowledges the power and greatness of God.

The New Testament supplied the most beautiful symbol for the Holy Spirit, the dove; for representations of Christ His incarnation and life on earth, His acts and miracles offered sufficient matter for portrayal. The conception in this case is twofold, one ideal, and another more realistic, more historical in character.

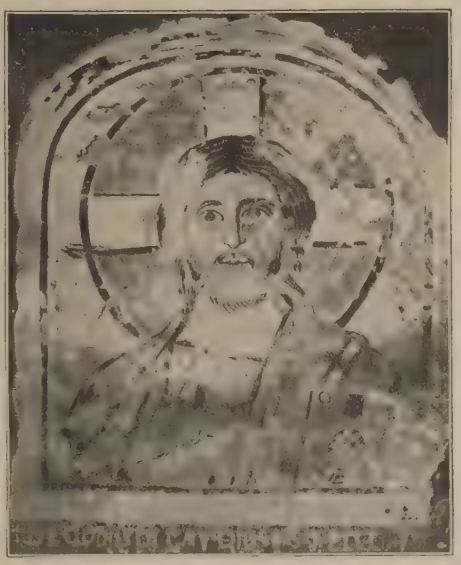


Fig. 351. Bust Picture of Christ. Catacomb of Pontianus

In the first, the primitive and oldest, Christ appears as young and beardless, with short hair, with youth and joyous features, a noble figure. The person of Christ is depicted in this manner in very many of the Catacomb paintings; it was the ideal representation of Our Lord in the earlier times when the artist shrank from painting a personal image of the Redeemer true to nature. From the third century onward it was otherwise; the artists began to produce realistic portraitures of Christ, giving Him virile features, a beard, and shading His oval countenance with long flowing locks. It

is remarkable that in this type He is not depicted as thaumaturgus and teacher in His public activity, but rather as the sovereign Lord and God. The first time that Christ appears in this character is in a scene in the Catacomb of Domitilla which Wilpert interprets as a representation of the particular judgment and which he attributes to the first half of the third century. To the same period belongs the well-known beautiful medallion of Our Lord found in the same Catacomb. This second type underwent in the course of time a slow development, especially noticeable in the mosaics of the basilicas. Through the effect of the continual decline of art and the influence of the Byzantine school, the type became more austere, stern, somber, lifeless, until it attained a climax of harshness and rigidity. One stage in this course of development is shown in a medallion of Christ from the Catacomb of Pontianus. Underlying the second type there was evidently the endeavor to exhibit the historical personality of Our Lord, hence the question arises: Was an authentic portrait of Christ possessed by the early Church? The reputed portraits are

Fig. 352. St. Petronilla with the Deceased Veneranda

but legendary; St. Augustine and St. Irenæus expressly state that they know of no portrait of Christ.

The Mother of God is in no instance represented as a solitary figure in the Catacombs, only in Biblical scenes; we shall presently have occasion to speak of the pictures relating to this subject. As for Christ, so for the apostles in early times a youthful idealistic type was preferred, until gradually a more realistic representation was adopted. On the walls of a chapel in the Catacomb of Domitilla the frescoes present both types. Christ, Himself a youthful figure, is enthroned in the midst of the apostles as their glorified teacher and master; two of the apostles are seated, the others are standing; all are clad in the apparel worn by noble Romans.

For the apostles Peter and Paul a strongly marked conventional type, to which their portraits almost invariably conformed, existed in primitive art; it was doubtless derived from an authentic tradition if not from actual portraits. The most interesting is a bronze medal found in the Catacomb of Domitilla (and now in the Vatican) which may date from the middle of the second century; it represents the heads of the two apostles; they both have beards, St. Peter is bald, St. Paul has short hair, gray and curly. Several similar portraits are preserved which, however coarse of execution, still reproduce the same characteristic features. The primacy of Peter as the Head of the Church is frequently indicated in particular representations; he is sometimes allegorically portrayed, as the Biblical pictures will show, as Moses; implying the opinion that he was the leader of the people of God in the New Testament economy.

It may appear singular that no authenticated Catacomb painting represents the martyrdom of one who shed his blood for the Faith. It was, however, a matter of importance to inspire cheerfulness, courage, steadfastness, and unswerving trust in God, in those who assembled in the subterranean crypts and

chapels, hence representations of the eternal rewards in store for the faithful and the joys of paradise predominate in the sepulchral frescoes. Portraits of martyrs and saints are rarely met with in primitive Christian art. One of the earliest and most noticeable instances is in a chapel of Domitilla's Catacomb; there St. Petronilla is to be seen; Veneranda, a noble Roman lady, already passed into eternity, is pointing out to her the Holy Scriptures whence the way of salvation is learned.

Fig. 353. The Good Shepherd, Pictures of Jonas, and Orants. Paintings on Ceilings in the Catacomb of SS. Peter and Marcellinus

A remarkable group may be mentioned here. Christ is represented in His character of glorified Lord and teacher, holding a scroll in His hand; on either side of Him are apostles or saints and before Him an orant, one who has already passed from time into eternity. Wilpert interprets this scene as the particular judgment of a soul whom the saints are commending to the mercy of God. Others see in it the admission of a deceased person into paradise. Sometimes it is thought that one may gather from the pictures that the aim of the painter was to give in the figure of the orant the portraiture of some particular individual.

## 5. THE BIBLICAL CYCLE

THE representations of events taken from Holy Scripture are very numerous. The choice of subjects implies, as has already been shown, that they had principally a symbolical and allegorical signification. The artist did not depict them for their own sake or because of their intrinsic historical value, but for the purpose of awakening and maintaining trust in God, and the hope of reward in the world to come in the soul of the beholder by means of authentic examples. These are events which testify to the power of God, of rescue from danger and distress, to the felicity to be enjoyed in paradise. It appears indubitable that in connection with these is a selection of liturgical prayers, *e.g.,* the *commendatio animae,* the commendation of the departing soul.

We will in the first place refer to the most favorite subjects from the *Old Testament,* proceeding in succession from those most frequently to those most rarely represented.

*a.* Scenes from the Old Testament.—Incidents in the life of Moses are most often represented in the Catacombs, for instance: Moses putting his shoes from off his feet, drawing water from the rock, receiving the Law from the hand of God. Other pictures frequently recurring are intended to recall the manner in which God marvelously conducted the chosen people to the land of promise by Moses' leadership. In seasons of persecution and affliction what could better serve to inspire the infant community of Christians with courage and confidence! The first picture in which Moses is delineated —putting his shoes from off his feet— moreover expresses the hope and prayer to be admitted to the bliss of paradise. More frequently recurring than any other scene in the life of Moses is that of the miraculous flow of water from the rock. Besides the suggestion of refreshment and salvation when necessity is most pressing, in the representation of this event there is a typological allusion to St. Peter, Moses being a type of the Prince of the apostles in his character of the leader of the new Israel of God. The miracle of the striking of water from the rock is, therefore, a scene from which a parallel is drawn to the pictures of St. Peter; moreover, elsewhere over the head or at the side of Moses, the word *Petrus* is inscribed; thus no doubt can exist as to the typical signification of the figure of the patriarch. This relation to St. Peter is also indicated in the third scene in which Moses receives the tables of the Law from the hand of God, and is thus constituted the divinely appointed law-giver.

FIG. 354. ACQUITTAL OF SUSANNA. CATACOMB OF ST. CALLIXTUS

One of the most common subjects of the frescoes in the Catacombs is the

Fig. 355. Job. Catacomb of St. Domitilla

history of Jonas, presented over and over again, principally in four different scenes: 1. Jonas is cast over the side of the ship into the sea, and swallowed by the monster of the deep, a kind of dragon, four-footed, with a long tail. 2. Jonas is ejected on to the dry land, his arms stretched out before him. 3. Jonas is reclining at his ease in a green leafy bower. 4. Finally, he appears sitting or standing beneath the withered ivy in gloom and anger. Jonas was set forth by Our Lord Himself as a type of His own future resurrection; he was therefore dear to the early Christians as the authorized symbol of the resurrection of life eternal. At the same time, the history of the prophet and his connection with the Ninivites conveyed a sublime meaning in the striking witness it bears to the divine mercy. In all the pictures Jonas is represented as nude.

The history of Daniel is also a favorite motive in early Christian art. The oldest fresco representing the prophet is in the family vault of the Flavii; he is standing upright between two lions which are running toward him. This picture is, however, not typical, but another, in which he appears as a youth of powerful build between two lions which are sitting or standing.

Noe in the ark, to whom the returning dove brings the olive-branch of peace, proclaims most emphatically that the Church of Christ is an ark of salvation from the deluge of perdition. The stenographic representation of this event is the best proof that the artist did not aim at depicting the actual scene in an historical manner, but only in a concise and abbreviated symbolic form.

Abraham's sacrifice of Isaac was intended to convey to the soul of the Christians in the Catacombs the consoling truth that God, who sends upon man the most severe trials, as He commanded the patriarch to sacrifice his son Isaac, is also our Saviour in the hour of our greatest need. It also presents a type of Christ's death upon the cross as a sacrifice for our redemption. While other subjects are treated typically, that is, according to the usual traditional form, the sacrifice of Isaac is repeated with considerable variety of treatment.

The three children in the Babylonian fiery furnace are generally exhibited as clothed in the oriental tunic, in the attitude of prayer, standing up to their waist in fire, or enveloped entirely by flames.

Job sitting in his misery, forsaken, pa-

Fig. 356. Isaias Pointing to the Redeemer. Catacomb of St. Priscilla

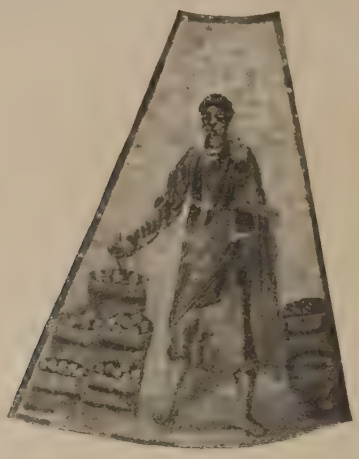


Fig. 357. The Miraculous Multiplication of Bread

tient, and resigned, equally with Abraham, Daniel, and the three Babylonian youths, was intended to encourage the Christians to the practice of steadfastness and confidence in times of affliction and distress.

The story of Susanna gives promise of relief in temporal and spiritual trials. On the frescoes in the Greek chapel of the Catacomb of Priscilla the Biblical narrative is divided into three scenes, which depict the attack made on Susanna by the two old men, the judgment, and the acquittal. When Susanna is represented as a lamb between two wolves the representation is purely symbolical. The ascent of Elias into heaven was shown depicted on a former page (Fig. 318). With one hand the prophet holds the reins of the four-horse chariot, while with the other he gives his mantle to Eliseus. The man on the opposite side is merely an accessory figure, if he is not perhaps a personification of the Nile. The victory the stripling David gained with his sling embodies the truth that the weakest individual who comes in the name of God can vanquish the mightiest giant.

In regard to the age of these several representations, that of Daniel in the Flavian crypt reaches back to the end of the first century; Moses striking the rock, Susanna, the three children in the fiery furnace, and the sacrifice of Isaac, all depicted in the Greek chapel, to the beginning of the second century; the pictures of Jonas in the crypt of Lucina in St. Callixtus, to the first half of the second century; David with the sling, to the first century; Noe in the ark (in the Flavian gallery), to the second half of the third century, and so forth.

*b.* Scenes from the New Testament.—The subjects of the Catacomb paintings which are taken from the *New Testament* may be divided into two groups, the events that are in close connection with the life of Christ and the miracles which He wrought. The latter have been far more frequently treated, because they inspired the earliest Christian community of Rome in the time of persecution with courage, confidence, and hope more directly than the historic scenes of Our Lord's life on earth.

Fig. 358. Fisherman, the Baptism of Christ, and the Cure of the Paralytic. Catacomb of St. Callixtus

Burial of St. Sabina. From the Painting by M. Fürst

Fig. 359. Meal of the Seven Disciples. Catacomb of St. Callixtus

The first place must be given to three prophecies relating to Christ; they form the transition from the Old to the New Testament. In St. Priscilla's Catacomb there is a representation of the vision of the prophet Isaias (vii. 14), dating from the end of the first or the commencement of the second century: "Behold a virgin shall conceive and bear a son, and his name shall be called Emmanuel." To the left stands the youthful prophet holding a scroll in his left hand, the right hand being raised as if he was in the act of speaking; opposite to him the Virgin Mother is seated with the divine Child in her arms; above her is the star of the Wise Men. This painting is supposed to be the first, the oldest delineation of the Mother of God. In the crypt of SS. Peter and Marcellinus the prophecy of Balaam is shown; the seer points to the star "that shall rise out of Jacob"; and in the Catacomb of Domitilla the prophecy of Micheas (v. 2) is represented ("Thou, Bethlehem Ephrata, art a little one among the thousands of Juda," etc.); Mary is sitting with the divine Child on her lap, while in the background the walls and towers of Bethlehem are seen.

The Annunciation is represented in the frescoes of two Catacombs, one of which is in St. Priscilla's. In order to convey an idea of the great dignity of the Mother of God, Christian art does not portray her in a kneeling posture; it is seated on a throne that she receives the celestial messenger. The angel, who is represented without wings, wearing the elegant apparel of a Roman patrician, approaches her reverently, his left hand holding his toga, the right extended in salutation and address. It is a singular fact that the birth of Christ is only once represented, and that in the Catacomb of St. Sebastian, whereas the adoration of the Magi frequently recurs, sometimes on their journey from the East, following the star, sometimes in Herod's presence, or again in the company of the shepherds, most often when offering their gifts to the newborn Saviour on His Mother's lap; although generally there are three, yet the number is sometimes increased to four or reduced to two, not for any symbolical purpose, but as the symmetry of the picture requires or as the space allotted to it allows.

The Baptism of Christ is represented four times in the Catacomb paintings; the Redeemer is depicted as a boy, probably because the newly-baptized "of water and the Holy Ghost" are to be regarded as children. The symbolical dove hovers over this scene.

The miracles of Our Lord had a profound signification for the Christians of the Catacombs, inasmuch as they bore witness to His omnipotence and therewith to His divinity, and consequently also to the truth of His teaching and the

power of His grace. Thus the divine thaumaturgus became Himself a sure pledge for those who depart hence in hope in Him and for those who live in faith in Him. There is, moreover, no room for doubt that the paintings are intended to convey moral suggestions and allusions.

Not one of Our Lord's miracles is so often the subject of representation as the raising of Lazarus. No less than half a hundred times is it met with in the frescoes of the Catacombs alone. In the most usual manner of treatment Lazarus is exhibited as a bound-up mummy-like figure in an *aedicula,* that is, a quadrangular recess covered by a gable roof, which is ascended by means of several steps. Christ, the Lord of life, is stepping forward, touching the dead man with the rod of His power. The signification of this picture is clear; it proclaims and gives assurance of the future resurrection of the believer through the might of an omnipotent God.

In the case of Lazarus, the moment previous to that in which the miracle takes place is chosen for representation, whereas in that of the paralytic whom Christ cured the miracle is already wrought. The man is portrayed in the act of obeying the divine command, "Take up thy bed and walk." In some instances the person of Christ is not represented, because even without His presence the meaning of the scene is easily grasped. In other examples an apostle is seen standing by Our Lord, and beside the man who has been healed is his guide. For the best treatment of the miracle of the giving of sight to the man born blind Christ is represented laying His hand on the head or on the eyes of the suppliant. This differentiates the scene from those that represent the cure of the leper. An especial favorite at a later period of early Christian art is the cure of the woman with an issue of blood. The earliest known example of this miracle is found in the Catacomb of Praetextatus; Christ is raising His hand as if to emphasize the question: "Who hath touched My garments?" The sufferer, kneeling at His feet, is touching the hem of His gar-

Fig. 360. One of the Sacrament Chapels in the Catacomb of St. Callixtus

ment. The woman of Samaria at the well of Sichar is the subject of a fresco in the Catacomb of SS. Peter and Marcellinus; she stands beside the well with her water-pot in her hand; the scene affords a touching proof of the omniscience and omnipotence of Christ.

*c.* The Representations of Banquets or Repasts.—One of the pictures appertaining to this section is its own explanation: some men and women are sitting at table; at the side are six water-pots, one of which a dignified personage is touching with his rod. This figure is Christ, who by His miraculous power changed the water into wine at the marriage in Cana. Other representations of repasts are of very frequent recurrence in the Catacombs; their mystic meaning is not always certainly decided.

The different kinds of repasts have been classed thus: biblical, agapae, sacramental, and celestial.

In many frescoes, principally those in the sacrament chapels of the Callixtus Catacomb and in that of SS. Peter and Marcellinus, we see several men who are reclining at a curved, cushioned table of semi-circular form; fish and bread are the viands set before them; besides this on both sides baskets in varying number are standing filled with loaves. This is supposed to be the meal of the seven disciples of which St. John the Evangelist speaks in the twenty-first chapter of his Gospel; at this meal Christ prepared fish and bread for His disciples. These latter in their character of fishermen wear the tunic only—the undergarment.

In other paintings the Saviour appears alone or in the company of one or more disciples. With the rod of His power He touches one of the baskets filled with loaves which are standing before Him. This is apparently an abridged representation of the miraculous multiplication of bread. These scenes are intended, like other wonders wrought by Our Lord, to impress His miraculous power on the mind of the beholder, and thereby confirm his faith, hope, and trust in Christ.

In other representations of repasts men and women varying in number are depicted. These scenes were formerly held to be the agapae, love-feasts or funeral-feasts, quite separate from the Holy Sacrifice, which were held at the graves of the departed. At these feasts women often appear acting as waitresses in addition to the usual attendant; over their heads are inscribed the symbolical names: "Agape" and "Irene," the meaning of which is "Love" and "Peace." More recently valid evidence has been adduced to prove that these pictures do not represent funeral feasts, but are an allegorical treatment of the *coena coelestis*, the heavenly banquet in the peace and bliss of paradise. This, however, does not exclude the supposition that sometimes in similar scenes a love or funeral feast is depicted.

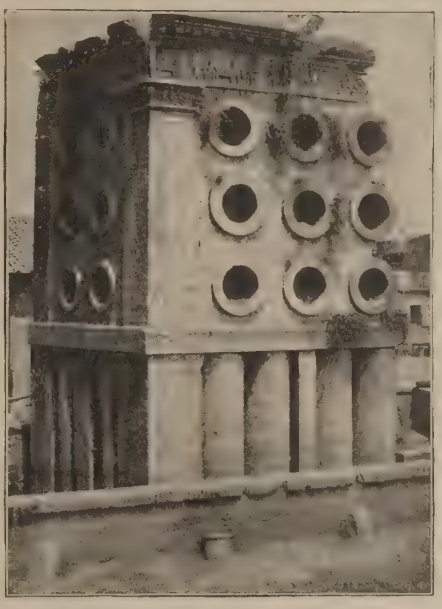


Fig. 361. Tomb of the Baker Eurysaces near the Porta Maggiore

At an earlier time the majority of the scenes representing a repast at which bread and fish were provided as aliments, were considered as representing the reception of the Holy Sacrament of the Altar, of the body and blood of Christ. This view was contested inasmuch as the

repast of the disciples and the multiplication of bread merely represented Biblical miracles, whereas the celestial feast was intended to recall to mind the joys of paradise. Yet there is no doubt that they also have some reference to Christ as well and to the adorable Sacrament of the Altar, particularly when fish and bread are the viands to be consumed.

But are there sacramental, eucharistic representations in the strictest sense? We have already spoken of symbolical pictures. In 1893 Mgr. Wilpert discovered a remarkable fresco in a crypt of the Priscilla Catacomb: seven persons are seated at a semi-circular table, one amongst them being a matron. The one who presides, to the left of the spectator, is a bearded man, sitting on a *particular chair;* he it is who distributes the bread; in the middle of the table there is a dish with two fishes, to the right a dish containing five loaves, to the left a goblet with handles. The discoverer of this fresco saw in it the earliest representation of the *fractio panis,* the breaking of bread, of the Holy Sacrifice of the Mass,[1] and regarded it as of the highest importance. Wilpert's interpretation was, however, disputed by Liell in his work entitled: *"Fractio panis"* or *"Coena coelestis,"* "The Breaking of Bread" or "The Heavenly Feast." Some doubts may be raised as to the correctness of Wilpert's explanation, yet there are weighty arguments in its favor.

[1] Vide *Fractio panis,* Freiburg, 1895.

## 6. SCENES FROM ECCLESIASTICAL SUBJECTS AND ORDINARY LIFE

A (*a.*) SUCCESSION of five sepulchral chambers in St. Callixtus acquired considerable celebrity some thirty or forty years ago under the name of "Chapels of the Sacraments." It was thought that they had served for the object of catechetical instruction and for the administration of the sacraments. The elaborate frescoes on the walls and ceilings gave rise to this supposition. An examination of the paintings in the second chapel (see Fig. 360) will most quickly enable us rightly to apprehend them.

On the wall to the left of the entrance Moses is represented striking the rock whence water gushes forth. On the next adjoining wall, on the spaces above and below the rows of recesses for graves (*loculi*) are three very simple and well-preserved pictures: a fisherman with his rod sitting on the bank of a stream; another man, who is baptizing a boy in the same stream; then the paralytic of Bethsaida who "took up his bed and walked." On the principal wall opposite the entrance we see first the tripod, on which are fishes and loaves, on one side the figure of a man stretching out his hand, on the other an orant (see p. 278). Next comes the representation of the repast of seven men who are seated at the table whereon are loaves and fishes, eight baskets full of loaves standing on the ground before the guests. On a wider space Abraham is depicted with his son Isaac on Mount Moria. The grave-diggers, who close the series of paintings, have no metaphorical meaning.

The frescoes on the wall on the right-hand side are partially obliterated, yet from those in the other chambers it is easy to conclude that the raising of Lazarus was depicted there.

On the upper cornice, running along the three walls, the history of the prophet Jonas may be seen, how he was swallowed by the great fish, vomited forth on dry land, and how he rested in the shade of the ivy.

A painting, the subject of which can not be ascertained with any certainty, closes the series of frescoes to the right of the entrance; it is, perhaps, Our Lord with the woman of Samaria.

The simple but beautifully executed decoration of the ceiling consists of several circles one within another, inter-

sected by two crosses. The circular medallion in the center is filled by the figure of the Good Shepherd.

With the exception of some unimportant differences these paintings are repeated, though in somewhat varied order in the other sepulchral chapels. The construction of this burial-place and probably the decoration of the chapels was carried out under the direction of Callixtus, then a deacon (210-218); after that he was elected Pope. The fact that these pictures recur in all the five chapels in nearly the same order and much the same treatment leads to the supposition that it was under ecclesiastical direction and rule that they were executed.

In the present state of research we can scarcely ascribe to the chapels and the paintings they contain the meaning which has been attached to them. It can only with some degree of certainty be stated that two sacraments, Baptism and the Holy Eucharist, are pictorially represented, Baptism under the symbol of the fisherman, the administration thereof by the man who is in the act of baptizing—equally so if the picture is intended to depict the Baptism of Christ—and the effect of the sacrament by the healing of the palsied man; the Eucharist is symbolically depicted in the repast of the seven, and the celebration of the Eucharist in the scene portrayed on the principal wall. The correctness of this interpretation has, however, been called in question. That any of the Biblical frescoes have reference to the sacrament of Penance is

Fig. 362. Blood-Phial(?)

possible, even probable, but there are no certain proofs in support of this idea.

The Chapels of the Sacraments are of supreme importance for the sake of the rich decorations themselves, and also because it was in the earliest ages of Christianity that they were executed. Whoever passes in review the series of frescoes will feel the conviction forcibly borne in upon him that they do not solely testify to Christ's miraculous power, nor are they intended as sepulchral pictures only to awaken hope of the life beyond the grave, but that they were destined also to serve as the exponents of dogmatical and ethical truths, even though we are not able to adduce decisive proof of this in each individual instance. One of the best and most beautiful Catacomb paintings is found in the crypt of Priscilla. In the center stands an orant, tall and of noble demeanor, clad in a full purple garment bordered with light-colored figured

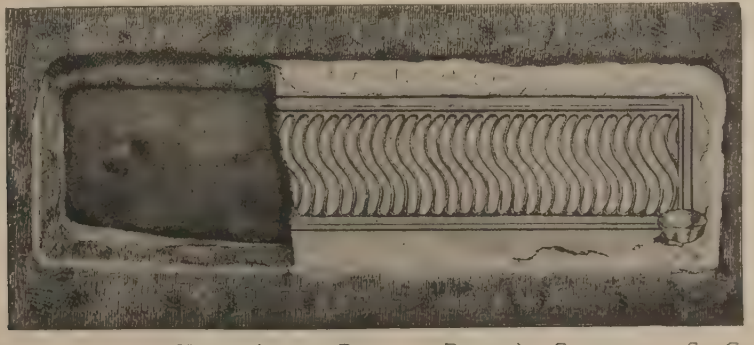


Fig. 363. Loculus with Vessel (to the Right, at Bottom). Catacomb of St. Callixtus

bands, similar to the tunic and toga worn by the high public functionaries of Rome. On the head of the figure is a veil, the ends of which fall upon her shoulders; it is ornamented in the same manner. On the left the Mother of God is enthroned, with the divine Child in her arms. On the right, also as a separate group, an old man is seen seated on a raised chair; before him stands the orant, this time a blooming maiden, her head uncovered, carrying a veil in her hands. In the background is another maiden with a tunic over her arm. Wilpert in an all-convincing manner interprets this lovely and touching scene as representing the clothing of a virgin dedicated to God. She is receiving from the bishop's hand the veil which is the sign that her pure soul is given henceforth entirely to God. With his right hand the bishop is pointing to the pre-eminent example of chastity, the virginal Mother of God. The virgin has kept her vows until death; she now appears in the picture as a glorified orant to remind the beholder that she now lives in paradise, herself blissful and interceding for others.

Were one to take the epitaphs together with the paintings of the Catacombs it would be easy to illustrate and demonstrate all the twelve articles of the Apostles' Creed. Almost innumerable, moreover, are the instances that testify how the new Christian virtues, humility, chastity, and, above all, charity, the generous, pure, holy love for all who are poor, meek, abject, or unhappy, took possession of individual hearts, gained for itself whole families and communities, acting like a gentle, clear, warm sunshine, influencing and melting the cold, proud, heartless character of the ancient Roman.

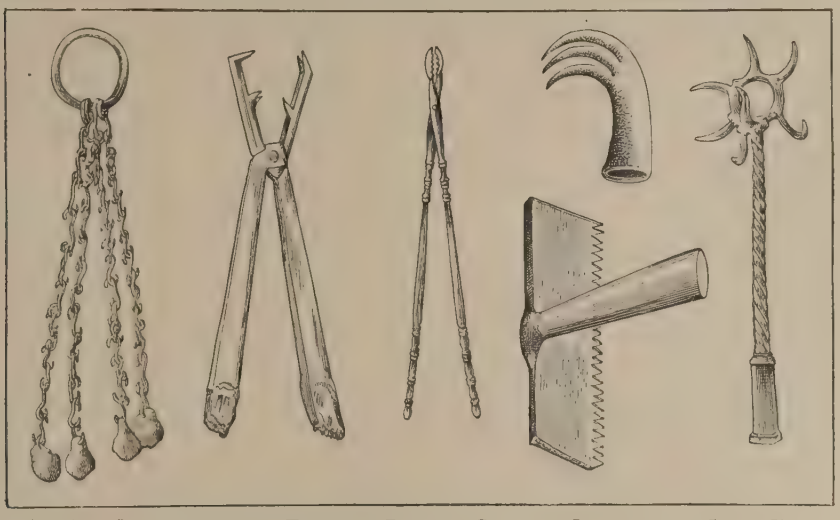
*b.* It was of old a favorite custom amongst the Romans to portray upon their sepulchral monuments scenes taken from their daily life, their occupation or trade. One of the most singular of these was that of Eurysaces, a baker and vendor of bread, who had a large mausoleum erected for himself near what is now the Porta Maggiore, and ornamented with nothing else but subjects relating to his own trade: with mortars and corn-measures, with relievos representing mills and kneading-machines worked by donkeys or horses, or the process of shaping and weighing loaves. The Christians could retain this custom without hesitation. It has already been stated that in the Catacomb of Domitilla there were paintings which were long unexplained until Mgr. Wilpert threw light on them, explaining that they were commissioned by a baker's corporation or guild. The corn is being unladen from a sailing-vessel into two boats; porters loaded with heavy sacks are going up and down a flight of steps, two mounted overseers superintend the corn market, one baker stands before a corn measure, another holds a loaf in his hands, and so on. Evidently Christian bakers formed a confraternity or guild amongst themselves in order to ensure honorable burial, and consequently caused their place of interment to be suitably decorated. A second painting of similar character is found in the same Catacomb. We also saw that the fossores had themselves painted on the walls of the sepulchers there and elsewhere: Constantius, who drove the horses, is represented on a monumental slab with his beasts of burden; Lucianus, the fowler, is seen drawing the cords which close the net in which the birds are caught. On a sepulchral slab found in the Catacomb of SS. Peter and Marcellinus the "saintly, God-fearing sculptor Euterpos" is depicted as an orant; below the epitaph is a bas-relief showing how a block of marble is prepared by being rubbed with wax; beside it is a finished sarcophagus with lions' heads. On the slab that closes the tomb of his son Felix, who shortly after his Baptism expired at the age of twenty-three years, the bereaved father has caused the implements of his art, stylus, pencil, and compasses to be painted. In like manner we meet with Catacomb paintings that depict warriors, vine-dressers, sailors, vegetable vendors, and others.

Figs. 364–373. Adoration of the Wise Men, the Good Shepherd (Medals); St. Peter as Moses, Paul, Agnes, Sustus, and Timothy (Gilded Glasses); Ancient Christian Rings and Vases, from the Roman Catacombs

## 7. VARIOUS OBJECTS FOUND IN THE CATACOMBS

FOR the fervent faith of the Catholic the Catacombs preserved no more precious treasure than the remains of the holy martyrs. Immediately upon the re-discovery of subterranean Rome search was instituted for signs and memorials whereby the tombs of martyrs might be made known. On many gravestones a palm was sculptured; on other graves a small vessel of glass or clay, containing a dark-red deposit, was found either embedded in the cement or inside the tomb. What else should this be but the blood of the martyr shed in his death agony on the place of execution, and gathered up, as was customary, by a crowd of Christians, men, women, and children, with sponges and linen cloths, afterward to be preserved on the tomb of the martyr, as a distinctive mark of honor. In April, 1668, the Roman Congregation of Rites did, indeed, declare in a decree that the palm and phial of blood were to be regarded as the sacred tokens of a martyr's grave. Later on the palm was no longer considered as a reliable proof, since it was found on gravestones after the time of Constantine.

The opinion of Roman experts in regard to the phials of blood was first contested by a Protestant named Basnage, who voiced the supposition that the red deposit was the dry remains of wine from the love-feasts. Since then the question has been much discussed, even to the present day, the opinion of the Roman authorities being confirmed by some and disputed by others of the most renowned savants. Leibnitz, the most famous scientist of the seventeenth century, himself a Protestant, wished to sift the matter thoroughly, and submitted the sediment to chemical analysis. He discovered it to be more of the nature of blood than of any other matter. In 1845 a chemist in Milan named Broglia tested it in a similar manner in the presence of several witnesses with the same result. In other analyses, on the contrary, made more recently in England, no trace of blood seems to have been detected in the sediment. Sixty fragments of the blood phials were tested by experts in the Chemical Observatory at Greenwich; their report was that the reddish deposit contained oxide of iron with some traces of potash and soda, but in a fifty times greater degree than could be produced by the iron which is in blood, wherefore the red deposit must be the effect of time. The experiments of M. Desaint, a professor at the Sorbonne in Paris, proved, on the contrary, that the deposit was that of blood. The learned Benedictine Mabillon adopted Basnage's view, and combated in a calm and dignified manner the opinion of the Roman archeologists; this occasioned the issue of the decree in 1668. In recent times, in 1838, the antiquarian Raoul-Rochette expressed the opinion that the glass phials were intended to contain perfumes; this idea was, however, refuted by Fr. Secchi, S. J., and by Bartolini. In the year 1855 a treatise was published in Brussels of which somewhat later Fr. de Buck, S. J., acknowledged himself to be the author, and in which he took up a position strongly adverse to the received opinion in Rome, endeavoring to prove that the greater number of the blood-phials were found in tombs which dated from the times of peace, when persecutions no longer raged. According to his view of the subject, the vessel contained Eucharistic wine, only a few being really receptacles of a martyr's blood. Le Blant, a French savant, also arrived at the same conclusion. When the vessels contained blood, it was really the blood of a martyr, and this, they contested, was, like other objects of piety, deposited in the grave of some loved one—not that of the martyr himself—as a preservative against malign spirits, just as a grave in the vicinity of the spot where a martyr's remains were laid to rest was a boon coveted above all things. Thereupon Pius IX appointed a



FIGS. 374–379. INSTRUMENTS OF TORTURE: PINCERS, SCOURGES LOADED WITH LEAD, HOOKS, AND IRON COMBS

special Commission to make a fresh and thorough investigation of the matter. After a lecture delivered by the Secretary of the Commission, a clever connoisseur in all that pertains to Christian antiquity, the Commission on Dec. 10, 1863, issued a decree, confirmed by the Pope, to the effect that the blood-phials were distinctive marks of the graves of martyrs, a decision which has subsequently reckoned many names of note both in support of and opposition to it. It need hardly be said that the Roman decrees were not *ex cathedra* decisions, and consequently had no claim to infallibility.

Quite lately Professor Kraus, of the University of Freiburg, instituted a most comprehensive investigation, which resulted in this final conclusion: Blood *ampullae,* blood-phials and vessels, are discovered in graves both before and after the time of Constantine. It is unproven and improbable that wine was found in any one of these vessels. Nor has it been proved with absolute certainty that any of these vessels contained blood, yet in six instances it is highly probable. In the majority of cases the red deposit is oxide of iron, produced by the disintegrating effect of damp upon the glass. Many glasses contained holy water, or—as others opine—fragrant essences.

Amongst the most remarkable finds made in the Catacombs are the gilded glasses, *fondi d'oro,* the bottoms of glasses having designs traced on them in gold. The artificer laid upon the bottom of a drinking-vessel, a cup of wide but not high shape, a gold leaf on which he drew a design. This was done not by scratching it into the gold, but by removing with the burin all the gold that was not needed to outline the drawing, to form the figures and inscriptions. The design was so arranged that the figures and letters to be seen aright should be looked at from the inside of the cup. Another plate of glass was then laid over the gold and the two were welded together by fire so as to form a solid mass, thus protecting the drawing from all external influences and preserving it in its pristine clearness down to our own day. As works of art the *fondi d'oro* are for the most part of no high order, either as to composition or execution; very few show much talent in the artist; on the contrary, from an archeological point of view, they are of very great value and importance.

The gilded glasses were, like the blood-phials mentioned above, pressed into the cement covering of the grave whilst it was still soft. Whole, uninjured cups are very rarely met with; as a rule only the double bottom remains, the gold tracery on which is in perfect preservation. The Christians ornamented the graves of their relatives with them, partly on account of the religious subjects they represented, partly in order to mark the graves for future recognition. In the year 1858 Garrucci, a learned Roman antiquarian, made a collection of the gilded glasses preserved in all the museums of Europe, and published reproductions of three hundred and forty of them. Since that time no more have been found. According to De Rossi's calculation these singular artistic objects belong to the latter half of the third century.

The designs on some of these glasses point to a Pagan or Jewish origin: amongst these are representations of pugilists, charioteers, of Hercules, Achilles, Cupid and Psyche, the Graces, of scenes of school or nursery life. On other glasses shipwrights, carpenters, cabinet-makers, coiners, vendors of unguents, etc., are depicted at work with their respective implements. The seven-branched candlestick denotes Jewish origin. The greater number, however, are of a distinctly Christian character; they represent the Good Shepherd, the miracles of Our Lord, especially the miraculous multiplication of bread. The Biblical types represent our first parents, Noe, Abraham, Moses, Isaias, Jonas, Mary, either alone or in the company of saints; the figures of the apostles Peter and Paul recur more than eighty times, sometimes alone, sometimes with Christ, with Mary, or other saints—in all manner of form and figure; besides these appear the most eminent martyrs, Agnes, Laurence, Hippolytus, Sixtus, and others. Not unfrequently the whole figures or busts of a married couple are depicted, sometimes surrounded by their children; these groups are peculiarly pleasing.

To what use were these glasses put? The domestic scenes, the marriages, and so forth, together with the inscriptions, show that many of the glasses were gifts on the occasion of some joyful happening or at festivities. Others were doubtless employed at the celebration of religious solemnities and at agapae or love-feasts. This explains inscriptions that are met with, such as these: *"Dulcis anima vivas,"* "Mayest thou live, sweet soul!" *"Cum tuis feliciter zeses"* (sic), "Mayest thou live happily with thine own people!" *"Victor vivas in nomine Laureti"* (sic), "May Victor live in the name of Laurence!" This was a usual toast when the glasses were raised in honor of the saint.

The great number of portraits of the two chief apostles may be accounted for by the fact that their festivals were celebrated in Rome with great pomp and great sympathy on the part of the people. Ecclesiastical writers begin early to lament that the limits of temperance were often exceeded at the agapae held on these festive occasions. All did not act as did the mother of St. Augustine, who drank wine diluted with water out of a small glass which she brought with her. "When she took to the church the basket of food that she was going to distribute to the poor, she only kept for herself a small cup of wine freely diluted with water, in accordance with her habitual abstinence. And if a toast was drunk at several burial-places in honor of the deceased, she would carry with her a small goblet from one grave to another, and when those who were with her emptied their goblets, she merely sipped the wine which was already well diluted and almost tasteless, obeying the dictates of piety instead of pleasing her palate." ("Confessions of St. Augustine," vii, 2.)

Just as the blood of the martyrs was gathered up and preserved with devout veneration, so their fellow-Christians endeavored to obtain possession of the instruments of their torture and death, in order to lay them beside their remains in the grave, as glorious trophies of victory. When this was impossible, the outline of the instruments was frequently engraved

on the cement or on the wall of the grave. On the tomb of St. Agapitus a lance was sketched, on that of St. Exuperantius a caldron standing over a fire. On the slab covering the tomb of the martyr Herminus these words are inscribed *"Plumbatis caesus"*—"he was beaten with scourges weighted with lead," and the instruments in question are outlined at the side. The tomb of the martyr St. Philomena, whose remains were discovered in 1802, in St. Priscilla's Catacomb, bore as tokens of her torture three arrows and a torch, together with the symbolical palm and anchor. A half-broken blood-phial was found in the interior of the tomb. Philomena was tortured and executed under Diocletian.

The chief desire of the survivors was, however, to inter the instruments of torture with the martyrs, unless they were preserved, as are St. Peter's chains, or the gridiron of St. Laurence. Very often nails, pincers, hooks, scourges, iron combs and the like, were found in the tombs. The scourges loaded with lead mentioned above consisted of several chains fastened together by a ring, with lumps of lead at the ends; the hooks were a circular iron hoop, to which an iron handle was attached, outside the hoop several long nails or iron points were fixed, bent in different directions. On one tomb being opened in the cemetery of St. Agnes, the skeleton of a martyr was found with a nail still fixed in the skull. And at Milan St. Ambrose discovered in the tomb of SS. Vitalis and Agricola the nails and wood of the cross whereon the last-named martyr died.

As the galleries and chapels of the Catacombs were dark, notwithstanding the funnel-shaped apertures or shafts to admit light, the use of a good many lamps was indispensable. Those whose only object was to disperse the darkness stood on pedestals or truncated columns in the corridors and chambers, were suspended by chains from the roof, or fixed in the cement. The lamp had at the same time a figurative significance for the Christian. The Pagan Romans made use of it in the

Fig. 380. Bronze Lamp of Valerius Severus. Uffizi, Florence

sepulchral chamber from superstitious ideas. The Christians borrowed the custom of carrying them at funerals from the Jews. As for the Jews, so for the Christians, the lamp was a symbol of the eternal light, the enjoyment of which the Church desired for the deceased, the brightness of eternal glory upon which the just enter in heaven. For this reason miniature lamps were either imbedded in the cement that closed the tomb outside, or were laid beside the corpse inside the tomb, as a sign, St. Jerome observes, that the saints who departed this life in the light of faith, now shine resplendent in the glorious light of their eternal country.

No wonder, then, that these sepulchral lamps have been and still are found in great numbers in the Catacombs. Most of them, especially the oldest, are made of clay; bronze is less often used, and still more rarely are they fashioned of silver, or some other costly material such as amber. By far the greater number are in the form of a ship, or boat, which was a favorite symbol of the Church; otherwise they have no distinctively Christian orna-

ment. Others, however, are decorated with a variety of Christian emblems; those met with most frequently are the palm-branch, the lamb, the fish, the dove, the monogram of Christ; the cross, the Good Shepherd, and Jonas. Comparatively few lamps are of great interest either on account of their elegant artistic shape or their deep symbolical meaning. One bronze lamp that was found is in the form of a ship with sails unfurled; on the poop a man is sitting, holding up a scroll in his right hand, while his left is on the helm; in the fore part of the ship there is another man in the attitude of prayer; on the mast is this superscription: *"Dominus legem dat,"* "the Lord gives the law." The ship is an emblem of the Church, the steersman and lawgiver of the Kingdom of God is Christ, the man on the fore part is Peter, who prayerfully and trustfully gazes out across the vast ocean into the distance, the years that are to come.

Amongst almost all the nations of antiquity it was customary to inter with the dead the articles which they had peculiarly prized during their lifetime, generally objects pertaining to the necessaries or enjoyments of life. This custom may be ascribed partly to superstitious ideas, partly to natural and just feelings. If certain objects play a prominent part in a man's life, whether for joy or for sorrow, they gradually come to appear in our eyes as inseparable, as it were, from his well-being, and essential to his happiness, and we feel reluctant that they should not go with him to the grave, although reason tells us that they can profit him nothing in death. This explains many finds in the Catacombs. Christianity did not condemn the time-honored custom, nor restrain the aforesaid feeling, yet never did it sanction the superstitious notions which were imported from Paganism into Christianity; but of this the evidences are few and far between. On the other hand it is striking to observe how completely the early Christians divested themselves of Pagan superstitions; their faith everywhere appears to have been as profound and sincere as it was pure and enlightened.

Who would search for riches in the tombs of the Catacombs? Yet bodies were found there clothed in robes of cloth of gold, and tombs which bore no sign of the deceased having filled a high post in the world. We ought assuredly not to ascribe this splendor to Pagan ostentation, but regard it as the expression of Christian esteem and respect for the dead, and for the virtues they practised in their lifetime.

FIGS. 381, 382. BRONZE AND CLAY LAMPS. CHRISTIAN MUSEUM, VATICAN

Some of the articles found in the coffins are jewels, cut stones, trinkets, bracelets, earrings, rings, necklaces, buckles, hairpins, combs, even mirrors, and so forth; some with, some without, Christian symbols. The bracelets and rings are often found on the skeleton, or they lie beside it like the other ornaments. Many of the paintings in the Catacombs prove that it was the holy virgins who were represented profusely decked with pearls, as crowned and glorified brides of Christ. This idea may also have been the influencing motive which caused

many of the departed to be laid in the grave "adorned as a bride."

Engraved gems or coins were sometimes put into the coffin, or more often pressed into the wet plaster when the grave was closed. In most instances the coin or medal was intended to ornament the grave; it also served to mark the place of burial, or to give the date of the interment by the coinage and the image of the emperor then reigning.

When branches of evergreens were laid in the tomb, it was as a symbol of the immortality of the soul, and of the unfading crown, the guerdon of the blessed. Laurel, which is most frequently found, is well known to be an emblem of triumph and victory.

In the Roman collections of objects found in the Catacombs children's toys in great number and variety are to be seen. Small dolls of ivory or some other material with movable limbs, bells of bronze or silver—apparently favorite playthings in ancient times—small masks of ivory and clay composed of several pieces put together, crystal balls, little cases or boxes in which the children probably collected and kept all their presents at the New Year, as many do now. More noteworthy are the *bullæ,* hollow spheroids of gold, worn round the neck by the children of patricians, a badge of childhood in ancient Rome, or an amulet to ward off the power of malignant charms. Christianity hallowed the custom by engraving Christian symbols on the *bullæ* and enclosing relics within them.

Amongst the most curious discoveries made in the Catacombs is that of different kinds of counters or dice. It is very probable that some of these are what may be termed tokens of friendship. Amongst most of the nations of antiquity aliens and foreigners had no rights, while on the other hand, perhaps because of that, the claims of hospitality were considered sacred. Guest and host entered into a covenant of friendship one with another, which was handed down from father to son. As a countersign of this friendship a coin or counter was broken in two, each party keeping one half, and on his death bequeathing it to those who came after him. If the two halves when placed together fitted exactly, the children on either side regarded one another as friends and allies, because of the bond which united their fathers. This beautiful custom was quite in keeping with Christian charity. One of these tokens of friendship which was found in the Catacombs is in the shape of an ivory egg, broken into two parts; round the division two heads are drawn, looking toward each other; above are the words: *"Dignitas amicorum! Vivas cum tuis feliciter"*—"Long live friendship! Live happily with thine own people."

## 8. THE INSCRIPTIONS IN THE CATACOMBS

SINCE the re-discovery of the Catacombs learned men, both in Rome and elsewhere, have been at pains to make collections of the epitaphs found on the graves; the majority of the inscriptions on those monuments are of no slight historical value. Moreover, they are the incorruptible record of the sentiments, affections, and belief of the first Christians. This has been made sufficiently apparent in the foregoing chapters, wherein numerous epitaphs have been adduced in proof. In this branch of science also De Rossi has done splendid service, surpassing any of his predecessors. His first and most important volume of Roman inscriptions (published 1857-1861), containing the inscriptions bearing dates of the first seven centuries, affords the most valuable assistance to the student of Christian antiquity.

The inscriptions are divided into three distinct classes, according to the manner of their execution: those that were engraved in stone or bronze (*lapis, titulus*),

those that were painted in color or drawn with charcoal (*dipinti*), and those that were scratched with a pointed instrument in stone or mortar (*graffiti*); the last-named display for the most part plain characters and hasty writing, whereas the inscriptions in marble or bronze are often admirably, even splendidly executed, just as on Pagan monuments of the same period. Correctness in orthography and punctuation was little heeded; this certainly increased the difficulty of deciphering and understanding the inscriptions, yet on the other hand it is of assistance in fixing their age. The earliest inscriptions are the most correct and free from errors of orthography. With the gradual decline of the Roman Empire which made itself felt in small things as in great, Rome lost accuracy in language and in writing. Other failings in glyptic art may be ascribed to the poverty of many Christians, to the haste with which the engraving on the tombstone had to be accomplished, and to the necessity of working by lamplight.

Many of the Latin inscriptions in the Catacombs, like the Pagan ones of that same epoch, were written in Greek characters, and sometimes Greek words were introduced. The knowledge of Greek was very general in Rome and the bad taste of the day required that among the upper classes of society there should be an admixture of Greek words both in conversational and written Latin, a custom which extended even to epitaphs. Some sepulchral tablets bear inscriptions composed entirely in the Greek language, as will be seen from the illustration on the next page, which reads: "I, Zosimos, the believing child of believing parents, lie here, after a life of two years, one month, and twenty-five days."

The age of individual inscriptions may to a great extent be determined by their length or brevity; the older they are the shorter they are, while the later ones are of far greater length. The earlier are also simpler, the later are more wordy, giving details, and often a laudation of the deceased. Thus the inscriptions are arranged in different degrees of development, which we will briefly enumerate, allowing, of course, for the prolongation of one class into another: 1. The name alone is engraved on the tombstone, *e.g.*, "Claudianos," "Fabianos" (see the account of the Papal vault). 2. The date of the interment, the "deposition," is given; *e.g.*, "Sedatus, deposited on November 21." 3. The age of the deceased is stated: "Servilia, thirteen years of age, under the Consuls Piso and Bolanus." 4. The merits and estimable qualities of the departed are mentioned in his praise: "Bonosus, who deserved well of his country," and so forth. 5. The relationship of the dead to the survivors is stated: "Dorotheus, to his sweetest son," and so forth. 6. Particulars are given concerning the station, the calling, the branch of industry followed by the deceased; sepulchral tablets are found to mention every grade of ecclesiastical rank from the Bishop of Rome to the doorkeeper and gravedigger; all social positions from the meanest artisan to the officials of the imperial court: "Here John, bookkeeper in Isidorus' wineshop, rests in peace;" "To the memory of Prosenes, steward of the treasury, of the inherited property, and of the wine-cellar, of Emperor Commodus." 7. At a later period the situation, the purchase or gift of the place of sepulture is mentioned. (See page 208.) 8. To this class the inscriptions belong which state with almost petty minuteness the circumstances of the life of the deceased: "Severus, also named Paschasius, was born on Easter Day, on April 4, a Thursday, in the year 457; he lived six years. On April 21, 463, he was baptized, and on the octave of Easter he put off the white baptismal robe and descended into the grave." The exactitude with which the precise length of the life of the deceased, even to an hour, is given in some cases, strikes one as peculiar, as in the accompanying epitaph: "Flavia Tigris, the dearest of daughters, who lived five years, three months, . . . days, four hours." Sometimes even the number of *scrupuli* are stated (*scrupulus*

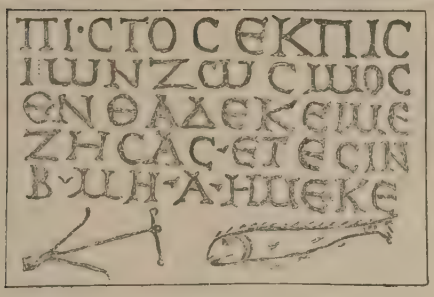


Fig. 383. Greek Inscription on the Grave of the Child Zosimos

= the twenty-fourth part of an hour): "Silvana, who lived twenty-one years, three months, four hours, six scruples (fifteen minutes)."

The contrast between Paganism and Christianity is felt most sensibly in sight of the grave. The Pagan epitaphs betray wretchedness, excessive grief, longing for the enjoyments of the past life, and dread of the future, fear of passing into the realm of shadows, Hades. Nay more, on the sepulchral tablets the departed often acknowledges the absence of all belief and consequently the lack of all consolation in death: "This is my eternal abode, here I lie, and here I shall lie for evermore"; or: "Whither I go in death, I know not; I die most reluctantly; farewell, you who survive me." "I lived as I pleased; I know not wherefore I must die."

The tomb of the Christian, as seen in the Catacombs, presents a very different view. There we behold the anchor of hope, the palm of eternal, triumphant joy, the olive-branch of celestial peace. There there is no uncertainty for the dying, no problem for the survivors. The three letters seen upon many tombstones, S.V.D., *"Sic voluit Deus,"* "So God willed," explain everything, and shed upon all that appears mysterious the light of a blissful faith. Thus we read, *e.g.,* "To Adeodata, a maiden to be venerated and rich in merits; she rests here in peace by the command of her Christ"; "Here Damalis—so God has willed—rests in God."

Effusive, exaggerated mourning, unduly bitter sorrow and grief do not appear upon the tombs of the Catacombs, as they do on the graves of those who have no hope. Why is this? The departed Christian does not dwell forever in his last resting-place; he only sleeps; his soul lives and his body will rise again to eternal life. An atmosphere of calm, delicious peace pervades the galleries—otherwise so terrible—of the vast underground city of the dead. The words: *"In pace,"* "in peace," are inscribed on the tombs more frequently than any others.

Can it be said that the Christians did not cherish an affectionate remembrance of their dead? In no wise. We have already had sufficient opportunity to point out with what holy awe and deep respect the early Christians regarded the dwellings of the dead, with what earnestness they commended them to the divine charity and compassion; in short, with what warm affection they clung to their departed brethren. The epithet seen on countless graves, which the Christians loved to apply to the dead, is *"dulcissimus,"* "most sweet." *"Anima dulcis, incomparabili filio,"* "Sweet soul, incomparable son"; *"Severo, filio dulcissimo,"* "To my sweetest son, Severus"; *"Luciferae, conjugi dulcissimae,"* "To Lucifera, most sweet wife." One looks in vain for any trace of such heartfelt affection, such sincere feeling in the pompous epitaphs of heathen tombs.

A few words may be added about the graffiti, the inscriptions scratched upon the walls. It is an old use—or rather abuse—that every traveler visiting any place should seek to leave some trace or

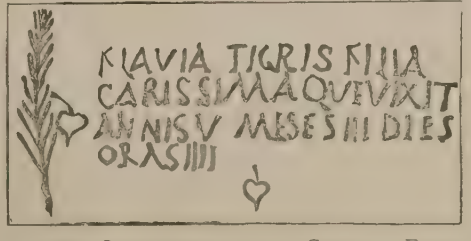



Fig. 384. Inscription on the Grave of Flavia Tigris

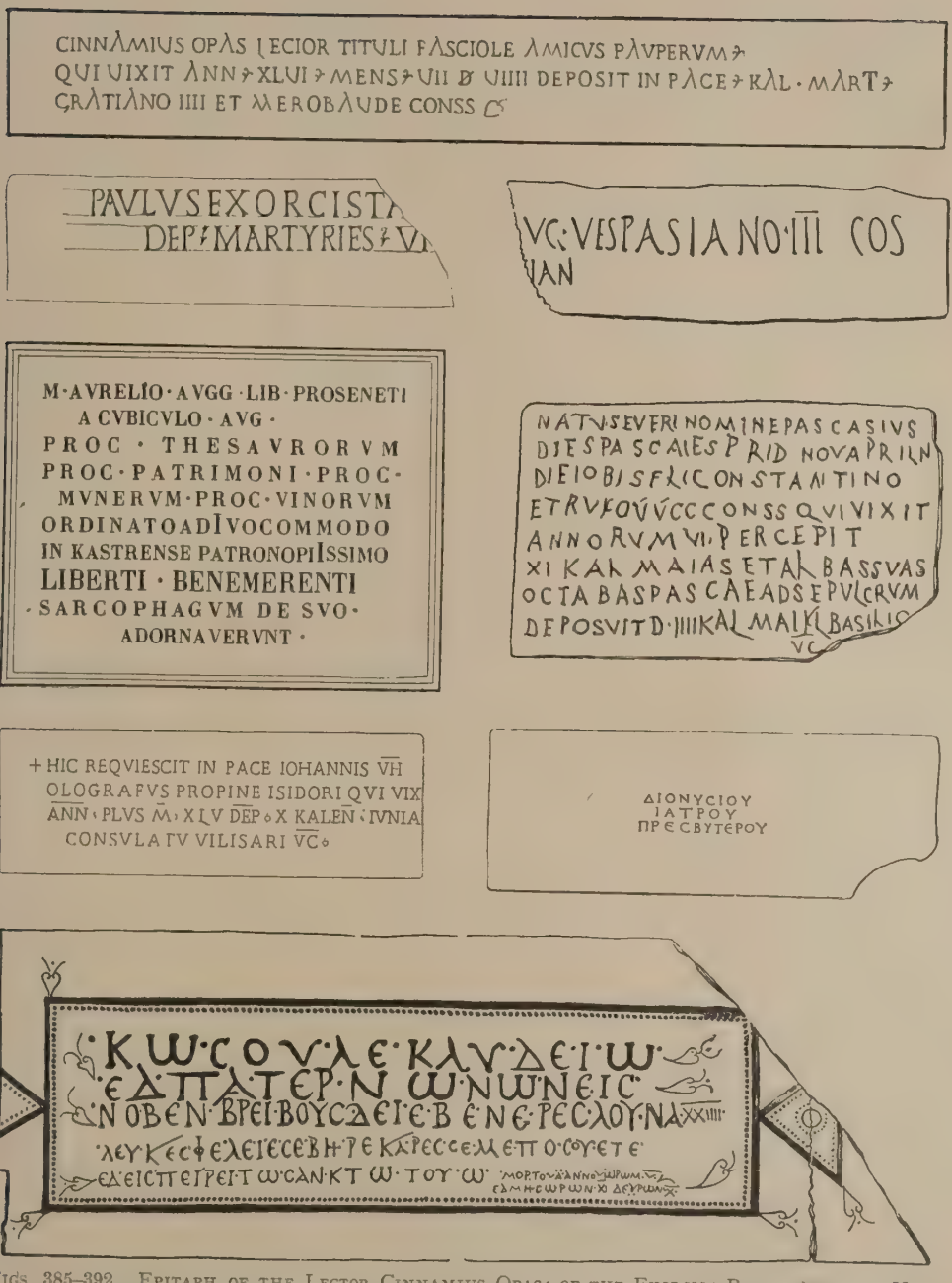
memorial of his having been there, if only by scribbling his name on a wall. Thus it was the custom of the pilgrims, multitudes of whom visited the Catacombs, to leave witness of their presence in the numerous graffiti scratched on the walls. "It may be said in general that in the fourth and fifth centuries Latin and Greek names predominated, and in the sixth to the ninth Saxon, Gothic, and Lombardic" (K. M. Kaufmann). These graffiti were a great help to the antiquarians in the pursuit of their researches. The pilgrims and other visitors to the Catacombs most often wrote their names in the immediate vicinity of the tombs of celebrated martyrs, adding to them some invocation of or supplication to the saint. Hence the graffiti led to most important discoveries in the Catacombs, or they afforded supplementary evidence in confirmation of the conjectures of the explorer if he thought he had discovered an important sepulchral chamber of which, however, he had no certain proof.

As a matter of course the names met with on the graves of Christians are to a great extent those which originally belonged to Pagan deities (*e.g.,* Apollinaris, Liberius), or derived from numerals (*e.g.,* Primus, first, Septimus, seventh); from colors (Albinus, white, Candidus, bright); from animals (Agnes, lamb, Palumbulus, dove); from agriculture, fruits, and flowers (Arator, ploughman, Fabius, beanlike, Florentius, blossoming); from navigation (Pelagia, pertaining to the ocean); from rivers, districts, towns (Romanus, Roman, Sabina, Sabine); from the months (Januarius, Junius); from external physical qualities (Callixtus, the beautiful, Longinus, the tall); from moral qualities (Agatha, the good, Pudens, the modest); or from historical personages (Apelles, the famous painter, Alexander, the great conqueror).

Besides these we meet with other names which are exclusively Christian; the choice made of them and their meaning are of no slight value as characteristics of the faith and practice of our predecessors in the Christian life. The great number of these thoroughly Christian names are taken from the truths of the Faith (Athanasius, the immortal, Renatus, the regenerate); from ecclesiastical festivals or customs (Paschasius, Natalis, from the baptismal Easter or Christmas), or from the Christian virtues (Agape, love, Charitosa, the charitable). Names, too, in which the name of God was introduced were much in favor (Theophilus, one who loves God, Theopistes, who hopes in God). Other names give an insight into the task, the vocation, the peculiar characteristic of the Christian (Bellator, warrior, Victor, conqueror, Gaudentius, the joyous, Felicissimus, the most happy, Viator, the traveler, Coelestinus, the heavenly). The beautiful practice of adults taking a second name at their baptism, especially if the first savored of Pagan nomenclature, was early introduced. The custom of adopting the names of apostles and saints did not obtain until later, that of Mary about the fourth century. In times of persecution to bear such names would have been attended with danger, as Pagans hearing them would have concluded that those who bore them professed the Christian faith. The early Christians did not shrink from publicly confessing their creed, yet prudence and consideration for others often forbade them to proclaim it to all the world.

It is related of St. Philip Neri that one of his favorite devotional practices was to visit the seven principal churches of Rome, and also to spend the night in the Catacomb of St. Callixtus, beside the tombs of the saints, absorbed in the contemplation of heavenly things. "Whilst down there in nocturnal darkness he was surrounded by the bright beams of celestial light, and thence he emerged, returning to the light of the upper world, as a valiant warrior braced anew to gain fresh victories over the powers of evil;" thus Bosio, a member of his order, writes of him. The same is told of St. Charles Borromeo, the great Bishop of Milan; while he still resided in Rome he liked nothing better than to direct his steps to the seven churches and to the crypt

Sarcophagus No. 174, Lateran Museum; Sarcophagus of Junius Bassus, Vatican Grottoes; Sarcophagus No. 55, Lateran Museum


CINNAMIUS OPAS LECTOR TITULI FASCIOLE AMICVS PAVPERVM
QVI VIXIT ANN XLVI MENS VII D VIIII DEPOSIT IN PACE KAL MART
GRATIANO IIII ET MEROBAVDE CONSS
PAVLVS EXORCISTA
DEP MARTYRIES VI
VC VESPASIANO III COS
M AVRELIO AVGG LIB PROSENETI
A CVBICVLO AVG
PROC THESAVRORVM
PROC PATRIMONI PROC
MVNERVM PROC VINORVM
ORDINATO AD IVO COMMODO
IN KASTRENSE PATRONO PISSIMO
LIBERTI BENEMERENTI
SARCOPHAGVM DE SVO
ADORNAVERVNT
NATVS EVERI NOMINE PASCASIVS
DIE SPASCALIES PRID NOVA PRIL
DIE IOBI SFELICONSTANTINO
ET RVFO VVCC CONSS QVI VIXIT
ANNORVM VI PERCEPIT
XI KAL MAIAS ETAL BASSVAS
OCTABAS PASCAE AD SEPVLCRVM
DEPOSVIT D IIII KAL MAI FL BASILIO
VC
+ HIC REQVIESCIT IN PACE IOHANNIS VH
OLOGRAFVS PROPINE ISIDORI QVI VIX
ANN PLVS M XLV DEP X KALEN IVNIAS
CONSVLATV VILISARI VC
ΔΙΟΝΥCΙΟΥ
ΙΑΤΡΟΥ
ΠΡΕCΒΥΤΕΡΟΥ

FIGS. 385–392. EPITAPH OF THE LECTOR CINNAMIUS OPAS; OF THE EXORCIST PAUL; FROM THE YEAR 71 (CONSULATE OF VESPASIAN); OF THE STEWARD PROSENES; OF SEVERUS PASCHASIUS; OF THE BOOKKEEPER JOHN; OF THE PHYSICIAN AND PRIEST DIONYSIUS; OF LEUCE FROM THE YEAR 269

of St. Callixtus. The Catacombs must assuredly be dear to the heart of every Catholic, as they were to those eminent saints.

The shining marbles, the dazzling glitter of gold, the noble works of art which fulfil their destiny in the service of religion above ground in the sanctuaries and basilicas of Rome, are not found in the Catacombs. The streets of that subterranean city are dark and bare, the sepulchral chambers solemn and gloomy, the frescoes on the walls are simple, inartistic, meager, unattractive, unlovely, the colors are faded and partly obliterated by damp, the drawing is often faulty, and the execution wanting in finish. Yet corridors and passages, paintings and inscriptions, are venerable, for they date from the fairest period of the springtide of the Church and of Christianity, from the first three centuries of the Christian era, when the Church produced the most glorious saints and martyrs, when faith was stronger, hope firmer, charity purer than at any other epoch. Moreover, the paintings and inscriptions of the Catacombs are an incorruptible record, engraved by saintly hands, which afford an incontestable proof that in regard to faith, hope, and charity, willing sacrifice and bold confession, in divine graces and the means of grace, in self-denial and suffering, in life and in death, we are one with the community to whom the doctrine of Christ was taught by the chief of the apostles. Hence each touch of the artist's pencil, each character traced on the hallowed walls of subterranean Rome, is in our eyes a venerable relic, an inestimable treasure.

## 9. THE WORKS OF EARLY CHRISTIAN PLASTIC ART

ANCIENT Christian plastic art, or the work of the sculptor, belongs only partially to what is, strictly speaking, the art of the Catacombs; yet a brief mention of it is not out of place here, since it stands in close connection with the Catacomb paintings and in itself forms a distinct group.

The simplest form of sepulchral sculpture in the Catacombs consisted in the carving of inscriptions and symbols upon the slabs that closed the tombs. The favorite symbols are those of the Good Shepherd, lambs, doves, and orants. Yet relievos, properly so called, could only be executed with any freedom on the stone coffins, the sarcophagi.

There are in Rome more than five hundred sarcophagi, more, that is, than are to

FIG. 395. SARCOPHAGUS WITH BIBLICAL REPRESENTATIONS. LATERAN MUSEUM

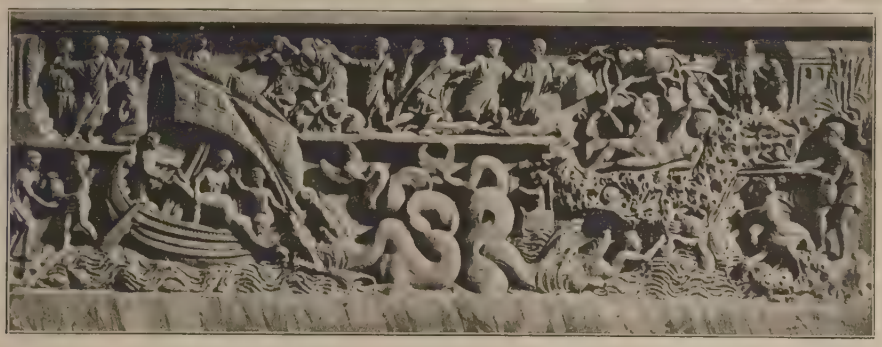


Fig. 394. Sarcophagus with Representations from the Life of Jonas. Lateran Museum

be met with in all the other countries of the West together. The collection founded by Pius IX contains 270 stone coffins, either whole or in part; of these fifty-four are proved to have come from different Catacombs. Amongst them are specimens of every degree of plastic decoration, from the simplest to the most ornate and elaborate. The most meager consist of little else than some linear tracery and an inscription on a tablet. To these undulating flutings are often added. As the sarcophagi are for the most part erected against a brick wall, the back part was usually left without any decoration; but the front, the two sides, and the lid were at the disposal of the sculptor. The busts of the deceased person or persons, for sometimes the sarcophagus was destined to contain two bodies, were often exhibited in bold relief in a concave recess in the center of the frontal, like the half of a bivalve shell; in some rare instances the whole of the front was occupied by one connected scene, *e.g.,* that of a vintage. As in the Catacomb paintings the space was often divided into panels or compartments for smaller, separate pictures, so in the sculptures of the sarcophagi the same method was pursued, the front piece being divided by short pillars or arches for a row of carvings, or for two rows, one above another.

The ancient Christian style of sculptoring sarcophagi lasted until the sixth century. In the year 410 Alaric, king of the Goths, took Rome by storm, and from that time onward for a considerable period one conqueror and plunderer succeeded another in that city. For a long time subsequent to 410 no artistic work of any importance was produced. It is much to be regretted that Christian plastic art shared in the general decline and degradation of those times. The artistic conception was often good and original, the intention noble and earnest, but the technical knowledge and manipulation were not on a par with them. The sense of proportion and due acquaintance with the structure of the human form were lacking. As for the subject, the ever-recurring cycle of the paintings is met with, though the treatment is varied and enlarged in many ways. Many merely ornamental motives, such as cupids, nereids, tritons, dolphins, griffins, masked figures, personifications of the sun, the moon, the earth, rivers, etc., are evidently borrowed from Pagan plastic art, although, apart from this, the Christian sculptor had no connection with the Pagan members of his profession.

The sarcophagus No. 174 in the Lateran Museum is a beautiful specimen of such divisions and groups. It was found in the Vatican cemetery and probably dates from the first half of the fourth century. Eight richly ornamented columns of the composite order support the architrave and divide the frontal into seven compartments. The scenes represented in the several compartments, beginning on the left, are: Abraham's sacrifice—the hand of God is seen above

bidding him desist—the apprehension of Peter, Paul's prayer of entreaty to Christ. In the central compartment, which is wider than the others, Our Lord is represented as youthful; He is enthroned between two apostles, dominating over a figure personifying *Coelus,* the heavens. The other scenes depicted are: Peter receiving in his hands, which are covered, the Law from Christ, Christ led by a soldier, Christ arraigned before Pilate, and, in the last, Pilate washing his hands.

The handsomest and most noteworthy early Christian marble sarcophagus is that of the patrician Junius Bassus, of the family of the Anicii, who died in 369, at the age of forty-two years, shortly after his baptism, at the time when he was filling the office of prefect in Rome. This massive sarcophagus is 2.41 meters in length, and 1.17 meters in height; the frontal is richly covered with two rows of sculptures, systematically and well arranged. In the lower row from left to right the scenes portrayed are: Job in his misery, Adam and Eve under the tree

Fig. 395. Statue of St. Peter. Vatican Grotto

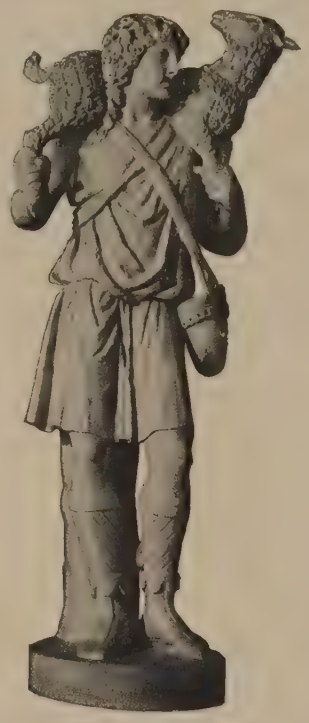


Fig. 396. The Good Shepherd. Lateran Museum

of knowledge, Christ's entry into Jerusalem, Daniel in the lions' den (a modern restoration, the original figure was doubtless nude), Paul led to execution. Above are Abraham's sacrifice, Peter's arrest, Christ, a youthful figure sitting enthroned between two apostles, and, in the two last compartments, Christ before the judgment seat of Pilate. The workmanship is so excellent that it appears really marvellous when one considers the time at which it was executed. The symbolical figures in the spandrels of the arches and the pediments of the lower division are very remarkable also. They are supposed to represent the three youths in the fiery furnace and the angel protecting them, the raising of Lazarus by Our Lord, the spring of water which Moses caused to issue from the rock, Christ blessing and transmuting the bread, and so forth. In these all the persons are under the figure of lambs, the presentment of which is

Fig. 397. St. Hippolytus. Lateran Museum

admirably realistic and characteristic. There are also other emblems relating to these scenes: beside Adam is a sheaf of corn, to signify that he must earn his bread from the earth in the sweat of his face, while Eve has a lamb at her side, because it befits her and her daughters to spin wool and occupy themselves with household work. In the center of sarcophagus No. 55 in the Lateran Museum is what is known as an *Imago clipeata,* a medallion in the shape of a shield or a shell with the busts of two men, one of whom holds a written scroll; these are portraits of the persons interred in the sarcophagus. The groups in the lower row of sculptures represent, from left to right: Moses striking water from the rock, Daniel among the lions, an apostle, possibly Peter, sitting under a tree reading a scroll, Christ healing the man born blind, the miraculous multiplication of bread. The scenes in the upper row represent: the raising of Lazarus, Martha humbly kissing Our Lord's hand, Christ foretelling to Peter that he will deny Him, Moses receiving the Law from the hand of God, Abraham, arrested by the hand of God when about to sacrifice his son Isaac; and finally, Pilate washing his hands. The sarcophagus 2.10 x 1.08 x 1.20 meters was found in the basilica of St. Paul. One more sarcophagus in the Lateran Museum (No. 119), of which we give a picture, is remarkable for the series of scenes from the history of the prophet Jonas in high relief. The lower row of sculptures is ended both on the right and left by idyllic scenes, fishermen with aquatic birds. Between these, beginning on the left, the sailing vessel is seen from which Jonas is cast into the sea and swallowed by the great fish, to be presently ejected on dry land. Over against this scene the prophet is represented reposing in the shade of the ivy. Beneath is added a tiny figure of Noe in the ark, this being also a type of the Resurrection. In the upper row the raising of Lazarus and the production by Moses of the miraculous spring are represented. Between the scenes high up over the waving sails of the ship is a personification of *Luna* (the moon) with the crescent moon. The center is occupied by three men in hasty flight, at their feet two others lie prostrate; this may perhaps be intended to portray the pestilence which overtook the Israelites in the desert. This row also ends on the right by an idyllic scene, herdsmen with their cattle. The sarcophagus comes from the Vatican grottoes; it measures 2.20 x 0.70 x 0.65 meters.

The statuary of early Christian plastic art is only represented by three works of any importance: the first is the statue of St. Peter, which formerly stood in the lobby of old St. Peter's Church, and now is in what is called the Vatican grottoes, that is, in the crypt below the present church; the head and hands are restorations. In general the figure, both in respect to posture and drapery, strongly resembles the bronze statue of the Prince of the apostles which holds a prominent place in St. Peter's. The second is the seated figure of St. Hippolytus, the finest specimen of early Christian art extant

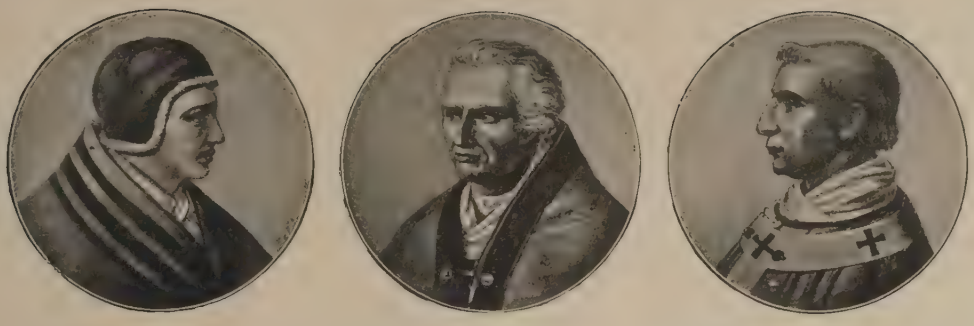
(see p. 309) which was found in the year 1551, in the Catacomb bearing his name; it is now in the Lateran Museum. The head, shoulders, and hands were mutilated, but have been skilfully restored. On the base of the chair is engraved a list of the published writings of Hippolytus, and also the table which he constructed for determining the true period of the Easter festival. The most pleasing specimen of statuary is the Good Shepherd in the Lateran, a youthful figure with long hair falling onto the shoulders; the expression of the features is mild and gentle. This statute, only 95 centimeters in height, is sculptured in Greek marble, and is probably a work of the third century.

# PART III

# MODERN ROME

FIGS. 398, 399. ST. PETER'S, THE VATICAN, AND THE BORGO SEEN FROM THE CASTLE OF ST. ANGELO; ROME, SEEN FROM ST. PETER'S DOME.

Popes Sixtus IV, Alexander VI, Leo X; Sixtus V, Clement VIII, Urban VIII; Clement XI, XII, and XIII; Clement XIV, Pius VI, and Pius IX



FIGS. 400-402. POPES GREGORY XI, EUGENE IV, AND NICHOLAS V. FROM PORTRAITS IN S. PAOLO FUORI LE MURA

# I. Introduction

## 1. HISTORICAL SURVEY

MODERN Christian Rome, with its imposing churches, noble palaces, splendid art collections, and public monuments owes these, and, indeed, all that the great city is, solely to the Popes.

Whenever we speak in this book of Modern Christian Rome we shall include many monuments that were built in the earliest centuries, not only because they are of utmost interest at the present time, but because they have been changed and modified since the advent of Christianity. For this reason all Roman structures above ground will be described and only the ruins and remnants of the Pagan city omitted.

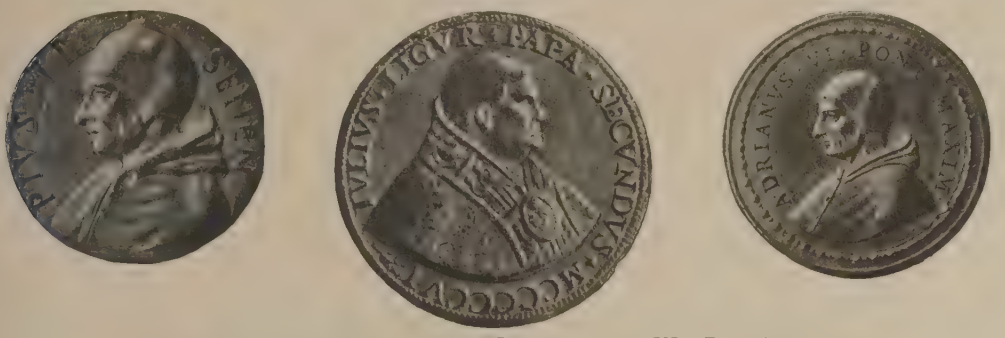
It must not be thought that the Rome of to-day has the appearance of a city of great antiquity, or makes herself everywhere felt as a city of the past. Far from it! A stranger may wander through her streets without noticing anything radically different from any modern Italian city. Omitting the southwestern part of the town, which contains most of the ruins of ancient Rome, and neglecting a few older structures that very often conceal their age beneath a modern decoration, Rome of to-day looks like a new city, which in many respects it is. Modern Rome is not old Rome. The restoration and rebuilding of the city began about four centuries ago under the rule of Pope Nicholas V (1447-1455).

From 1305 to 1376 Rome was no longer the city and the residence of the Popes; this epoch is known in history as the "Babylonian Captivity" of the Papacy. Ensnared and caught by the wiles and trickeries of the French kings, the Popes, for the most part Frenchmen, made Avignon in southern France their residence. What Christian Rome could become without a Pope was then seen. Never since its foundation did it sink so low, never was it so devoid of beauty, of glory, and of splendor. The number of inhabitants decreased to that of a small town, amounting, say reports, to only 17,000. Wild feudal wars and quarrels raged in the streets and caused almost more suffering than earthquake, pestilence, or hunger. The old monuments crumbled to ruin or were mercilessly destroyed. The Romans forgot their great past and the meaning of their ancient monuments. "Who is more ignorant to-day of things Roman than the citizens of Rome? Rome is nowhere less known than in Rome!" These words were sadly uttered by a famous contemporary, Petrarch.

The very prevalence of so much ruin alone brought the Romans to their senses. In the petition which the citizens presented to Gregory XI, who later changed his residence from Avignon to Rome, they beseech him: "Return to us, because the face of a great city, venerated by the whole world, is so disfigured that none can now recognize in it the Holy City and the head of the Church. Return to us, because the most famous and most sacred temples of Christianity, in which the supreme bishops occupied the apostolic chair, are wholly neglected; because they stand in need of honor, of restoration, and of decoration, and because they threaten to collapse; because the churches of the cardinals, the spots blessed by so many martyrs, are deserted by those who hold their honors and titles from the very names of these martyrs, and are, therefore, under obligations to care for them. Now, without roofs, walls, or gates, these churches stand open, even to their altars, for grazing herds." This description is scarcely exaggerated. Vespasiano, the biographer of Eugene IV (1431-1447), says, concerning the year 1443: "During the absence of the Pope the city had become like a village of herdsmen. Sheep and cows roamed about the streets, even where now stand the city's banks and business places." The city began to resemble its neighboring Campagna. The hills were deserted, strewn with ruins, and the narrow, dirty streets in the lower part were largely unpaved. Where to-day the Corso, the most beautiful street in Rome, cuts through the city toward the Porta del Popolo, and where the ancient Romans erected their finest monuments, were gardens and swamps in which men hunted wild ducks. The Church of St. Peter, like other shrines, looked dilapidated and threatened to collapse.

In the year 1447 Nicholas V, full of enthusiasm for science and art, ascended the Papal chair. "Were he to become rich," he said, "he would spend his money for books and buildings." And he kept his word. All Rome, which, as that famous writer Vasari says, "he turned upside down," was to become an imperishable monument of the Church. At that time the city resembled a large building lot. Its walls were thereupon repaired, towers for defense were built, the bridges were renewed, almost all the station-churches and many other shrines were partly altered, partly restored. The so-called Borgo—the fortified Leonine city in which stand St. Peter's and the Vatican, and which in former times (about 857) Leo IV had fortified with a small wall about twelve meters high and having twenty-four towers—this part of the city was to be changed into the most splendid and most magnificent Papal residence. The plan was as follows: Three broad streets were to lead from the tomb of Hadrian in a northerly direction to the Plaza of St. Peter's; and these streets were to be enclosed with halls and arcades of columns for stores, artists' studios, and banks of exchange, with quarters for the Papal court above them. The chief place or "square" was to have a length of 180 meters and a width of 90 meters; in the center huge statues of the four evangelists were to support the obelisk that in former times Emperor Nero had set up in his circus near the Vatican Hill; a statue of the Saviour was to stand on top of this column. At the end of the plaza high steps were to lead up to the new church of St. Peter, and in front would be a wide courtyard surrounded by arcades of columns and flanked on both sides with powerful towers. Five gates were to lead from the exterior courtyard into the porch of the church and five other gates into the cathedral which, divided into five naves by four rows of columns, would be 215 meters long and 110 meters wide by 90 meters high. Next to the cathedral would stand the Papal palace, with apartments for the Pope, cardinals, and court officials; with gorgeous halls for the reception of kings, princes, ambassadors, and envoys, and for the coronation of Popes and emperors. In the new city monasteries and churches were to be built, famous collections of art, gardens, fountains, and the like were to be located; the

whole was to be surrounded by high towered walls, so that the castle of the Popes, as a contemporaneous historian said, should be accessible only to the birds of the air. The plan was not executed; it was on too grand a scale and Nicholas V died too soon. Deep ditches had been dug and these alone marked the outlines of the new city and the first attempts at rebuilding Rome. But the incentive had been given and a desire for building had awakened. Almost all the later Popes have made their names immortal through large monuments and buildings. Next to them the cardinals have given to the Eternal City most beautiful churches, most beautiful palaces, and most beautiful monuments. Rome possesses little, one might almost say nothing, that is great, or a sublime architectural triumph, or an ancient monument of art, which is not marked with the escutcheon or the inscription of a Pope, a cardinal, or some other dignitary of the Church.



Figs. 403-405. Popes Pius II, Julius II, and Hadrian VI. From Medallions

Even more active than Nicholas V in the interests of art and the renovation of Rome was Sixtus IV (1471-1484). He gave quite a new appearance to the city. The streets were paved, bordered with brick sidewalks, and in the middle had a path raised for horses; they were, in addition, widened, for some had been so narrow that two horsemen meeting could not pass. In all parts of the city arose new palaces and churches with towers and domes. Of these we can name here only the Sistine Chapel in the Vatican Palace, named after its founder, Sixtus. We shall speak later of this famous chapel. His successor, Alexander VI (1492-1503), supported art in the same generous manner and Rome began to become the center where the greatest artists and their friends met and worked; and since this period the Popes, as princes in the divine kingdom of the Church and its worldly possessions, have called the most eminent artists to their court and employed their services in the spiritual and temporal domain. Until the fifteenth century Florence had been the center of science and art; but from that time it has been Rome—Papal Rome. And even to this day we all think that no artist is truly consecrated for his work unless he studies for some time in Rome.

Julius II (1503-1513), Prince of the Church, temporal ruler, and army chieftain, had only large, dominating ideas and could not efface his own individuality, even as the friend of artists or architects. He first of all took up the plan of Nicholas V, or a portion of it, and began working toward the completion of the Vatican Palace. His idea was to make the Vatican the center of Rome and of the Christian world; to make it the abode of the Pope, of the higher clergy, a place for Papal offices of administration as well as for the reception of distinguished visitors. When he was advised to rebuild the old church of St. Peter he conceived the bold plan of putting in its place the greatest and sublimest temple of Christendom, and he be-

gan that wonder of modern architecture, St. Peter's. Julius II deserves immortal praise for beautifying the city. After his death Inghirami, delivering the funeral oration before the cardinals, justly said: "The city which he found poor, insignificant, and desolated he converted into one replete with greatness, magnificence, and splendor worthy to be called Rome. Should one collect the structures erected within the last forty years they would form the true Rome. The rest—if I may be pardoned the expression—consists of nothing but huts." The gravity of the occasion did not prevent a storm of applause sweeping over the assemblage, so true were the orator's words.

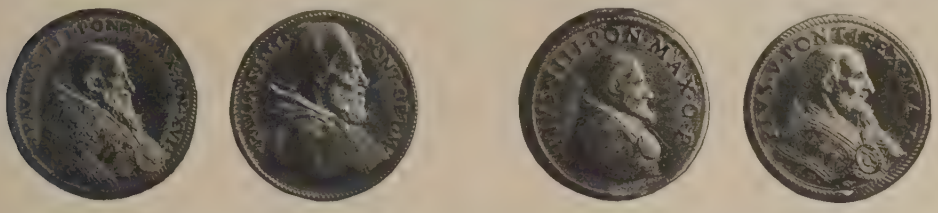
The great works begun by Julius II were continued by his successor, Leo X (1513-1521), of the ducal family of the Medici of Florence, whose name is inseparably connected with the splendor of arts and sciences. Never and nowhere in the world, in ancient Rome under Augustus or in ancient Greece, rich in art, were there so many great geniuses in one place as under Leo X; and they all devoted their talents to the service of the Pope and to the beautifying and enrichment of Rome. Two names shine above all others: Raphael Sanzio and Michael Angelo Buonarroti—two suns that simultaneously moved through the heaven of art.

This period, when the beautiful was in the ascendant, was greatly marred by the noise of arms, by the war between the German emperor Charles V and the French king Francis I, of which Italy was for a long time the chief scene. In 1527 Rome was captured and plundered by a German-Spanish army under a French leader. These were terrible days—nay even more than days; the plundering lasted three weeks!

"Thus began the scenes the memory and horror of which centuries could not efface, compared to which the former inroads of enemies were but child's play. Thus began the sacking of the Rome of Leo X, followed by the incendiary's torch, which for a long time destroyed its wealth, made an end of its happy life, dispersed its artists, and brought disgrace and misery to countless numbers. No city has

Fig. 406. The Siege of the Castle of St. Angelo, in 1527. Painting by Celentano, in Capodimonte

been plundered in so savage, so persistent, a manner; no citizens have ever been so ill-treated as the Romans. Spaniards and Germans sought to emulate each other in in art, and in science. He had in him something of the vigor of Julius II; he recalled the artists to Rome and thus insured a "ripe Indian summer" (Von Reumont).



Figs. 407-410. Popes Paul III, Paul IV, Pius IV, and Pius V. From Medallions

this dreadful work, the former with inventive cruelty, the latter with savage barbarism. Churches, palaces, monasteries, dwellings, huts—all were rifled and devastated with the same eagerness for booty" (Von Reumont). A great many of the German soldiers belonged to the so-called "reformed" faith; they thought to please God by showing revolting cruelty to and by bloody ill-treatment of the cardinals as well as by ridiculing, destroying, and annihilating holy things. Churches and monasteries they plundered and converted into horse-stables; valuable stained-glass windows were broken in order to melt their leaden rims into bullets; barbarous soldiers scratched out the eyes of mural paintings, broke busts and statues, tore valuable manuscripts to shreds and with them made beds for their horses. With enormous difficulty the Vatican collection of books was saved from wanton destruction. Even the graves were opened in order to rob the dead. Under Leo X the population of Rome was 90,000 inhabitants; after the sack hardly more than one-third remained. The terrified artists had scattered over all Europe. The unparalleled splendor of Roman art's highest perfection had passed! This lawless devastation of Rome has become proverbial under the name *Sacca di Roma* (the sack of Rome).

Seven years after this time of terror Paul III (1534-1549) was fortunately raised to the Papal chair. He was a man whose intelligence and prudence accomplished great things in religion, in politics, That master, Michael Angelo, was still alive and Paul III made better use of his powers than did his predecessors. The aged artist, as vigorous as he had been in youth, executed his most magnificent works for Paul III. In architecture there was great activity, and many palatial edifices, including the Pauline Chapel in the Vatican, recall the name of Paul III.

Few arms are seen as frequently on artistic structures as those of Sixtus V (1585-1590)—four lions with seven cones, the symbol of the seven hills of Rome. Sixtus was a strong character similar to Julius II, one of those men who by his firm bearing, great ideas and deeds, together with an imperturbable sense of justice, are held far above anything small or trivial. All that he built in Rome bears the imprint of greatness, of power, of firmness. He had the courage to restore and open one of those aqueducts many miles in length which had been built by the ancient Romans; from a distance of twenty-two miles he conducted water to the heights of the Quirinal and called it, after his own given name, *Acqua Felice* (happy water). The importance of the work is marked by a statue of Moses on the top of the well. The prophet carries in his hand the staff with which he made a spring flow from the rock. Sixtus also set up the granite obelisks which the Roman emperors had brought from Egypt. In order to connect the distant quarters of the city with life and traffic, he constructed several long and fine streets; and the Romans who lived in the lower town

Fig. 411-413. Popes Paul V, Alexander VII, and Innocent XI. From Medallions

now preferred to settle on the hills where the air is better and where the Pope built large, palatial reservoirs. In the completion of the dome of St. Peter's he employed two hundred workmen, who labored day and night. Sixtus, furthermore, founded St. Luke's Academy of Painting, and under him the Papal mosaic factory came into existence. Thus did he cause Rome to bloom again as the capital of the world. He had no great liking for the monuments of ancient Rome, unless he could use them for the splendor of the new Rome or for the glory of Christianity.

Another Pope, Clement VIII (1592-1605), devoted, on the other hand, his attention to the ruins of ancient Rome. No great new structure bears his name; he was satisfied with the more modest task of preserving and restoring what already existed, for which he deserves great credit. Many churches owe their restoration to him.

The name of Paul V (1605-1621), of the princely Borghese family, shines in gigantic letters on the façade of St. Peter's. Paul V completed the cathedral by building the principal nave and the façade. He loved artists and at his court in the Vatican the painter Guido Reni lived like a prince. Paul's name is also associated with the restoration of an aqueduct, one which Trajan had built centuries earlier and which had fallen into complete decay. It now conducts water to Rome from a distance of over thirty-six miles.

Fig. 414. J. J. Winckelmann

During the reign of Urban VIII (1623-1644) Rome again harbored many native and foreign artists. No name was more celebrated than that of the architect, sculptor, and painter Bernini. Through him and his pupils Rome assumed a new aspect, so far as the exterior of its buildings and monuments is concerned. In place of the graceful, beautiful, grand, and lofty we now have the picturesque, the gorgeous, the magnificent, sometimes also the pompous and over-crowded baroque style. Statues with flowing and fluttering garments, in lifelike poses and with animated expression; architectural works, churches especially, with glittering ornaments in gold, silver, and precious stones; the ground-plan and elevations of buildings on showy and audacious lines—these are the characteristics and this the style of the new school. Every reader is familiar with them, for from Rome they made their way through the entire world and in some places they still predominate. Great artistic power was often manifested in the baroque; the Germans notably succeeded in erecting large and beautiful buildings in this style, having a superb en-

semble, or total effect. Bernini's style held sway in Rome until the most recent times.

All the Popes of the last two centuries exhibited a profound feeling for art and often under most unfavorable conditions. They devoted themselves, first of all, to ecclesiastical and religious art and subsequently to the ruins and fragmentary remains of ancient Rome, until every splinter had received attention. The motto of Clement XI (1700-1721) was: "Everything for art; nothing for me." Clement XII (1730-1740) founded magnificent collections on the Capitol for works and fragments of the art of ancient Rome. Credit must be given him for enlarging and completing the interior of the Papal Palace of the Quirinal, which once was the summer residence of the Popes, but is now occupied by the king of Italy.

FIGS. 415-418. POPES BENEDICT XIV, LEO XII, PIUS VIII, AND GREGORY XVI. FROM MEDALLIONS

Benedict XIV (1740-1758) was one of the most highly educated, most learned Popes who have occupied the Papal Chair. When still archbishop of his native town, Bologna, he wrote: "The duty of a cardinal, the best service he can render the Holy See, is to attract learned and honest men to Rome; the Pope needs not to maintain his dignity with weapons and armies, but only by making Rome the spiritual model for all cities." He founded four academies or scientific societies, two of which were for the cultivation of ancient Roman history and for collecting its fragments and objects of art. To this end he not only increased the existing collections but founded new ones, such as the Christian Museum in the Vatican (which contains most remarkable remains of ancient Christian life), and the beautiful collection of paintings on the Capitol Hill.

The noble Venetian, Clement XIII, was equally and similarly active.

Inseparably connected with the Museo Pio-Clementino are the names of Popes Clement XIV and Pius VI. This is the greatest, most famous, and most beautiful collection of art in the world, and was begun by Clement XIII, continued by Clement XIV, and completed by Pius VI. Johann Winckelmann, a learned German, rendered most valuable service to the Popes in their artistic efforts. Born in Stendal, in Prussian Saxony, Winckelmann acquired a thorough education in art, for the study of which he had a passionate love. In 1754 he became a Catholic and in the following year went to Rome. Thenceforward he lived uninterruptedly in the employ of the cardinals and the Popes, with whom he maintained most friendly relations. For Cardinal Albani he gathered one of the most famous collections of art, which is lodged in the Villa Albani. Clement XIII appointed him supervisor of all the antiquities in and around Rome, and Winckelmann became the foremost and most thorough connoisseur of fine art. No predecessor had grasped so perfectly and completely the inmost spirit and law of Greek and Roman art; but that he held his unique position unchallenged was owing to the support of the spiritual princes of Rome.

A purified taste for art now radiated from Rome and artists from all parts of the world again flocked to the city of the Popes during the pontificate of Pius VI.

The French Revolution and the Napoleonic wars brought a sudden stop to all this progress. Rome was occupied by the armies of the Revolution, and following the Peace of Tolentino her most famous art treasures—busts, statues, paintings—were transferred to Paris. Pius VI died in exile and several cardinals were imprisoned. Under Pius VII the Papal States were dissolved by Napoleon and annexed to the French Empire.

Pius VII had been for five years a prisoner of Napoleon in Savona, but freedom

Fig. 419. Pope Pius VII. Painting by David. Louvre, Paris

brought him back to Rome, where he devoted his attention to art and to public monuments, for his noble soul favored everything good and beautiful. In 1816 he succeeded in regaining part of the art treasures taken away by the French, but, alas, only a small part. Of 3,000 paintings taken from the Papal States only twenty-two were recovered. Twenty of the most beautiful statues, 30,000 coins, and a large collection of gems were kept in Paris. The next event in art development was the establishment of the picture gallery in the Vatican; to-day it is still small, yet one of the most famous in the world. The Vatican galleries for ancient Pagan and Christian treasures were increased by three large halls arranged and equipped magnificently, and containing remarkable and precious objects of art. The group of young German painters of whom we shall speak later were housed and cared for by Pius VII in the monastery of *S. Isidoro.*

Leo XII (1823-1829) continued the work of excavating ancient Rome that his predecessor had begun; and for this purpose alone he spent 750,000 scudi (almost $750,000). He also began rebuilding *S. Paolo fuori le Mura,* which had burned during the last days of Pius VII.

Along these lines Gregory XVI (1831-1846) deserves much greater credit because his vigorous hand took hold everywhere and helped the work along. He also started two new collections of art in the Vatican, the first for Egyptian, the second for Tuscan or Etruscan antiquities. In the palace near St. John Lateran a new and grand collection of ancient Roman objects of art was installed. It is a constant surprise that Gregory could do so much for art, for he was most actively occupied in spreading the Faith. Here we have proof that the cultivation of true art is a task of religion, of the Church, of the Papacy.

The glorious reign of Pope Pius IX (1846-1878) was to be decked with every kind of fame. Through him Rome increased in splendor, with its many new and renovated monuments. His attention was chiefly directed toward the churches, many of which were restored in a fashion more conspicuous for elaborateness than for elegance of style, especially that of *S. Maria in Trastevere* and also *S. Lorenzo fuori le Mura.* The new St. Paul's was consecrated in 1854. The excavations of ancient Rome progressed steadily, especially in the Forum and on the Palatine Hill, where the palace of the emperors once stood. A new part of the Appian Way was disclosed. What was done in subterranean Rome, in the Catacombs, is expressed in one name—De Rossi. The discoveries in the Catacombs laid the foundation of the new Christian Museum in the Lateran which contains most remarkable pictorial representations of every kind and an extremely rich collection of ancient Christian inscriptions. But Pius IX lacked the

good fortune of Julius II and Leo X, for despite his generosity to artists he found but few who were capable of reproducing great thoughts adequately; and of these few the best and most promising were snatched away in mid-career by death. The works and monuments of his time are gorgeous, splendid in rich color; but all can be criticized as wanting in greatness and as poor in conception. Every one knows that in the reign of Pius IX the Garibaldians and Victor Emmanuel's troops took Rome and the Papal States from the Pontiff, thereby preventing the further encouragement of great works of art.

Few Popes conceived their task in so large, broad, and extensive a scale as Leo XIII (1878-1903). His lofty spirit embraced all branches of ecclesiastical and social life, of science, and of art. To advance in the realm of art was, however, impossible, because Rome and the Papal States had been taken from the Pontiff. The Vatican remained his sole possession and here Leo ordered an important painting to be executed, showing the glorification of St. Thomas Aquinas and of Christian art, the results of prayer and the rosary. Ludwig Seitz, a Heaven-endowed painter, was entrusted with this commission. Leo XIII also completed the choir-apse of the church of the Lateran which Pius IX had begun. The College of St. Anselm and one of the finest structures in modern Rome—a high school of the Benedictines on the Aventine—were also finished by him.

Pius X first turned his attention to matters of ecclesiastical science and to music, to rearranging and administering the Papal household, to the Congregations and to the education of the clergy. Later he rearranged the Vatican picture gallery which was opened in the spring of 1909.

The Italian government made Rome the capital of Italy and erected two splendid structures—the Palace of Justice on the right bank of the Tiber between the Vatican and the Pincio, and the gigantic monument to Victor Emmanuel on the Capitol in the very heart of the city. The government enlarged the public gardens by buying the Villa Albani and connecting its park with the Pincio gardens. The beautiful park on the Monte Gianicolo is also new. A number of new palaces of little value, artistically, were put up for administration purposes, as the population had increased in the new quarters of the city. Most of these buildings are of the every-day metropolitan sort. The government also tore down whole districts to increase traffic facilities and to make room for new streets. And how do we regard these innovations?

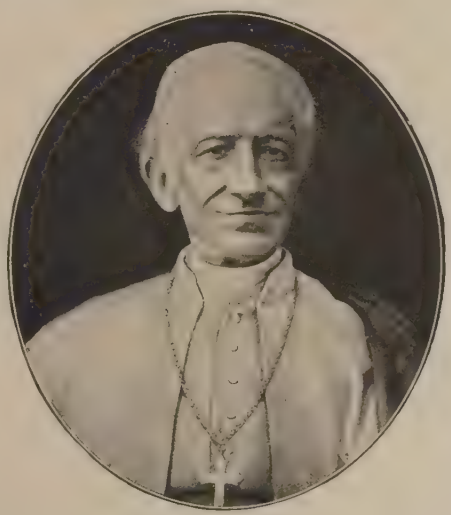


Fig. 420. Pope Leo XIII. From a Photograph

The question of right and wrong in the seizing of Rome and the Papal States was long ago decided by every right-thinking person. Whether it is honorable for the king of Italy and the Italian government to reside in the Quirinal and other Papal palaces is a question readily answered; but—apart from all questions of justice and decency—Rome was absolutely unsuitable as the capital of a great nation, its atmosphere being that of a world-historical city of monuments, a spiritual capital different from every other city in the world. He who feels this dual peculiarity of Papal Rome must deeply regret that Rome was ever made the capital of Italy, inasmuch as it is unfit for such a purpose.

Florence? Yes, Florence, a princely, royal city, is the ideal for an Italian capital; and if this choice had been made Rome would to-day be the world-historical city of monuments and the ecclesiastical capital of the Catholic world. Now, of course, new Italy feels the need of converting Rome into an adequate royal residence; builds new palaces for administration, palatial barracks for soldiers; puts up tenements and hotels; erects monuments of dubious moral and artistic worth; builds districts that look exactly like those on the banks of the Seine, the Spree, the Elbe, and lays out its streets in straight lines. What is the result? The once incomparable city of ancient Rome, the spiritual Papal world-city with its distinguished features, is gradually passing, to the regret of every one who has historical knowledge and a feeling for art.

Fig. 421. Pope Pius X. From a Photograph

Figs. 422-424. Antonio da San Gallo, Domenico Fontana, and Bramante

## 2. THE ARTISTS OF MODERN ROME

NOW who were the artists—architects, sculptors, painters—commissioned by the Popes to carry out their plans for making Rome what she is to-day? When the Popes, returning from Avignon, resumed their residence in Rome, there had blossomed in the nearby city of Florence most beautiful flowers of modern art. Rome was still a city of "herdsmen" and contained no artists. Nicholas V and Sixtus IV, who both hoped to restore Rome and make it the capital of the world, were obliged to summon architects, sculptors, and painters from a distance. Rome as yet had produced no artist worthy of mention. Later, under Julius II and Leo X, things were different. Those famous artists who handled compass and rule were not citizens of Rome, it is true, but they lived and worked in Rome, started schools, and had pupils and satellites. They made the city on the Tiber a criterion of artistic taste.

To the Italian of to-day the word *Cinquecento* means the time between the years 1500 and 1600, and is a word of proverbial force, denoting the highest attainments in art and the most famous artists. With the year 1500 there began throughout Italy an artistic movement leading to productions from architects, painters, and sculptors, the like of which the world has seen neither before nor since. The most splendid period of the century was between 1500 and 1520, which coincides with the Papacy of those art lovers, Julius II (1503-1513) and Leo X (1513-1521). The best masters of this epoch were artists in the truest and fullest sense of the term, because they were trained, experienced, and masterly in all branches of monumental art. Bramante, the first architect of St. Peter's, was a thoroughly equipped painter and also understood sculpture. His compatriot, Raphael of Urbino, preferred the brush, but he was also an architect and sculptor. Michael Angelo Buonarroti is counted among the greatest sculptors that ever lived, and although this was to him the most congenial branch of art connoisseurs have not yet decided as to whether he was not greater as an architect, not more admirable as a painter. Where has one like him ever been seen? Where has there been such abundant talent, such creative force, such artistic activity? We may add that these and other artists also achieved much in music and poetry and even in the purely mechanical arts.

The artists who left in the new Rome famous buildings, statues, and pictures are almost countless. Simply to mention all their names would be impossible; and it must suffice us to describe the most famous of them, architects, sculptors, painters, whose names forever will be connected with the history of art, and some of their works, for to these we shall later refer more frequently.

## I. THE ARCHITECTS

### BRAMANTE AND SAN GALLO

Donato Lazzari, surnamed Bramante, was born in 1444 at Asdrualdo in Urbino. As he practised both painting and architecture Pope Julius II took him in his employ. Bramante founded a new style of building in Rome, taking ancient Roman structures as his example and models.

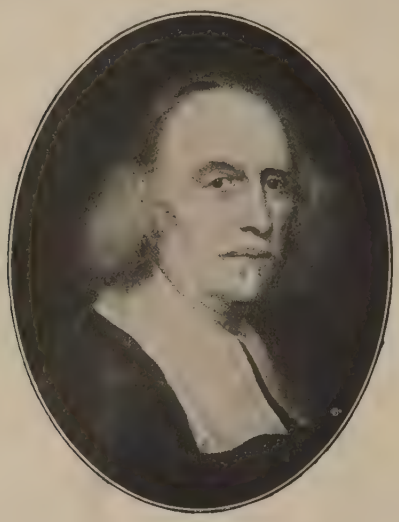


Fig. 425. L. Bernini. Corsini Gallery, Rome

He loved large, high-vaulted rooms, halls, and domes, noble simplicity, perfect harmony, and a modest grace in all parts. These qualities he put into the palaces and churches which he built in Rome and elsewhere. His name is immortalized by three achievements in Rome: the Vatican Palace of the Popes (even though his plans therefor were not wholly executed), the Cancellaria, one of the most beautiful palaces in the world, and the new Church of St. Peter. Bramante would often lay aside the tools of his trade to put on armor and go to war with his protector and patron, Julius II. If he found leisure and time in camp he would compose ditties and songs. After the war ended Bramante once more became architect, sculptor, and painter.

Antonio da San Gallo (or Sangallo), whose real name was Antonio Picconi, came from Mugello, near Florence (born 1482). He continued the great and important undertaking of Bramante in the Vatican and St. Peter's. Like other artists of these days, he, too, was many-sided and versatile. Besides churches and palaces he built fortresses in Parma, Piacenza, Ancona, and Florence.

To the Roman architectural school of the *Cinquecento* belong Michael Angelo Buonarroti (of whom we shall speak later), Julian da San Gallo, Carlo Maderna, and Baldassare Peruzzi. Peruzzi, painter and architect, was once taken prisoner by the Spanish, because from his stately appearance he was thought to be a prelate. By quickly sketching a portrait of a hated leader of the army he proved his profession and was released. His structures were unsurpassed in their perspective, and all parts of his buildings, when viewed from a distance, are marvelously harmonious.

### BERNINI AND FONTANA

It has already been said that Lorenzo Bernini of Naples (1599-1680) was the principal originator and best representative of the baroque style. His wonderful talent and his high position in Rome contributed equally to his great influence over his artistic contemporaries and successors. Bernini also was a sculptor, architect, and painter. At the age of ten he successfully chiseled a head from a piece of marble, and at eighteen made busts and marble groups that were worthy of a master. These rich natural endowments were furthered and increased by favors and orders from all the Popes under whom he lived. In the Vatican court he was at the head of all great undertakings; he it was who assigned the public works, thereby exercis-

ing an almost unlimited influence. Bernini and his numerous imitators used the forms and laws of painting in the practice of her more serious and severe sister arts —architecture and sculpture—thereby detracting somewhat from the reposeful gravity and measured dignity a building should have. In sculpture and painting his chief aim was to portray as faithfully as possible all sentiments and passions, all feelings and moods of the soul; and to this end he employed vivid expressions, bodily action, and natural poses. Something of grace and beauty was thus lost, even though a certain grandeur, a captivating splendor was attained. Bernini continued building St. Peter's. The magnificent and truly great expanse flanked by colonnades, whose gigantic arms embrace the piazza in front of the church, is Bernini's incomparable work. But let us not anticipate. He designed well-nigh countless structures and over a hundred statues and groups in marble. Nearly two hundred paintings were executed by his brush. Bernini is a striking proof of the Popes' patronage and of their generous love of art. He was elevated to the rank of a nobleman and lived the life of a rich and respected citizen, receiving honor due a prince.

Domenico Fontana (1543-1607), from Mili near the Lake of Como, was architect for Sixtus V. Almost every great building which this Pope erected was designed by Fontana. It appears almost incredible that one man was strong enough for such a huge task, especially as his patron's reign lasted only five years. Envy deprived Fontana of the succeeding Pope's favor. His name is associated with the great obelisk on St. Peter's Piazza. When Sixtus planned to have the stone erected and called mathematicians, engineers, and architects to Rome from far and near to consult upon the project, Fontana's plan was found to be the best. He successfully solved the problem and thus earned for himself the knight's cross and the golden spurs, as well as rich personal gifts and the Pontiff's favor.

## II. THE SCULPTORS

### MICHAEL ANGELO BUONARROTI

Michael Angelo Buonarroti was born March 6, 1474, in the castle of Caprese near Florence, and was a descendant of the family of the counts of Canossa. The family to-day possesses land in Tuscany. Michael Angelo is one of the greatest artists of all time. He was painter, sculptor, architect, poet, musician, and fortress builder. He was one of many children; and his parents planned that Michael Angelo should devote himself to silk-weaving. But his inclination led him to art. His father apprenticed him to the famous Florentine painter Domenico Ghirlandajo, and the new pupil, at fourteen, surpassed his fellow students. Looking at one of his drawings his master cried: "He can do more than I!" The Duke of Florence, Lorenzo de Medici, had opened an art school for sculptors and painters in his palace, and on Ghirlandajo's recommendation Michael Angelo was allowed to enter. In a few days the young artist cut from a piece of marble a grinning head; this was the first time he had ever had chisel or marble in his hand. His skill gained him the ducal patronage; Lorenzo took him into his own family and made him the companion of his three sons, Peter, John (who later became Pope Leo X and was Michael Angelo's patron), and Julian. His friend Vasari says of him: "In all his doings he was quicker than others; in all things he was ever cheerful and full of vigor." But even then his talent brought him envy and jealousy. A fellow pupil, Torregiano, struck him in the face and Michael Angelo's broken nose always bore witness to the blow.

When, after many eventful years and many changes of residence, he again returned to Florence, he chiseled a slumber-

ing cupid out of marble. The purchaser brought it to Rome and buried it, in order to sell it to Cardinal San Giorgio as a recently discovered work of ancient Rome. Fortunately for the young artist the fraud was intercepted. The cardinal admired Michael Angelo's talent and summoned him to Rome, where he remained for some time.

But Julius II in 1504 was the first firmly to attach the master to the Papal court and take him in his employ. The Pope wished Michael Angelo to build a sepulchral monument for him. The artist had already produced wonderful things, but his whole

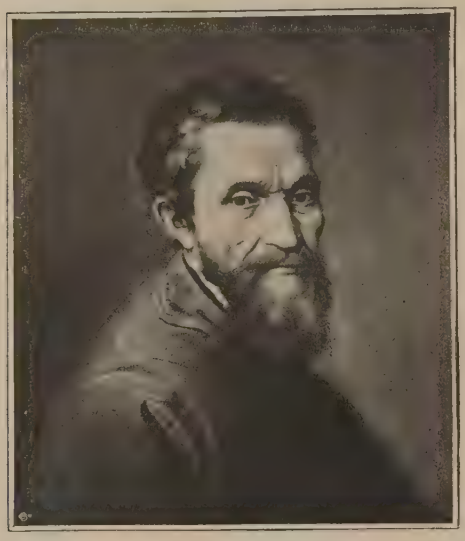


Fig. 426. Michael Angelo Buonarroti. Portrait by himself. Capitol, Rome

immense genius was not disclosed until he worked under this great Pope. Julius II, who was always devising noble and broad plans, was aware of the greatness and fertility of the artist; and as he always demanded something new, original, something always different and ever more difficult, Michael Angelo discovered his own powers and employed all of his unsurpassed ability. The monument to Julius II, however, was never completed, because this Pope and his successors continually changed their orders to the artist; but later we shall see that the uncompleted monument contains a work of art that has never been surpassed.

Once when Michael Angelo sought an audience with the Pope he was not allowed to enter. In his quick-tempered manner he called to the guard at the door: "If His Holiness asks for me, tell him I have gone somewhere else." Soon afterward he was galloping toward Florence. In vain did Julius send this message: "Return or I shall dismiss you without ceremony." All was in vain; the genius continued to sulk. The Pope then imperiously demanded of Florence the extradition of the fugitive; but Michael Angelo would not allow his native city to engage in war on his account, and consented to return to Rome. In Bologna he met Julius, who addressed him generously: "Instead of coming to us you wait until we come to you." Michael Angelo fell upon his knee, received the Pope's blessing, and peace was established. The artist received orders to decorate the Sistine Chapel in the Vatican with frescoes. This was done at the suggestion of some envious persons who hoped in this way that the artist would lose the Pope's favor, knowing Michael Angelo preferred the chisel to the brush. At first Michael Angelo refused to obey the order; but the Pope insisted only the more firmly. Distrust in his own powers spurred the artist on. Summoning all his strength to accomplish the very best in his power, the ceiling of the Sistine Chapel was completed after twenty-two months, to the imperishable glory of the master.

After the death of Julius II Leo X became Pope. Every effort of envious men to affect the esteem in which Michael Angelo was held at the Papal court was vain, owing to his intimacy, dating from youth, with the Pope. As often as a Pope died —and Michael Angelo survived not only Julius II and Leo X, but also Hadrian VI, Clement VII, Paul III, Julius III, Marcellus II, and Paul V—just so often did envy and jealousy try to deprive him of the pontifical favor. Referring to his enemies' intrigues the artist once wrote: "If I could die of rage I should have died

Fig. 427. Antonio Canova. Portrait by himself in Possagno

long ago!" But the Popes did not permit themselves to be influenced and yielded so little to all these intrigues that Julius III often wished that he might be permitted to sacrifice a few years from his own life and give them to the artist.

Michael Angelo was seventy-two years old when Paul III entrusted him with the direction and supervision of the new St. Peter's. Up to this time the great painter and sculptor had but reluctantly occupied himself with architecture, although he had accomplished splendid results. Though old he was not infirm, and yielded to the Pope's entreaties to become the architect of St. Peter's, but only, he said: "for the sake of God, for the salvation of my own soul, and without any reward." He made the model for the dome of St. Peter's—an eternal, glorious monument to Michael Angelo's genius.

He was a soldier as well as an artist. In war time he directed the defense of his native city, Florence, and supervised the fortification of Rome. As a man he is worthy of the highest respect, for he was always ready to serve and to help; he was honest and simple; he possessed most untiring energy; although quick-tempered he was never revengeful and he nursed a sick servant day and night as though he were his own brother. His favorite recreation was reading the Holy Scriptures. In 1556 he withdrew from the world and its ways for a while and took up his residence with the hermits in the mountains of Spoleto. After his return he wrote: "True it is that peace dwells in the forests!" With Christian resignation he prepared to die. Death, he believed, is not to be feared, for it comes from the same hand that gives us life. His last will was brief: "I bequeath my soul to God, my body to the earth, and my possessions to my nearest relatives." He died February 17, 1564, aged eighty-nine. Pius IV wished to bury him in St. Peter's, but a nephew of Michael Angelo had the body taken secretly to Florence, where it was entombed with splendid ceremonies.

Although Michael Angelo produced marvelous paintings he explained his preference for sculpture by saying: "My nurse was the wife of a stonecutter; I therefore imbibed the love of chisel and hammer with my first nourishment." When inspired he would begin at a block of marble, making the chips fly and whiz through his studio. As a contemporary has said: "He that has not witnessed it himself can hardly believe it. He attacked the marble with such zeal, with such fury, that I thought the whole block

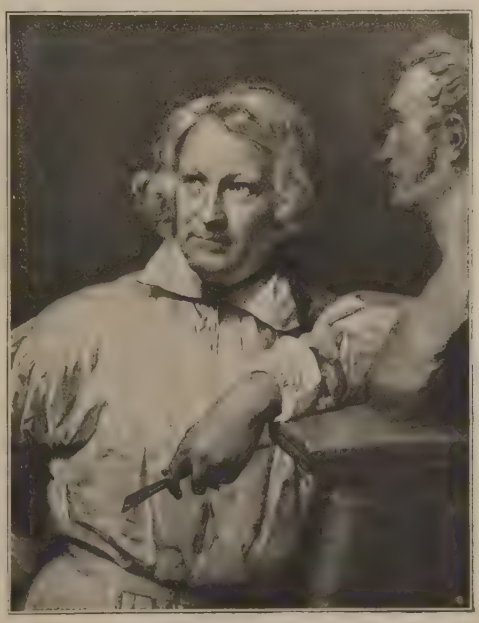


Fig. 428. Bertel Thorwaldsen

would come to pieces. With a single blow he would knock off pieces three or four inches long, yet he kept so close to his preconceived model that if the chisel had cut a trifle deeper he would have spoiled all." Sometimes he would smash the stone to fragments if during his work a better idea occurred to him. Michael Angelo had a marvelous acquaintance with the structure of the human body; he knew every muscle, every tendon, and every nerve in all positions; he knew their flexion, extension, and dislocation with every bodily movement. A much admired statue of ancient times lacked legs; Michael Angelo sketched a tentative restoration, and subsequently when the genuine ones were found they were not as symmetrical as those he had suggested.

To take a man of so great a mind, of such incomparable genius, for a model is very dangerous for those less gifted. His best imitators in painting were Sebastiano del Piombo and Daniele da Volterra; in sculpture and architecture Giacomo della Porta and Bartolommeo Ammanati. Other followers of the great master became affected and caught only the external appearance of his work. Michael Angelo once said that he would be obliged to be a *"pons asinorum"* for a great many men.

### CANOVA AND THORWALDSEN

Antonio Canova was born at Possagno, near Venice, in 1757. As a boy he once accompanied his uncle to the villa of the Venetian senator Faliero, where he modeled a lion out of a lump of butter, which was then placed upon the noble's table. With that the boy's good fortune began, for Faliero had him educated in art. At the age of twenty-five several of his works had brought him fame and his contemporaries greeted him as the first sculptor of his time, comparing him with the greatest of the past. Highest praise must be accorded him for returning to a simpler and more restful style in sculpture and for taking the Greeks and Romans as his models. His figures are natural and graceful, but often too highly finished. Canova worked for everybody: for kings, princes, rich men in private life, for art collectors, churches, and monasteries. He was the favorite of the noble Pope Pius VII, and long worked for him in Rome. He was honored by the appointment of supervisor of all Roman works of art and of all artistic undertakings in the Papal States. The Pope entered Canova's name in the Golden Book of the Capitol, declaring in a letter from his own hand that the city of Rome was deeply indebted to him. The knight's cross and the golden spurs were also awarded him by this Pope, who made him in addition Marquis of Ischia with an annual salary of 3,000 scudi (about $3,000). Canova gave a large part of his wealth for the support of the poor and unfortunate, especially in Rome, and for advancing and supporting art and artistic endeavors. He died and is buried in his native town; but Venice erected a magnificent monument in his honor and Leo XII did the same in Rome, in the library of the Capitol.

Bertel (Albrecht) Thorwaldsen was born in Copenhagen, Denmark, in 1770. He twice took up his residence in Rome for a period of many years and there, amid the city's chiseled masterpieces, developed into one of the greatest of modern sculptors. Thorwaldsen's works combine graceful, pure, and beautiful forms of Pagan Rome with the thought and sentiment of modern Rome; and, although a Protestant, he was chosen from among many competitors to erect a worthy sepulcher in St. Peter's to the great Pius VII.

Among the sculptors of recent times two claim our notice above all others: Pietro Tenerani of Torano (1789-1869), a pupil of Canova and Thorwaldsen, whose works possess pure and chaste form, noble and beautiful proportion, sincere sentiment, and a fine technique; and Ignazio Jacometti (1819-1883) of Rome, a contemporary, whose religion is the source of his best and profoundest ideas.

Moses, Statue by Michael Angelo for the Tomb of Pope Julius II at S. Pietro in Vincoli

Pius IX caused two of Jacometti's works to be set up near the *Scala Santa:* "Christ Receiving from Judas the Kiss of Betrayal," and "Christ Shown by Pilate to the People" (*Ecce Homo*), both very touching groups.

## III. THE PAINTERS

While Italy is the land of art and artists, of poets, musicians, and sculptors, she is above all the land and the home of painters. To know and number them all is well-nigh impossible; for besides men of the first magnitude, whose works are the glory of all Italy, almost every town and hamlet has its master, whose name is honored in the history of art.

The oldest Christian paintings are frescoes, *i.e.,* paintings made on bare walls and hence called mural paintings, numerous reproductions of which, taken from the Catacombs, are found in this volume. These frescoes are still to be seen in the oldest Roman churches. The early Christian era possessed, however, far more famous works in its mosaic or tesselated pictures, where form, figure, outline, color, light, shade—in short, all parts of the picture, are made with small pieces of colored stone, glass, or wood. These little pieces are stuck into a thick paste, the workman faithfully following a pattern or colored chart, and when the whole picture is "set" (as they say of plaster), the little irregularities on the surface are ground flat and smooth with pumice. Such pictures last thousands of years in undiminished splendor and brilliancy of color. This mosaic "painting" is verily an old Roman art; and the Papal and Pagan city are rich in examples of it; indeed, the Papal establishment for its manufacture has been until the present day one of the most remarkable rooms in the Vatican, one of the most unique art institutions in Rome.

The Cosma family, "the Cosmati," as they were called, is a most interesting group whose art activity dates from the second half of the twelfth century. In all there were ten or twelve Cosmati, some working in architecture, some in sculpture, and others in mosaic. During the entire century their fine taste and noble style produced altars, canopies, tabernacles, episcopal thrones, lecterns, candelabra, tombs, balustrades, cloisters—all in marble, and either adorned pictorially or decorated with colored mosaics. Many monuments of their artistic skill are found

Fig. 429. Sepulchral Monument of Fra Angelico in S. Maria sopra Minerva, Rome

to-day in old Roman churches and bear the stamp of their special talent.

Modern painting found a home in Rome when the Popes returned from Avignon; but to the time before the exile of the Popes belongs Giotto (1276-1337), the son of a poor peasant in the outskirts of Florence. He has been called "the father of

modern painting," and was one of the most versatile and talented artists that ever lived—painter, architect, and sculptor. Before the Pope entrusted the decoration of old St. Peter's to him he wished, so the story goes, to have proof of his ability. Quickly seizing a piece of paper, Giotto with a single sweep of his pencil drew a perfect circle, whence the Italian proverb: "Rounder than the O of Giotto."

### FRA ANGELICO AND THE UMBRIANS

When the Popes resumed their residence in Rome, after the so-called Babylonian Captivity in France, they found no artists, and hence were compelled to summon painters from other parts of Italy to adorn the churches and shrines as, in bygone years, they had invited architects and sculptors. One of the first to be called was Guido di Pietro, a name by which no one now knows him, for in his early youth he entered the Dominican monastery of Fiesole and thereafter is called Fra Giovanni da Fiesole. Far more widely known is the name which the people reverently gave him after his death, "Fra Beato Angelico" (the blessed angelic brother). A master who breathed a new life and a new soul into art, all his enthusiasm, artistic feeling, and spiritual figures came from heavenly inspiration. Never before had a painter more beautifully depicted heavenly purity, the tenderest and most intense feeling, and the delights of the blessed and the saints. His brush refused to portray the wicked, the passions of the human heart, or earthly striving and endeavor, for his mind dwelt on purer heights and knew only the supernatural. What was written of his picture of the Blessed Virgin applies to all he painted: "He sought his models in heaven." Of him a poet said: "If Giovanni sojourned not in paradise to edify his soul with Mary's face, then Mary came down to earth from heaven to let him gaze upon her countenance."

In his "Lives of the Artists" Vasari says that "Fra Angelico practised the art of painting unceasingly, but never wanted to paint any but sacred subjects. He might have become wealthy, but that was not his object; for he was wont to say: 'True riches consist in being satisfied with little.' He might have had command over many, but this he did not desire; 'for,' he said, 'those have less care and less danger who obey others.' He often repeated: 'He that devotes himself to art harvests glory and lives without cares, and he that will portray the works of Christ must always be with Him.' This monk was as pious as he was skilled in painting, and his saints certainly have more of saintliness about them than have those of any other painter. He never corrected or retouched a picture, believing that it was God's will for it to be left as he had first painted it. He never took up the brush without first preparing himself with prayer, and never painted a 'Crucifixion' without shedding tears. In the expression and bearing of his figures we behold an image of the magnificence of the Christian religion reflected from his great and sincere soul."

Pope Eugene IV saw Fra Angelico's works in the Dominican monastery in Florence and immediately summoned him to Rome to decorate a chapel in the Vatican, a commission the holy brother executed with the help of his pupils, especially that of Benozzo Gozzoli, who greatly resembled his master in many respects. Nicholas V, the successor of Pope Eugene, became Fra Angelico's patron and friend; and once, when the Pope invited him to dinner, the monk did not wish to eat of the meat before him without his prior's permission, forgetting that, being at the Pope's table, it was unnecessary for him to first ask for dispensation. His paintings in the chapel of Nicholas V equal in technique the best contemporary work, while surpassing all in intense feeling and splendid color. He died in Rome March 18, 1455, and the tomb of

this incomparable artist is in the church of *S. Maria sopra Minerva.*

Soon after this a school developed in the mountains and valleys of the upper Tiber which had purposes and views of art similar to those of Fra Angelico. In former days there lived in Umbria St. Francis of Assisi, whose soul in blessed ecstasy dwelt more in heaven than on earth, whose sacred songs proclaimed the ardor of divine love, and who called upon the very birds of the air and the fishes of the sea to sing God's praises with him. Such sentiments of the soul, such longing for heaven, and such heart-fervor did the Umbrian painters endeavor to depict.

One of the greatest men of this school was Pietro Vanucci of Pieve, who, from his long residence in Perugia, is called Perugino. His most beautiful productions are in Rome, for he, too, was in the employ of the Popes. Few surpass him in depth of feeling and in the happiness and beauty which he gives to the face of the Virgin or to that of saint or angel.

Bernardino di Betto, a pupil and assistant of Perugino, was so skilful a painter that he was called Pinturicchio. He handled his brush with such wonderful facility that, like his master, Perugino, he worked too rapidly and was misled by his own powers.

Greater masters there are than either Fra Angelico or Perugino, but none have ever painted with a deeper, a more pious or more Christian sentiment than they. Raphael, one of the greatest and most lovable of painters, came from the school of Perugino, and it is of Raphael that we shall soon speak.

### THE FLORENTINE OR TUSCAN SCHOOL

In the fifteenth century there arose in Tuscany a school of painting with aims peculiar to itself. With a few exceptions the artists belonging to it devoted themselves solely to religious subjects, incidents from the Sacred Scriptures or from the lives of the saints. Their most striking characteristic is the combination of religious motifs with contemporary events and the things of every-day life. In their paintings saintly figures, occupying the center of the canvas, are placed in a rich, glowing Italian landscape against a background of magnificent edifices, arches, and high-towering buildings with cupolas, such as the men in those days loved to build. Around the figure in the picture spectators are grouped and contemporaries of the artist take part in, or look at, the occurrences depicted.

The costumes are in the picturesque style of the fifteenth century. "The maidens graceful and beautiful, the matrons smiling and splendid, the youths slender and elegant, the men full of importance and character—all magnificent,

Figs. 430-432. Masaccio, Andrea del Sarto, and D. da Volterra. Barberini Gallery, Rome; Uffizi, and Villa Petraia, Florence

Figs. 433-436. Sandro Botticelli, Andrea del Castagno, Filippo Lippi, and Domenico Ghirlandajo

dignified figures" (W. Lübke). This combination of the sacred and the real was most touching and pleasing, for the ordinary daily round was drawn, as it were, into a holy circle and received a blessing. And even though Christianity ever and everywhere remains true to itself, it nevertheless adapts itself in a peculiar manner to all times and all peoples while preserving its individual character.

Among the masters of the Tuscan school who worked in Rome in the service of both Church and Pope is Tommaso Guidi, better known as Masaccio, *i.e.*, slovenly or clumsy Tom. Immersed in art and absorbed in sketching, he who produced such wonderful creations appeared to the world as slovenly and awkward. Among Masaccio's pupils was Andrea del Castagno, but his closest imitator was Filippo Lippi, talented and lawless, whose foolish acts and indiscretions were forgiven by the world, so beautiful were his pictures. His life was one series of adventures. Once on a pleasure trip on the sea near Ancona he was captured by Moorish pirates and for eighteen months wore chains in Africa as a slave. One day he drew with a piece of charcoal such a striking resemblance of his master that he was set free and, besides, received presents. The Duke of Florence was obliged to lock him up so that he might be obliged to paint instead of seeking adventures; but all in vain, for Filippo made a ladder out of the sheets of his bed and escaped. In Rome he was assisted in his work by his talented son, Filippino Lippi, and the latter's pupil, Raffaelino del Garbo.

Most famous of the masters who were called to Rome by the Popes were Luca Signorelli, one of the most powerful painters of all time and the true forerunner of Michael Angelo; Andrea del Sarto, Sandro Botticelli, Cosimo Rosselli, and Domenico di Tomaso Bigordi—surnamed Ghirlandajo. This latter name he received from his father, a highly esteemed goldsmith who knew how to make charming "garlands" as head-dresses for the Florentine maidens. Domenico was very fond of introducing portraits of contemporaries in his pictures; and was so zealous a worker that he craved a commission to cover the whole city wall of Florence with pictures.

### RAPHAEL SANZIO AND HIS TIME

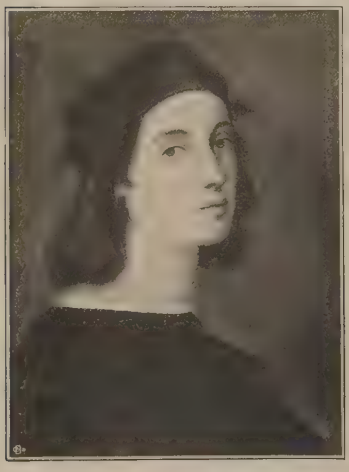
The time of Raphael is the *Cinquecento* in painting. The Italians denote the men of highest development in art when they say *"Cinquecenti"*—those who painted from 1500 to 1600. In the sixteenth century such great masters appeared, and the feeling for art was so high, that even mediocre talents were borne along by the powerful current and, convoyed by the great artists, produced works which in nobility, beauty, and finish approach perfection. In painting, three names out-

shine all others: Leonardo da Vinci, Michael Angelo, and Raphael. Leonardo, painter, sculptor, architect, mechanic, poet, and musician, did not long stay in Rome. Michael Angelo, whose best period and most beautiful works belong to Papal Rome, is known to the reader. The career of Raphael, one of the most successful masters, was almost exclusively in Rome. He was born in Urbino, April 6, 1483. His father, John Santi or Sanzio, was a painter who gained some fame with his brush but died before he could give his son his first lessons; his wife died before him. Her brother took charge of young Raphael and apprenticed him to Perugino. Cordial relations doubtless existed between master and pupil, for each was fond of introducing the other's portrait in his pictures. At seventeen years Raphael produced his first independent work. His master's characteristics, his purity and tenderness of expression, and his whole artistic manner he had so completely made his own that his early works closely resemble those of Perugino. But his mind surpassed the narrow limits of the Umbrian School, and it was in Florence that a new light arose for him when he saw the works of those famous masters, Michael Angelo and Leonardo da Vinci. "Another would have lost courage, thinking that he had previously wasted his time, and even if such another had been endowed with a splendid mind, he never would have accomplished what Raphael did, who became a pupil after having been a master. This youth of twenty-one forced himself to learn in a few months what one of a more tender and more receptive age would have needed many years to master" (Vasari).

In the year 1506 Raphael returned to his native town, Urbino. The artist at that time stood on the boundary line between tender youth and manly vigor, a slender, well-proportioned figure of medium height, his pure, lovely face wearing an expression of high grace and thoughtful seriousness, his head and swanlike neck framed in long, rich curls—a picture of perfect beauty. In the same year Pope Julius II also came to Urbino where he undoubtedly saw the young artist; and it may have happened at this meeting that the high-minded Pope, delighted with so much spirit, talent, and beauty, placed his hand upon the curly head of the artist kneeling before him and said: "Do you, whom God has blessed so richly, receive also the blessing of an old man. May you always use your talent in the praise of the Giver and for the glorification of His holy Church." Two years later Raphael was called to Rome by Julius II to decorate with large mural paintings various rooms and halls in the Vatican. For twelve years—that is, until his death—Raphael stayed in Rome, a favorite of Julius II and of his successor, that lover of art, Leo X. No tongue can adequately praise the wonders which he created in those years; they are the glory of Rome, of Italy, of the entire world, above all the glory of his illustrious patrons who appreciated his talent. We shall show our readers reproductions of the most beautiful of his pictures.

While this splendid artist was painting "The Transfiguration of the Lord on Tabor," a fatal illness overtook him, and his death, resulting from the effects of a fever, occurred on Friday, April 6, 1620. He was cut off in the very prime of his artistic creative power, for he was only thirty-seven years old. He was born on Good Friday and died on Good Friday. All Rome mourned Raphael, for his death was a loss to the world, above all others to Leo X, who wept bitter tears. The funeral was extraordinarily magnificent, and there was not a dry eye.

During his entire life Raphael was the perfect artist, putting his whole soul into his paintings. Behind the creations of his earlier years we discover the tender feelings and deep, intense sentiments of youth, then the young man in whom feeling begins to be permeated with more thought, and, finally, the mature man who with clear intelligence and complete control over heart and mind, with unerring certainty consciously and freely expresses the sublimest thoughts, embodying them in most beautiful pictures. The works of



FIGS. 437-439. LEONARDO DA VINCI, RAPHAEL, AND PERUGINO. PORTRAITS BY THEMSELVES IN TURIN, THE UFFIZI GALLERY IN FLORENCE, AND PERUGIA

Raphael give the impression of a song sung with purity and clearness, wherein all voices, the tender and the strong, the high and the low, blend together as one and mingle in complete harmony. He that sees Raphael's pictures need not be a connoisseur in order to receive this impression of harmony, this symphony of sentiments, or to feel that he is enjoying the beautiful.

Raphael was pre-eminently the painter of the Madonna, the Blessed Virgin, whom he so often depicted, always full of beauty and always full of charm. No master has left so many excellent works as Raphael, and yet only thirty-seven years of life were his.

There is a marked difference between Raphael's mode of life and that of Michael Angelo, for the latter lived in solitude and retirement. Vasari says of Raphael: "Among his gifts one is so wonderful that it astonishes me—the Heaven-granted gift of awakening in the large circle of artists then in Rome what seems contrary to the nature of artists; for, not only the insignificant, but also the great painters were in accord as soon as they worked with Raphael. When they saw him all bad humor disappeared and every low thought was banished from their minds. Such harmony reigned at no other time in the history of art. The cause of this was that his amiability, his artistic genius, and, even more, his beautiful character, conquered them. It is said that when any painter, whether an intimate or not, asked him to draw something, he would leave his own work in order to help the other. Around him were always working a large number of artists, whom he taught and aided with kindness such as is shown only to one's own children. Therefore, he never went from his house to the court without being surrounded by as many as fifty good and excellent painters who wanted to honor him by their escort; in short, he lived like a prince and not like an artist."

The most talented, best beloved, and most favored pupil of Raphael was Pippi dei Gianuzzi, a Roman, known under the

Figs. 440-443. Annibale Caracci, Giulio Romano, Guido Reni, and Francesco Albani. Portraits by themselves in the Uffizi Gallery, Florence

name of Giulio Romano. He had a lively mind, full of bold and daring plans, and possessed an extraordinary skill which was eager to give form and existence to the many pictures that hovered in his brain. Such an artistic nature needed a curb in order to produce efficient work that showed moderation, and just such a curb for this seething head was his gentle teacher and master. As long as Raphael lived Giulio Romano did notable work, successfully imitating his master; and the latter could with full confidence leave to him the finishing of pictures that he had merely sketched in, or drawn in outline. When Raphael was no longer there Giulio Romano degenerated, and became a slave of his whims and overheated imagination.

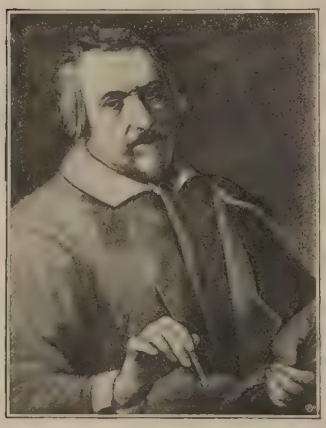
Another beloved pupil and assistant of Raphael was Nanni from Udine, usually called Giovanni da Udine. As a painter of decorations and a worker in stucco he produced excellent and beautiful results. In representing garlands, festoons of fruit, birds, animals, and the like, he was so skilled and portrayed nature so well that a servant in the Vatican looking one day for a carpet to spread before the Pope, ran toward the carpets Nanni had painted in a corridor and tried to take one from the wall. Nanni's productions in stucco are so elegant and tasteful that only the works of the artists in ancient Rome are comparable to them.

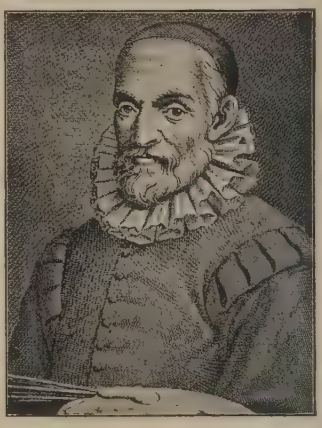
An imitator of Raphael was his countryman, Federigo Baroccio, whose talent was noticed by Pius IV, who assigned to him work in the Vatican. This aroused the anger of his rivals to such an extent that they gave him poison, and thereupon the artist left Rome in order to restore his undermined health at home. He lived to be eighty-four, but the traces of his sickness never disappeared. He was not allowed to work more than two hours a day, one hour in the morning and one in the afternoon, yet in spite of this he produced a very great number of paintings which are distinguished by grace and sweetness and by brilliancy of color. For the "Institution of the Holy Eucharist"—painted for the church of the Dominicans, *S. Maria sopra Minerva*—the Pope sent him a golden chain.

## ARTISTS OF LATER TIMES

After the sun at noon has reached its culmination it gradually declines, and then comes evening; so with Italian art. As long as the great masters lived its day was beautiful, and even minor talents produced fine paintings. Hardly were they gone when decay set in and for a long time an empty, cold mannerism controlled art; the zenith was passed. Once again, however, came better days, and in the realm of painting there appeared a rich, fruitful Indian summer. Men tried to

reach once more the former heights of art by one of two routes—some returned to a sensible, conscious imitation of the great masters, desiring to learn from the ancient Greeks and Romans their beautiful symmetry, from Michael Angelo the grandeur and accuracy of drawing, from Raphael beautiful composition and expression, and from the Venetians their coloring. Such an attempt conflicts with the true exercise of art, for the union of such different elements is an impossibility, and, what is more, the chief representatives of this school had sufficient talent





Figs. 444-446. Michael Angelo Caravaggio, Domenichino, and Federigo Baroccio. Portraits by themselves in the Uffizi Gallery, Florence

themselves to be much more independent. Nevertheless they produced really beautiful pictures, with the greatest masters as models. At the head of this movement we find five members of the Caracci family of Bologna. The founder of this school was Ludovico Caracci, and its most famous member was Annibale Caracci. The members and pupils of the school are called "eclectics"—the "selecting ones," those who "choose" from others.

Another path was trodden by those who wished to revive decaying art by adhering to nature and real life. The chief representative of this class was Michael Angelo Caravaggio, whose real name was Amerighi, Caravaggio being his native town in Lombardy. Many, like Caravaggio, preferred taking their models not from the higher and better ranks of life, but rather from the alleys and streets, the taverns and inns, or from the lonely paths in the forests where robber and bandit prowl. These are the "naturalists."

Despite the efforts of eclectics and naturalists the sunny noon of art did not return. To sum up, then, we may ascribe to the majority of these later painters one of two characteristics—excessive softness and sweetness, or a slavish adherence to nature and realism.

The best pupil of the Caracci was Domenico Zampieri, of Bologna, called Domenichino. Pope Gregory XV, his countryman, summoned him to Rome and employed him as painter and architect. His works in the Eternal City are numerous, many of them so thoroughly well conceived that they still vividly remind us of the great period of Italian art, and need not fear comparison with its best pictures. Domenichino painted in Naples for a time, arousing so much envy among his colleagues that he feared for his life, and always carried a dagger at his side while painting and prepared his own food lest he be stabbed or poisoned. This constant anxiety and grief brought him to an early grave. His life was pure and blameless and was animated by the spirit of true piety.

Among other brilliant masters are

Fig. 447. Sassoferrato. Portrait by himself. Uffizi Gallery, Florence

Francesco Albani and Guido Reni. Reni's pictures done in youth and those painted in his old age are so different that they do not seem to come from the same hand. The first are fresh, lively, bold, and often uncouth, the others are full of gentleness, tenderness, womanly beauty, and grace. In his youth he is plunged in the gross and bloody, but in his later years his work approaches the sweetish and the effeminate. Reni was the favorite painter of Paul V, whose patronage, together with the great success his work achieved, caused the artist to be proud and overbearing. Once when he fancied himself offended by the Papal treasurer he left Rome, declaring that henceforth he would deal in paintings rather than paint pictures. The Pope did everything to bring back the spoiled favorite to Rome, and when Reni returned the Pontiff sent princes and cardinals as far as Ponte Molle to meet him and, in general, patiently tolerated the artist's whims. A friend is said to have tempted him to gamble, and this passion proved his ruin. He would squander tremendous sums and then paint unceasingly, but carelessly and hastily, in order to raise money. At last he had to flee from Rome and died forgotten and unhonored.

A similar change in style, from the robust to the gentle and tender, is seen in the work of Francesco Barbieri, known as Guercino (Squint-eye). Convinced that his paintings were true works of art he was fond of having their value appraised by his opponents and people who envied him, because he did not paint for money and did not begrudge his colleagues success. Gregory XV called him to Rome in 1621, and many beautiful works by Guercino may be seen there. His contemporaries called him "the magician in painting" because he finished his pictures so rapidly, and it is said that Christine, a former queen of Sweden, reverently kissed the master's hand when she visited Bologna.

The pictures of Sassoferrato (John-Baptist Salvi) are full of loveliness and devotion, especially the representations of the Blessed Virgin; while Carlo Dolci is excessively gentle and sentimental, so much so that his pictures, despite his devout disposition, lack the earnestness and dignity demanded by religion.

Caravaggio (or Amerighi) was, however, the robust artist of his day. His rough nature sent him out into the noisy, frivolous life to look for models, and in contrast to the softness of the other painters he displayed, it must be said, a vigor, truth, and reality that found much favor and many admirers. His coloring is also enticing. He was reproached for paint-

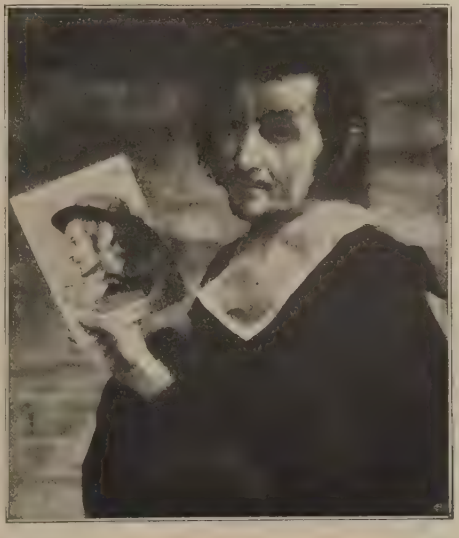
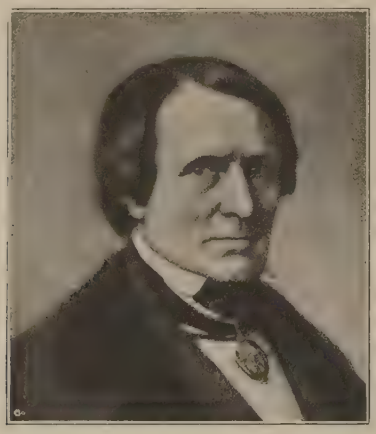


Fig. 448. Carlo Dolci. Portrait by himself. Uffizi Gallery, Florence

ing in a cellar, but in reality he worked in a studio whose walls were blackened and where the light entered only through a small opening from above. In this way he obtained the strange, dazzling light and shade which distinguish his paintings. Upon a dark background he paints his robbers and magicians, his cheating gamblers and drinkers, his roysterers and



Figs. 449-450. Peter Cornelius, by R. Begas; Friedrich Overbeck, Portrait by Himself. Uffizi Gallery, Florence

sentinels, and it must be confessed that in this dubious light his figures are, in an extraordinary degree, true to nature. Caravaggio treats the most sacred subjects in a similar way and in such paintings these figures, drawn from common, every-day life, are decidedly offensive. Nevertheless, he was supported by Gregory XIII and decorated by Clement VIII with the Order of Christ. Caravaggio was a violent, passionate man and wielded dagger and sword with the same skill as the brush. Once, in Rome, he challenged a man to a duel but was refused because of his inferior birth, as he was not even a knight. The artist forthwith went to Malta to earn that title with his skilful brush. He succeeded, but his passion soon involved him in fresh brawls. He was arrested, but escaped to Sicily, and while on his return to Rome he was attacked and wounded. He died from a malignant fever.

Andrea Sacchi, born in Nettuno, near Rome, followed nature and human life as Caravaggio did, but he never selected the low and common. He sought the noble and the good, and although he was not a great artist he was a diligent and conscientious painter.

Until recent times Roman painting saw no second spring; on the contrary, the art of the painter as well as that of the sculptor and architect decayed, pettiness and mannerism prevailing where once greatness had been. But in the beginning of the last century a true renaissance of Christian painting began in Rome, and it was not Roman or Italian masters who headed this movement, but noble German youths and men.

In 1810 a few German disciples of art made their homes in the lonely cells of the deserted monastery of *S. Isidoro* in Rome. Friedrich Overbeck of Lübeck was the soul of this peculiar group of artists and friends, and they were soon joined by similarly disposed compatriots—the brothers Rudolph and Wilhelm Schadow of Berlin, Karl Vogel von Vogelstein of Wildenfels, Philipp Veit of Berlin, then Julius Schnorr von Karolsfeld of Leipsic. Peter Cornelius of Düsseldorf, one of the greatest painters of modern times, was also a member of this union. The rooms in *S. Isidoro* were almost uninhabitable, and the artists suffered from physical distress, but

the hearty companionship, the art to which they were devoted, and above all the high ideal for which they all strove belittled difficulties and filled their noble hearts with joy, courage, and a desire for work. Their aim was none other than to revive holy, Christian art, such as had been practised by Fra Angelico and Perugino—the painters of heavenly models—and to introduce this art among all Christian peoples. Their pictures were to please not only by the charm of their color; they were to arouse admiration not only by the greatness of their conception and execution, but more than this, they were to instruct by representing the beautiful; they were to inspire people to prayer and devotion and they were, therefore, to be permeated through and through by the spirit of Christian religion. The majority of these young painters were Protestants, but holy art led them back to the Source of Truth. In the year 1813 the majority of them, together with friends who while not artists had similar ideals, professed the Catholic faith and returned to the Mother Church. This was a new admonition to remain faithful for life to the chosen end, and they were faithful to it later at home, whither they returned, in spite of the ridicule and mockery to which they were exposed. In Rome their opponents called them the Nazarenes, because some wore their hair long; or pre-Raphaelites, because they took for their models only

Fig. 451. Philipp Veit. Portrait by himself

Fig. 452. Ludwig Seitz. Drawing by Szoldatics

painters and masters who lived before Raphael's day. They left many works of great importance in Rome.

Finally, coming down to the most recent Roman painters, we are impressed with the Christian inspiration of their paintings, and especially is this inspiration the prominent characteristic of Cesare Fracassini of Orvieto (born 1838), (Fracassini had early shown excellent work and his talent promised a rich and fruitful future, but death claimed him before he reached the age of thirty), Salvatore Nobili (born 1827), Pio Joris (born 1843), Giovanni Capranesi (born 1852), Silvio Galimberti, and others. Among the painters from other Italian cities who painted in Rome we must mention: Francesco Podesti (died 1896), from Ancona, a most splendid master of color; Cesare Maccari (born 1840 in Siena); Giuseppe Sciuti (born 1835) from Zafferano Etnea; Saverio Altamura (born 1825) from Foggia; two artists from Genzano—Virginio Monti and Eugenio Cisterna; and Bernardo Celentano (1835-1863) from Naples. An eminent representative of German painting was Ludwig Seitz (1844-1908), director of the Vatican Galleries. Through the years of his apprenticeship he is connected with Overbeck and Cornelius. He created remarkable works in the Vatican, in *S. Lorenzo,* and in the Anima; still more famous are his frescoes in Loreto and in Padua.

FIGS. 453-454. MOSAIC WORK IN THE APSE AND INTERIOR VIEW OF S. CLEMENTE, ROME

Fig. 455. Floor Mosaic, S. Clemente, Rome

# II. The Churches and Shrines of Rome

## 1. BASILICAS OR CHURCHES OF EARLY CHRISTIAN ROME

THE most ancient form of the Christian church, beginning indeed in the Catacombs, was the basilica, whose ground-plan was borrowed from the ancient Roman hall of the same name, used as a court of law or merchants' exchange. Such a church was composed of two parts, the church proper and the atrium, the latter an uncovered courtyard in front of the church, called also "paradise." The atrium, almost square, was shut in by the front of the church and three other walls. Within there was a roof that sloped to one side only and was supported by columns or pillars; it leaned against the walls and was surrounded by a cluster of columns or pillars. In the middle of the open space in the courtyard stood the *cantharus*, or well, where those attending church washed their hands. The water in this well was blessed on the eve of the Epiphany of Our Lord. Those who were under ecclesiastical censure and forbidden to enter church during service had to remain in the colonnades of the atrium, and those punished for graver offenses were often sent into the uncovered space of the courtyard. The atrium also served for court sessions, for ecclesiastical meetings, for agapæ (love feasts), and as a special place of burial for the meritorious. Directly in front of the entrance of the basilica stood the *audientes* or listeners (*i.e.*, those who did penance on account of minor trespasses), the catechumens or instructed,[1] and heathen who were permitted to listen to the instructions and to the singing of the Psalms, but had to leave the church at the beginning of the Holy Sacrifice.

The entrance to the church was closed with *vela* or curtains, and not with a gate. The church proper was likewise divided into two parts, the nave for the faithful—separated according to sex—and the sacred part, the apse, a semicircular extension joining the nave and raised one or more steps above it, containing the space for the altar and clergy. In front of the apse in the central nave a rectangle was set apart by marble balustrades. Here

[1] The preparatory state for receiving holy Baptism for those converted from Judaism or Paganism was the catechumenate, or time of instruction, which often lasted several years. The catechumens or instructed were divided into "*audientes*," *i.e.*, listeners, who during service were allowed to be present only for the sermon; the "*substrati*," *i.e.*, kneelers, who in addition joined in the church prayers and received the bishop's blessing; and the "*consistentes*," or selected, who received a more detailed instruction in the mysteries of the Christian faith and were prepared to receive Baptism. In the Catacomb of St. Agnes it is thought by many that rooms belonging together and forming, as it were, a series, though separated, were intended for these three different classes of the "instructed."

were the two *ambones* or pulpits, reached by steps; from these the Epistle was read and the Gospel sung. Between and in front of the *ambones* stood the choir of singers. This space enclosed by balustrades is, therefore, called the choir. All around the semicircle of the apse there were marble benches, covered with cushions, for the clergy; in the center of these benches stood the *cathedra,* or chair of honor for the bishop. In the center of the apse or semicircular space stood the marble table of the altar; above it arose a vaulted canopy supported by four stone pillars. This was called the *ciborium* or receptacle for food, because from the center of its vault hung the *pyxis* (usually in the form of a golden dove), the receptacle containing the sacred Hosts. The priest offering the Holy Sacrifice stood behind the altar with his face toward the people. During consecration, however, he was concealed behind curtains which hung between the pillars of the ciborium. Under the altar reposed the relics of the holy martyrs. Later, in many basilicas a confession [1] was added and placed in front of the altar. The ground was excavated for a space of about fifteen feet square, the excavation surrounded by marble balustrades, and the floor and walls beneath were decorated in the most splendid fashion. Steps led down to it and magnificent doors opened directly upon the sarcophagi of the martyrs and saints.

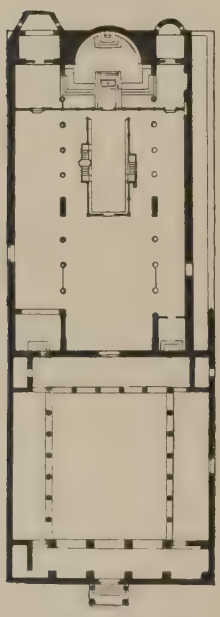


FIG. 456. GROUND-PLAN OF S. CLEMENTE, ROME

[1] Confession (*confessio*), *i.e.,* the tomb of a Martyr or Confessor of the Faith. If an altar was erected over the grave, the name was extended also to the altar and to the subterranean chapel in which it stood. When a basilica was built, the high altar, placed over the altar of the tomb below, was also called a confession.

That space of the church which was set aside for the faithful rarely consisted of a single nave, even smaller basilicas being divided by two or three rows of columns into three naves, while the larger ones were divided by four rows into five naves. When there were three naves, therefore, the two rows of columns carried the clerestory walls of the central nave, while by means of roofs sloping to one side only the side aisles joined the walls of the central nave; the clerestory walls of the central nave contained windows above the sloping roofs of the side aisles. Both the central nave and the side aisles at first had flat, beamed ceilings representing coffers, receding squares, or other geometrical figures. The beam-construction of the ceiling was not concealed at all, as a rule, and hence the timber work can be plainly seen. Usually it was roughly painted. It is only in later times that we find flat wooden ceilings, and barrel or groined vaulting in basilicas (cf. above, p. 50). In larger basilicas a transverse aisle soon appeared between apse and nave, and thus the structure assumed the symbolical shape of the cross.

This fundamental form of the early Christian church, the basilica, which for centuries was western Europe's model, was retained practically unchanged in innumerable structures, although when it came to detail almost every structure had its individual peculiarities. Many Roman basilicas were erected almost entirely of spoils—columns, friezes, and entablatures of old Roman buildings—and, while plastic ornaments are very rare, paintings abound. Space favorable for decoration was afforded by the wall-surface of the central nave between the arcades of the pillars and between the windows, on the arch of triumph, or arch of the choir, on the semicylindrical wall of the apse, and on the semicupola above, called the conch, or shell. These paintings were done *al fresco* or in distemper. Distemper is a mixture of glue, albumen, white of egg, or similar sticky substance with powdered colors that have been dissolved in water. Far more monumental are mosaic pictures

made with small pieces of colored glass or marble. Even to-day Roman basilicas possess many and valuable remnants of mosaic, and the effect is most magnificent when the grave, dignified, and venerable figures stand against a background of gold or a greenish blue.

When the community of Christians was confronted with the necessity of building a meeting-place for ritual purposes it chose—as we have said—for the ground-plan of the church that of the ancient Roman basilicas, but modified it according to circumstances, added what was necessary, and equipped it in accordance with its holy purpose. The oldest form of Christian church was, therefore, a form necessary as the religious and artistic recognition of what for Christians should constitute a church, a meeting-place for religious services. Hence the extraordinarily happy and edifying impression made by these modified basilicas. As one enters the eye is led toward the sanctuary where, on the arch of triumph and in the apse around the altar, are pictures resplendent in gold and colors, from which in solemn rhythm the rows of columns seem to proceed. The whole arrangement is wonderfully clear, simple, dignified, and beautiful. It is to be regretted that not a single Roman basilica has remained unchanged in the course of centuries, and it is very readily seen how later periods and later styles have left evidences of a changed taste. This has been done, and most objectionably, by the baroque style, since the close of the sixteenth century. Over-elaborate and showy, the baroque has won the hearts of the Romans, and even to-day they are very fond of it, so much so that—especially in the case of churches—they seem to care for no other style. Many a basilica has been so changed by the prevalence of the baroque that it is almost unrecognizable.

1. Of all Roman basilicas that of *S. Clemente* has best preserved the original appearance of an early Christian church.

St. Clement was St. Peter's second successor in the Papal power (91-100). Everything indicates that he belonged to

Fig. 457. Atrium of S. Clemente, Rome

a noble Roman family, a house of imperial rank, the Flavian family which gave Rome three emperors, Vespasian, Titus, and Domitian. It was Domitian who had his cousins, Pope Clement and the consul Flavius Clemens, executed. Not only is it very probable, but the most ancient traditions, as well as the most recent discoveries, confirm the opinion that *S. Clemente* rises from the spot where the saint had lived and that his palace—or, better, a secret private chapel in it, where the faithful in the time of danger were wont to assemble—developed later into the famous church, *S. Clemente,* when the epoch of peace began with Constantine. It is frequently mentioned in the earliest history of the Church. St. Jerome names it as proof for the uninterrupted memory of the fourth ruler of the Church; Pope Zosimus held court in it (417) when the heresies of the Pelagians were discussed; St. Leo enumerates it among the parochial churches of Rome; and St. Gregory the Great arranged extraordinary processions thereto, where he preached two sermons that are found in his works. Since that time through all the centuries could be named Popes who cared for, adorned, and maintained this church. Hadrian I did much for it in the eighth century, but Pas-

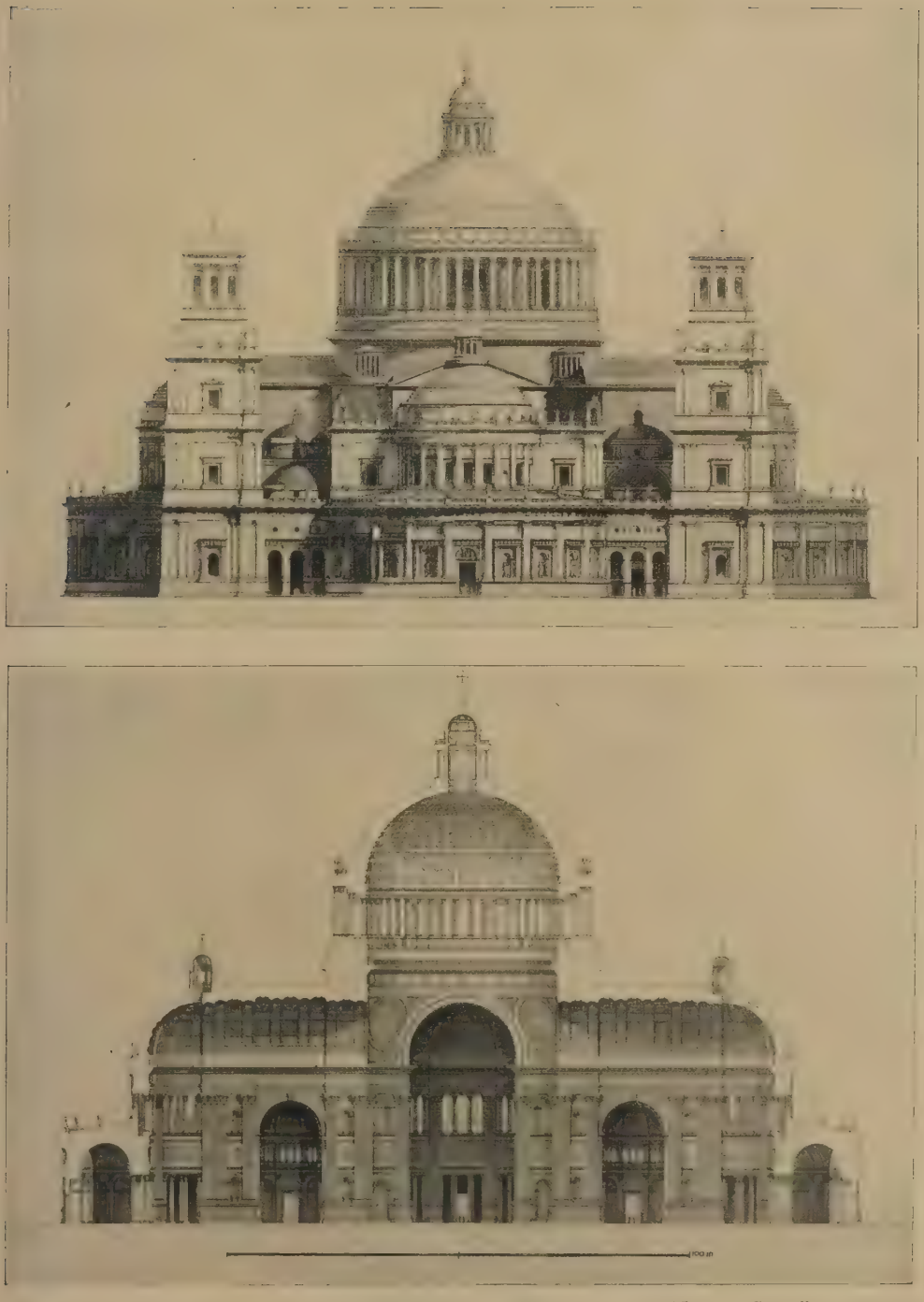
chal II in the twelfth century became famous for completely renovating the edifice. Clement XI in the eighteenth century again restored it, but preserved so far as possible its ancient appearance.

*S. Clemente* lies on the left side of a lonesome street which leads from the Colosseum to St. John Lateran. A small porch crowned with gables and resting on four columns marks its entrance. The gate leads into the wide open courtyard, atrium, or paradise, and the enclosing walls show on all four sides cloisters covered with sloping roofs. The sacred well stands in the center of this courtyard.

The interior of the church is a basilica with three aisles separated by two beautiful rows of columns. In the center of the nave, in front of the semicircular apse containing the altar, is the choir, raised up one step and surrounded by a marble balustrade—a place for the lower clergy (deacons, subdeacons, etc.) and for the singers. The marble balustrade, simply ornamented, bears the name of Pope John I (533-535), who before being raised to the supreme power was titular priest of *S. Clemente*. On the right of the choir several steps ascend to the Epistle-ambo, an ancient sort of secondary pulpit in which the subdeacon stood facing the altar to read the Epistle during the Holy Sacrifice. The chief pulpit faces the body of the church. A higher and more beautiful ambo on the right, with its graceful Easter candelabra, was reserved for the intoning of the Gospel. Several steps lead from the choir into the sanctuary proper; here rises the altar and here in the apse is the marble chair of the bishop flanked on either side by the benches for the clergy. The baldachin-ciborium, supported by four columns, rises above the altar. The ends of the side aisles are shut off by a marble balustrade and have been converted into chapels. In them were kept in ancient times the vestments and sacred utensils.

Fig. 458. The Gospel-ambo (Pulpit) in S. Clemente, Rome

The triumphal arch and noticeably the niche of the apse are decorated with beautiful mosaic pictures of the time of Paschal II (1099-1118). In the conch is the cross of the Saviour between the pictures of Mary and John, rising from the twining tendrils of a grapevine in which many pictures of saints are inserted amid gaily colored birds. Twelve doves, white as snow, symbols of the apostles and of redeemed pure souls, flutter about the cross and drink the drops of blood that flow from the wounds of Christ. In the center of the frieze below He is depicted as the Lamb of the Mountain toward which hasten twelve other lambs, six on either side, symbolical of the apostles and of the faithful; both rows proceed from the cities of Jerusalem and Bethlehem, shown on the façade of the arch of the choir. The two cities represent Judaism and Paganism. This façade of the arch of the choir is adorned, above, with the monogram of Christ and the symbols of the evangelists; below, with the pictures of SS. Peter and Clement, SS. Paul and Laurence, and of the prophets Isaias and Jeremias.



Rear Façade and Sectional View of St. Peter's. Reconstruction by H. von Geymüller after Bramante's Plan

The floor of the church is a masterpiece of the twelfth century; it is a splendid example of the so-called *Opus Alexandrinum* or *Sectile,* consisting of small colored marble plates.

For centuries an opinion prevailed that this church was the same of which Augustine and Leo speak and in which St. Gregory preached. In the year 1858 masonry was found below the courtyard and this discovery led to further investigation. There was also hope of finding the relics of the Slavonic apostle, Cyril, who died in Rome and whose remains had been translies was terribly devastated and, beyond all doubt, the church, too. Instead of restoring the old basilica in its heap of ruins Paschal II found it more advisable to fill up the entire space with rubble; and after putting up some supporting walls and removing the most beautiful ornaments, such as the marble balustrade of the choir with the ambones, to build a new structure on top of it with somewhat smaller proportions. This was done and the marble balustrades were again used in the new church.

The lower church, five meters below the

Fig. 459. The Mass of St. Clement. Fresco in the Lower Church of S. Clemente, Rome

ferred hither from St. Peter's by his brother, St. Methodius. The abbot of the adjoining monastery of Irish Dominicans, supported by the Pope and aided by benevolent contributions, caused excavations to be made. Ten years after the first discovery the expenses had amounted to $15,000; but nothing was too dearly bought, for a complete subterranean basilica was laid bare and the riddle was soon solved. The lower church is the basilica which was built in the fourth century of our era, of which the above-mentioned Popes and Church Fathers tell. In the year 1084, during the wars of the German emperor Henry IV against Gregory VII, all of that part of the city wherein *S. Clemente* marble pavement of the present one, represents a complete basilica, but the supporting walls and the pillars make it appear slightly irregular. Paschal II found it not even worth while to remove to the new structure the magnificent columns that had been cut from most valuable stone. The importance of the discovery rests especially upon the remarkable paintings with which all the walls are covered and which are mostly well preserved. Their value is great for the history of the Church as well as for art, but varies according to their age; between the oldest and the most recent there may be a lapse of 800 years, as is assumed by the learned abbot of the convent, Mulhooly, and De Rossi.

Fig. 460. Leo IV and Group of Apostles. Fresco in Lower Church of S. Clemente, Rome

The oldest remains date, presumably, from the fourth century; others (a Madonna and Child) from the eighth, and others from the ninth century (Christ's Entrance into Jerusalem, the Women at the Tomb, and Christ in Limbo). The best preserved mural pictures date from the twelfth century and show scenes from the life of St. Alexius, especially from the legend of St. Clement. This legend relates that a noble Roman woman, Theodora, belonged to the small community of Christians presided over by St. Clement, and that her husband, Sisinnius, was a friend of the then reigning emperor, Nerva. Once Sisinnius stealthily went to the meeting of the Christians just when the Holy Sacrifice was to begin, for which God punished him by depriving him of sight and hearing. Later, Theodora called St. Clement to her palace and begged him to pray that her husband recover his lost senses. Clement prayed and the man was healed. Sisinnius, believing the saintly Pope to be a magician, ordered his slaves to take him prisoner. This time God punished not only Sisinnius, but his servants as well, with lunacy. They bound up a stone column and dragged it about, thinking that they had fettered Clement; and when Sisinnius later recognized his folly he threatened to destroy the saint. But through prayer Theodora obtained the grace of salvation for her husband, thus confirming St. Paul's assertion that "the unbelieving husband is sanctified by the believing wife" (1 Cor. vii. 14).

The painting is a votive picture, as is shown by the inscription: "I, Beno of Rapiza, with Mary, my wife, caused this picture to be painted because of our love of God and in honor of St. Clement." The upper part of the painting has been destroyed; it represented the scene wherein St. Clement is instituted in his Papal dignity by St. Peter, who is assisted by Linus and Cletus. In the central picture St. Clement is on the point of beginning the Holy Sacrifice; chalice and paten are on the altar; on the right side before a group of people we see Theodora and her blind husband; on the left of the altar ministering members of the clergy draw near, and in front of them we see the donors, Beno of Rapiza and his wife, drawn on a smaller scale than the other figures.

Another picture shows the miraculous rescue of a child by the prayer of St. Clement. According to legend, the saint died, martyred, in the Chersonesus (to-day the peninsula of Gallipoli) and his body was tied to an anchor, which was lowered into the sea. When the Christians sought for his relics the waters receded and they found in the midst of the sea the martyr's grave, that had been built by angels. Once on the memorial day of the saint a mother went with her child to pray at the martyr's grave, and on leaving for home forgot her child. The flood rose and the child was lost; but on the day following the anniversary the marvel of the receding waters was repeated, the mother again went out to the saint's tomb, "Lo!" says the inscription, "there lies the boy awaiting his mother's embrace." The upper half of this picture shows "The Sepulchral Chapel in the Midst of the Sea" surrounded by waters in which fishes swim; on the left approach the clergy of the Chersonesus led by the bishop. On the lower half is the picture of St. Clement, under whose figure is the inscription: "May ye

that desire my protection be free from harm." Beno of Rapiza, who ordered this picture to be made, "because of his love of St. Clement and for the salvation of his soul," appears on the left with his daughter Actilia, while his wife and son Clement are on the right. All approach the tomb with offerings, wreaths, and candles.

A third mural painting represents the Assumption of the Blessed Virgin. With hands upraised the Mother rises toward her divine Son, whom she sees in His glory amidst a crown of angels. Around

FIGS. 461–462. INTERIOR AND EXTERIOR VIEWS OF S. LORENZO FUORI LE MURA

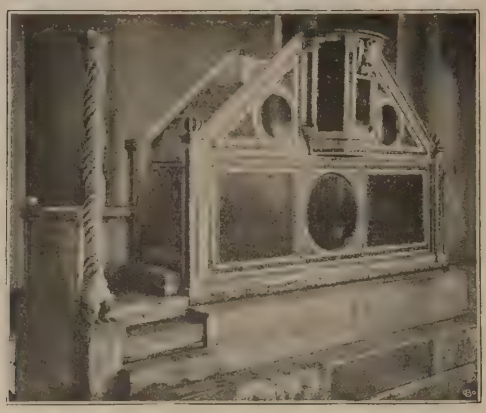


Fig. 463. The Epistle-ambo in S. Lorenzo fuori le Mura

the open grave, below, the apostles form an animated group, with St. Vitus on the right and Pope Leo IV (847-855) on the left. The square greenish halo that frames the latter's head indicates that at the time the picture was painted the latter was still among the living. On the walls of the lower church are depicted among others the Miracles of St. Libertinus, Events in the Life of St. Cyril, the Women at the Tomb of Our Saviour, Christ in Limbo, and the Martyrdom of St. Catherine (a painting from the eighth century).

At the end of the right aisle a passageway enclosed with huge slabs leads to three rooms that lie still deeper and the building of which goes back to the days of the Roman Republic, *i.e.*, to the time before the birth of Christ. Beyond doubt these rooms belonged to St. Clement's dwelling and were used for religious purposes. In the time of the persecutions the Christians lost possession of these apartments and one room was converted into a shrine of Mithras, the Persian divinity of light. Let us again recall the fact that Pagan Rome in its last centuries more and more worshiped foreign idols. Through Constantine's victory the Christians once more gained possession of the spot so dear to them and again consecrated it to the service of the true God.

In very recent days Leo XIII caused a high chapel covered with a dome to be erected on a square foundation in the right side aisle in honor of the two Slavonic apostles, Cyril and Methodius. The style of this chapel is a noble Roman baroque; its interior decoration is a harmonious mingling of white, gold, and variegated marble. Two lateral paintings by Nobili, the director of the Papal mosaic factory, are in the most modern style or "school" of painting, full of light and atmosphere

Fig. 464. Crypt in S. Lorenzo fuori le Mura

Fig. 465. The Martyrdom of St. Laurence. Painting by Grandi, in S. Lorenzo fuori le Mura

(open air). One is the "Burial of St. Cyril" and the other the "Self-Defense of St. Methodius before the Pope and Bishops." The subject of the picture above the altar, painted in a more severe style on a gold background, is the consecration of the chapel (through Leo XIII's efforts) to Christ Enthroned.

2. *S. Lorenzo fuori le Mura* (St. Laurence's Outside the Walls).—The grave of St. Laurence is outside the walls of Rome in the Catacomb of St. Cyriaca on the so-called Veran estate. According to tradition Emperor Constantine built a magnificent basilica over the great levite's grave, which it spanned, a triumphal arch supported by porphyry columns and enclosed in silver lattice-work. A golden lamp burned in front of the sarcophagus and over it hung a crown of silver; there were other gold and silver ornaments too numerous to mention.

The present church consists of two structures. The first part is the basilica of Constantine, restored by Pope Pelagius (578-590), who also adorned it with mosaics. The apse of this church touched the apse of a church of Mary. Honorius III (1216-1227) removed the two apsides and the end walls and joined the churches. The basilica of Constantine became the choir, the church of Mary the nave, of the new church. But since Constantine's structure lay on a much lower level it had to be filled in to a considerable height. The beautiful altar and the ciborium, the magnificent ambo, the floor and the porch, all date from Pope Honorius. This union of the two churches explains the peculiarity of *S. Lorenzo,* its choir with the half-covered rows of columns and the galleries above. On the back of the triumphal arch the mosaics of the time of Pelagius II can still be seen. Under Pius IX the basilica was splendidly restored, but it belongs nevertheless to churches which, like *S. Clemente,* preserve ancient plans in the purest and most distinct manner, impressing the visitor instantly as being old and venerable. Of all the basilicas in Rome this beautiful church is also the only one that has preserved its external form. Even to-day a sloping roof supported by columns rises above the porch, the last remnant of an atrium. High above the side walls rises the central structure, the

Fig. 466. Tomb of Pius IX. S. Lorenzo fuori le Mura

principal nave, its façade decorated with modern pictures shining with gold. The medieval belfry towers at its side, rising five stories above the foundation without tapering. Rome has many churches like this, some more beautiful, similarly constructed, and their arched stories loom picturesquely above the surrounding houses, to serve the stranger as landmarks.

The interior of *S. Lorenzo* astonishes us with its magnificence. The long rows of sturdy columns of finest marble, the beautiful mural paintings—some from Fracassini's sketches, some entirely by his hand—the splendid ambones where the Epistle and Gospel are read (the best ambones in Rome), the great size of the church, especially its length: all these combine to produce a grandly uplifting effect. In the sepulchral vault of the confession beneath the high choir slumber many martyrs, among them the saintly levites, Laurence and Stephen. The relics of the latter were brought here from Constantinople in the sixth century.

Pius IX excavated the filled-in part of the Constantine basilica, changing it into a crypt or lower church, which he chose as his burial-place. He rests in a white marble sarcophagus adorned with ancient Christian symbols; in the niche above a medallion portrays the Good Shepherd. The entire chamber has been ornamented with mosaics, gifts of the Catholic world. They are almost too rich and brilliant. The escutcheons of the donors form a carpet of many colors, intertwined with arabesque work. Large mural pictures, also mosaic, after sketches by Ludwig Seitz, present scenes in the life of Pius IX; but these rich modern compositions are not quite in harmony with the serious monumental character of the mosaic itself.

3. *S. Paolo fuori le Mura* (St. Paul's Outside the Walls).—We have already said that St. Paul suffered martyrdom on the highway leading to Rome from Ostia. In that spot, half an hour distant from the walls of Rome, he was entombed. Moved by the entreaties of Pope Sylvester, Emperor Constantine (324) built a basilica over the grave, very much like the Vatican basilica of St. Peter. As early as the year 386 Emperor Theodosius the Great and his co-regents, Valentinian II and Arcadius, gave orders to the prefect of Rome to build a new church, "to adorn it in harmony with the sanctity of the place, to enlarge it sufficiently to accommodate the increasing numbers of visitors, and to complete it in splendid fashion with all the zeal of devotion." The Church of St. Paul became a wonderful and a magnificent structure, even more beautiful and elaborate than St. Peter's. Its atrium with fourfold cloisters supported by columns, with a well in the center, encloses a large quadrangle in front of the sanctuary and leads to the seven gates that give access to the interior; long rows of four times twenty marble pillars divide the space into five naves and support the beautiful, richly decorated arches; above the nave gleams the ceiling, made from cedars of Lebanon and covered with gilded bronze plates; on the high walls over the columnar arcades is a wreath of circular pictures of the Popes from St. Peter down to Leo XIII, for no century has failed to contribute to the adornment of the Church of St. Paul. A double row of magnificent mosaic pictures of the sacred history of the Old and New Testaments runs above these medallions and at the end of the central nave rises the triumphal arch on two gigantic columns; it is completely covered with mosaic shimmering with gold. These were the gifts of Galla Placidia, daughter of Theodosius the Great, during the reign of Leo I, as the inscription on the edge of the arch tells us. The subject of the mosaic picture on the arch is taken from the Apocalyptic Revelation; in the center is an immense figure of Christ—head and shoulders only—His right hand raised in benediction, His left carrying a staff that formerly ended, probably, in a cross; nine rays of light issue from the Saviour's head, which is surrounded by a halo with rainbow-like blending of colors. On both sides and above Him are the symbols of the evangelists, and below we see the twenty-four elders who hasten toward Christ to

Fig. 467. Mosaic Work on the Triumphal Arch of S. Paolo fuori le Mura

lay their crowns at His feet; the two figures below, near the springing-point of the arch, are the Princes of the apostles: a grave, nay even a gloomy earnestness is expressed in all the faces and we distinctly feel the painful effort of the artist to give sublimity to his figures.

Behind the triumphal arch the nave is joined to the transept and there is a semicircular apse in the center. The upper part of the latter, the conch, is filled with a mosaic picture made during the reign of Honorius III (1216-1227). In its center the Saviour is enthroned; on His right are Peter and Andrew, on the left Paul and Luke. In the border below this are the other apostles, slender palms separating them. In the transept beneath the triumphal arch stands the altar, over which rises the beautiful ciborium or canopy, in the Gothic style.

The impression made upon the visitor by this magnificent structure is described in the lines of the poet Prudentius, who visited the Church of St. Paul a few years after its completion. He sings:

"Yonder on Ostia's street rises the tomb of St. Paul,
Where on the left the stream with its waves washes the grass bank;
In royal splendor shines the place, a kind prince completing the circle of halls and erecting the towering temple.
Plates of gold cover the beams, which, like the sun
When he rises in the morning, make its interior gleam.
Columns of Parian marble support the golden wainscot;
Dividing the surface fourfold, they support the golden dome;
The mighty arches rise high, shining in the brilliancy of
Many colors, like meadows in springtime sparkling in motley garb."

An earthquake in the year 801 caused the golden ceiling to fall; the new roof was closed without a wainscot, so that the rafters, covered with rich paintings, remained visible.

This unique church of St. Paul became with every century an object of increasing interest, in proportion as other early Christian monuments disappeared. Even when old St. Peter's was given up to destruction St. Paul's Outside the Walls was the oldest and most venerable witness of the most faithful centuries of Christian Rome. With jealous love the Popes of the last centuries sought to preserve the old basilica. For almost fifteen hundred years it

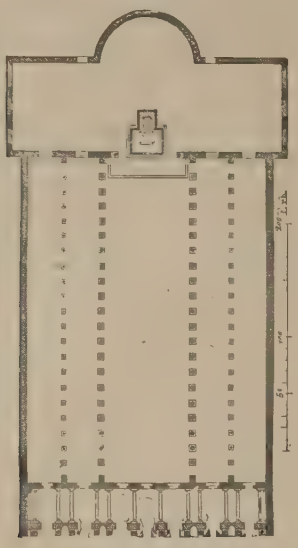


Fig. 468. Ground-Plan of the Basilica S. Paolo fuori le Mura

withstood time and the destructive effects of natural phenomena; two earthquakes, in the years 801 and 1348, threw it down; Belisarius, a commander from eastern Rome, used it as a fortress; Lombards and Saracens plundered and wrecked the building, but it was still standing when a man's carelessness ruined the magnificent monument. A leadworker left his coal-pan on the roof; during the night (July 15, 1823) a column of fire rose and in five hours the church was completely demolished. In the morning only a desolate heap of ruins indicated the spot where St. Paul's had stood. The columns and marble statues had been burned to lime and naught but blackened remains of the walls stood there in their gloom.

Pius VII, formerly, as a Benedictine of St. Paul, a guardian of the shrine, at that time was sick unto death. The old man, who during his life had suffered so much, was spared unspeakable pain; for he died without knowing anything of the sad occurrence. His successor, Leo XII, appointed a commission of cardinals and architects to report concerning a new structure. It was decided to rebuild the basilica after the former plans and in the same proportions. Since the news of the fire had saddened the entire Christian world Leo XII invited the faithful of all countries to contribute toward a new and suitable sepulchral monument for St. Paul. The Papal government contributed the largest share.

The new structure was erected by the architects Belli, Bosio, Grazioli, Camporesi, and (since 1833) almost wholly by Louis Poletti. In 1840 Gregory XVI consecrated the transept, which had been temporarily shut off from the principal

Fig. 469. Main Façade of S. Paolo fuori le Mura

nave, and dedicated it to the service of God. In 1854 (Pius IX) the entire church was ready for consecration, and on December 8 the Pope in St. Peter's, surrounded by 185 princes of the Church from all parts of the world, pronounced the dogma of the Immaculate Conception of our dear Lady; on December 10 all these princes accompanied the Pope to St. Paul's, increasing by their presence the splendor and importance of the ceremony of consecration.

Fig. 470. Interior of S. Paolo fuori le Mura

The exterior of the church is incomplete and looks bare and desolate. The new tower is a sin against good taste. The façade is, as in former times, to shine with the splendor of colored pictures and ornaments in mosaic; the gable shows the Saviour enthroned and on both sides are the Princes of the apostles. On the border, above the windows, is the Lamb of God toward which twelve lambs, symbols of the apostles, hurry from left and right. Alongside and between the three round-arched windows rise the gigantic figures of four prophets. Garlands of fruits and wreaths of pearls form delicate frames and partitions. The drawing is an attempt to reproduce the solemn, simple forms of the oldest Christian art; but by no means is it a successful attempt. The atrium, surrounded by columns of marble, is to be a magnificent achievement when completed; but it is a pity that the architecture is not simpler, more restful, more monumental, and more logical. The construction on the entrance side seems well-nigh impossible.

Thus the Church of St. Paul on the road to Ostia enters on a new existence and is rejuvenated. There are many who claim they can not recognize the old basilica in the new one; and very justly so. A quiet, almost gloomy earnestness, a holy consecration imparted by fourteen centuries breathed through the former, whereas the present church is clear, full of light, full of splendor and magnificence, and the glimmer of mirrorlike marble is reflected a hundredfold. The new structure, there-

Fig. 471. Holy Water Font in S. Paolo fuori le Mura

fore, often receives unfavorable criticism, yet nobody enters St. Paul's without being seized with admiration. This church has not the dome, not the magnitude, not the profuse adornment or the countless monuments of St. Peter's, yet the first impression that this basilica on the road to Ostia gives is more restful and harmonious.

But if St. Peter's appears grander and more sublime with every visit, the effect of St. Paul's decreases. The many columns rising in long rows from the polished marble floor and supporting the high arches and ceilings, and the magnificently dignified proportions will indeed uplift the soul and fill it with joy and bliss; but the first impression is irrevocably lost. A tone reminding one of a modern "salon" permeates these new halls.

The ancient mosaic pictures of the Empress Placidia and of Honorius III still remain on the triumphal arch and in the apse of the transept. They were considerably damaged by the fire, but have been repaired and restored in the old style. These venerable old pictures do not harmonize with the new structure, least of all with the scenes from the life of St. Paul in the central nave, which were done in modern style and technique by Coghetti, De Sanctis, Podesti, Bartolini, Gavardini, and other painters. Below these paintings and above the arches of the orders of columns are the portraits of the Popes in mosaic, just as in the old basilica. Unfortunately, the portraits are only genuine after the fifteenth century. In other respects the garland of pictures that runs through the three central naves and the transept is a magnificent decoration which will shine for centuries to come in brilliant colors.

Seven gates lead from the porch into the basilica. In the old church the columns were unequal, for they had been taken from ancient monuments. The slender shafts of the present structure were all cut from granite of the Simplon and came from the quarries of Montorfano on Lago Maggiore. The central nave is 120 meters long and 23 meters high; the width of the five naves taken together amounts to nearly 60 meters.

The new baldachin which covers the altar impedes the view into the choir, whereby the effect of immensity is much diminished. The beautiful Gothic ciborium (of which we have already spoken), although broken in the fire, was pieced together and set up again. Hence the idea of erecting above this baldachin a second one. Just why this is in a different style of architecture seems incomprehensible. Its most striking qualities are its magnificence and the value of the material of which it is made. Four columns of oriental "watered" alabaster of a beautiful, translucent, dull splendor support the roof; they are a gift of the viceroy of Egypt, Mohammed Ali. The malachite, which with its wonderful green covers the socles, was contributed by Czar Nicholas of Russia. In a similar way as in St. Peter's a confession was built before the chief altar to serve as a resting-place for the relics of the Apostle of the Gentiles. It is fitted out in an over-rich manner with the most valuable stones, especially with Greek marble, red and green, but this is also a far-fetched delicacy. Under the small altar in the confession rest the relics

of St. Timothy, the favorite disciple of the Apostle. Near the closing walls of the transept we find two altars with beautiful statues and mosaics; the incomparable green of Russian malachite gleams here again on the altar-tables. In the apse of the semicircular choir stands the Papal throne of white marble adorned with gilded relief-work; but the addition of a straight row of columns which stands behind it and supports a cornice, hurts in a most decided manner the architectural feeling for lines, as there is in general much capriciousness in the transept. On both sides of the apse or tribune two chapels have been added, richly decorated with valuable marble and new pictures. In one of them is the beautiful fourteenth century crucifix, which, according to legend, spoke to St. Bridget as she prayed before it (1370). Below this veneration is bestirred by a picture of the Madonna in mosaic, before which on April 22, 1541, St. Ignatius of Loyola, with the first members of his Order, made his vows. In the chapel of St. Benedict is a beautiful statue of the great founder of the Order, by Tenerani. A modern curiosity is the basin for holy water in the transept, showing a group in which an angel drives away the devil with holy water.

Connected with the basilica of St. Paul is the monastery of Benedictines of the same name. Among its peculiarities we must mention the library and the most beautiful cloister enclosed by arcades of graceful columns decorated with rich mosaic. A great number of grave-tablets and inscriptions, chiefly from the nearby Catacomb of Commodilla, were placed on the walls of the wide cloister under the direction of De Rossi. The unhealthy, malarious summer compels the Benedictines to move from St. Paul's to St. Callixtus' in the city, there to guard the health of their community.

4. *S. Maria in Trastevere.*—In a remote quarter of the city, on the north side of the Tiber, is the district of Trastevere. The Church of *S. Maria in Trastevere* is also known under the name of *Fons Olei* (Fountain of Oil). During the reign of Emperor Augustus, about the time when Our Saviour was born, in a spot where now the Church of St. Mary stands, a spring of oil burst out quite suddenly and

Fig. 472. Cloister of S. Paolo fuori le Mura

Fig. 473. Interior of S. Maria in Trastevere

for one day flowed so plentifully that its stream reached the Tiber. This, among other peculiar occurrences which happened in the days of Augustus, is reported by Roman authors. In this the Christians saw a symbol of the blessing which was to be bestowed on the world in the birth of the Saviour. In the right aisle of the church where the oil broke through the crust of the earth we read these words: "From this spot oil flowed when Christ was born of the Virgin: just as from the earth this spring, so from the Virgin came the Saviour, who like the stream consecrated Rome, the mistress of cities."

This church is regarded as the first and oldest church of St. Mary in Rome. In former times the veterans of the imperial army had their quarters close to it and here Christians settled and founded a house of prayer. Certain tavern-keepers, however, objected, claiming the place as their own and placing their complaint before Emperor Alexander Severus. But the latter decided that it was better for God to be honored in the place than that it be relinquished to the cooks. Julius I (337-352) built a basilica in honor of St. Callixtus on this ground; but not until the eighth century does it appear as a church of the Blessed Virgin.

The present church, a basilica consisting of three naves, was begun by Innocent II in 1139 and was consecrated in 1198.

Fig. 474. Mosaic Work in the Apse of S. Maria in Trastevere

Fig. 475. Pope Liberius Drawing the Ground-Plan of S. Maria Maggiore. Relief by Mino da Fiesole in S. Maria Maggiore

Eugene III adorned the façade with pictures of the enthroned Mother of God, of the Wise Virgins, and with portraits of himself and Innocent II. The mosaics in the choir niche belong to the same period; and under Nicholas IV (1228-1292) Bertold de Stefaneschi added the other mosaic pictures. Pius IX had every part of the church splendidly restored (1866-1874). The richly colored mosaics of the façade and the venerable monuments of old Christian times in the porch excite our expectation when we enter; but we are surprised by the calm, quiet, solemn splendor of the interior. The magnificent columns of granite and the beams, unequal in form and varying in style, have been taken from ancient heathen monuments; the ceiling, rich in design and superb in execution, gleams with gold. This ceiling was added in order to conceal the open roof-structure. The most valuable ornaments of this church are the beautiful mosaic pictures in the apse of the choir and on the triumphal arch. The former represent the glorification of Mary in paradise. With crowned head surrounded by a halo she sits at the right of her divine Son; Saints Callixtus and Laurence, with Pope Innocent II, stand beside her, while Peter, Cornelius, Julius, and Calepodius join the central group. The other mosaic pictures represent incidents in the life of the Mother of God.

The church is rich in unique tombs and monuments. Cardinal Hosius of Ermland (1504-1579), one of the finest personalities of his time, and Mark Sittich of Hohenems, Archbishop of Salzburg, who died in 1619, found a last resting-place here.

5. *S. Maria Maggiore* (St. Mary Major or St. Mary the Greater).—An old legend relates that during the time of Pope Liberius (352-366) there lived in Rome a wealthy patrician named John. As he had no heir he wished to use his riches in a way pleasing to God. During the night of August 4, 352, he saw in a dream the Blessed Virgin who told him to build in her honor a church on the spot where, next morning, he should find freshly fallen snow. In the same night Pope Liberius had the same vision. All Rome went up the Esquiline Hill on the morning of August 5, for much of its surface was white with snow. Liberius and the patrician John saw in this incident a confirmation of their dreams. The Pope then and there drew in the snow the outlines

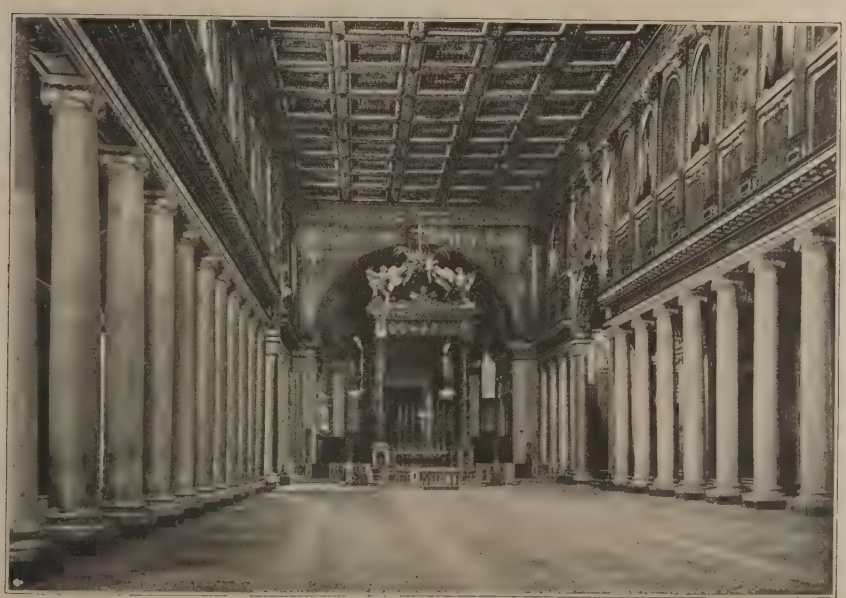
of the church, which was rapidly built and then consecrated to the Blessed Virgin. From the miracle of August snow the church received the name "Our Lady of the Snow"; in memory of Pope Liberius it was called the Liberian Basilica; from the relics of the Saviour's manger that are preserved in it it is denominated "Our Lady of the Manger," and from its age and importance among the other churches of Mary in Rome comes its most popular title, "St. Mary Major."

Before a century had passed, Sixtus III (432-440) restored and enlarged the church. About this time Greek heretics with Nestorius, Bishop of Constantinople, as leader tried to deprive the Blessed Virgin of her greatest privilege—that of having been the Mother of God, of having been she who gave birth to Christ. Sixtus could defend the honor of Mary in no better way than by equipping her shrine in the most splendid fashion and by naming it "the Basilica of Mary, the Mother of God." In the thirteenth century Nicholas IV (1288-1292) altered the semicircular end of the church and adorned it with beautiful mosaics. Under Gregory IX (1370-1378) the belfry, the highest one in Rome, was built anew. A century later (about 1480) the French Cardinal de Touteville, archpriest of the church, initiated important repairs and changes. The two domes which rise from each side crown the chapels of Popes Paul V and Sixtus V and of these we shall speak later. The present exterior of the church does not at all harmonize with the interior and is characteristic of the manner in which old churches have been "restored" during the last two centuries. Paul V built the palace for the canons of St. Mary Major, and Benedict XIV erected the façade which, with its high halls, does not really make an unfavorable impression, but nevertheless gives no indication that it leads to an ancient and venerable basilica. The mosaics of Eugenius III's time glitter even to this day on their golden background; but not all of them can be seen in the aisles and arches of the second story.

Fig. 476. Mosaic Work by J. Torriti in the Apse of S. Maria Maggiore

In the interior the side aisles have un-

dergone great changes, for on entering the principal portal one does not notice them at all. The first view, the first impression, is a surprise. Thirty-six white marble columns of fine workmanship—they were taken from an old Roman palace—are set in two rows supporting the central nave. An abundance of light streams in through



Figs. 477–478. Façade and Interior of S. Maria Maggiore

FIG. 479. PICTURE OF THE MADONNA IN THE PAULINE CHAPEL OF S. MARIA MAGGIORE

the high windows and is distributed throughout the beautiful building. This light, gentle and mild, helps to induce the joyous and religious feeling which permeates us as we enter. What better thing could be said about a house of God?

The marble floor of beautiful mosaic dates from the time of Eugenius III. The tasteful ceiling was made from sketches by Julian da San Gallo; the bright gold that shines with splendor from it is a sacrificial offering of America to the Blessed Virgin; it is the first gold which the mines of the New World furnished and was given to the shrine of St. Mary on the Esquiline by Ferdinand and Isabella, king and queen of Spain.

On the frieze above the architrave supported by the columns are two rows of mosaic pictures. In the arch of the choir five other rows of pictures join these two. The subjects in the central nave are taken from the Old Testament and represent its patriarchs and prophets, its judges and leaders, its miracles and promises pertaining to the days of fulfilment and redemption through Christ. On the triumphal arch are: "The Annunciation," "The Adoration of the Shepherds," "The Presentation of Jesus in the Temple," the "Princes of the Apostles," and "The Coronation of the Mother of God." In the middle of the arch we read these words: *"Xystus episcopus plebis Dei"* (Sixtus [III, 432-440], Bishop of God's people). These mosaic pictures are, therefore, more than fourteen hundred years old. Sixtus in renovating the church meant to protect and proclaim the dignity of the Mother of God, the honor of her who gave birth to God, and from this point of view the arrangement and sequence of the mosaic pictures is explicable. It was intended to express in them the position and the task of Mary in the history of redemption, and, as the true Mother of God, her most intimate and close relation to Christ and to salvation. These mosaics are probably the work of Greek artists; the careful outline, the solemn bearing, and the magnificent drapery in which all the figures are clad, all indicate Greek work. The symbolism, too, shows remarkable peculiarities; thus the child Jesus is indicated by a small golden cross on the forehead, for the halo was not deemed by the artist sufficient to express the divinity of the newly born Saviour.

Pius IX ordered a new and beautiful confession built in front of the high altar, whose *mensa* (table, a primitive form of altar) is an ancient porphyry basin covered by a baldachin which is supported by four porphyry columns.

The mosaics at the semicircular end of the choir were made by Jacopo Torriti in 1292 and in them the glorification of the Mother of God is continued, pictorially. On a sky-blue background dotted with stars the crowning of Mary is represented; seated on a throne at the right of her divine Son she humbly receives the heavenly crown from His hand. Angels and saints approach from both sides in attitudes of reverent devotion. Twining grapevines form a delicate frame, and among the birds seen in the branches are brilliant peacocks.

The church has many chapels, but par-

Apse Mosaics in the Church of S. Pudenziana and in the Church of SS. Cosma e Damiano

ticularly interesting and well known are the Sistine Chapel on the right and the Pauline on the left, facing each other near the end of the principal nave. Unfortunately, the beautiful row of columns had to be interrupted and on each side a high arch broken when these chapels were constructed. The Sixtine was built in 1589 by Pope Sixtus V, who employed his favorite architect, Fontana. It has the form of the Greek cross; on the right side is the tomb of the Pope with his statue in a kneeling posture. Opposite it is the tomb of St. Pius V, whose statue is lifelike and full of expression. In former times the relics of the Saviour's manger were preserved here in a subterranean shrine; now they are in the confession built by Pius IX. During Christmastide they are exhibited for veneration in a crystal urn. All that is beautiful and valuable, gold and silver, marble and precious stones, all that the hand of an artist could do was done in adorning this chapel in the richest and most splendid fashion. Yet its magnificence was to be obscured by the Pauline Chapel, whose name is derived from that of its founder, Paul V. The splendor of its altar and the value of the material employed in it is well-nigh incredible. The altar table is an ancient gorgeous sarcophagus of the most beautiful oriental lapis lazuli. Above the socles of green Sicilian jasper rise four columns of blood-jasper; the gable shines with oriental jasper, the frieze with Japanese agate; the moulding, bases, and capitals of the columns as well as the entablature are made of gilded bronze. In the center of the altar, in a frame of lapis lazuli and amethyst, is a very old picture of the Madonna, a picture formerly ascribed to St. Luke.[1]

As early as April 25, 590, this ancient picture of the Mother of God with her Child was carried to the Vatican in solemn procession through the city by St. Gregory, in the hope of ending, through Mary's intercession, a destructive plague

[1] According to St. Paul, St. Luke was a physician, not a painter. In more recent times it has often been pointed out that the pictures ascribed to him were not by his hand. It has been previously stated in these pages that the oldest pictures of the Blessed Virgin are in the Catacombs, dating back to the days of the apostles. Besides, the so-called pictures by St. Luke are so numerous and so different that they can not be the work of any one artist.

Fig. 480. Chapel of Sixtus V in S. Maria Maggiore

then raging. Since that time it has often been borne through the streets of Rome in time of dire need, as in 1860, when there was a cholera epidemic, and also when a holy war was waging against foreign oppressors and the barbarian chieftains. So old is the picture that its once beautiful colors have faded, the Mother and Child being now completely black.

6. *The Remaining Basilicas.* The Church of *S. Cecilia,* situated in Trastevere, dates from the time of Pope Paschal I (817-824), but has been completely changed to the baroque style, the mosaic picture in the semicupola of the apse—Christ in the midst of saints—being of the ninth century. Under the altar, besides St. Cecilia, rest her bridegroom, St. Valerian, and his brother Tiburtius. The subterranean confession, or crypt, was restored by Cardinal Rampolla, Leo XIII's Secretary of State, the work being completed in 1901. Everything is full of splendor, the altar, the mosaic pictures, the tesselated pavement of the floor, and the vaults, with their rich ornaments in gilded stucco. The decoration of the vaults is in the flowing, happy style of the Renaissance, full of grace but seemingly little suited to a subterranean chapel.

Two other basilicas, *S. Maria in Cosmedin* and *S. Sabina* on the Aventine, preserve much of their original appearance. The latter, built under Celestine I (422-432) and Sixtus III (432-440), still has magnificent rows of columns, open timber ceiling, and wooden panels at the entrance gate, which are richly decorated in relief, imitating the paintings in the Catacombs and the pictures on the sarcophagi. The oldest representation of the Crucifixion is among these, wherein Christ appears between the two thieves, standing rather than hanging, His arms outstretched after the manner of ancient praying figures.

Fig. 481. Lower Church of S. Cecilia, with Altar at the Tomb of the Saint

The two most beautiful early Christian mosaics in Rome are those in the apses of *SS. Cosma e Damiano,* near the Roman Forum, and *S. Pudenziana.* The first named, together with the basilica, dates from the time of Pope Felix IV (526-530). Christ Glorified is shown on brightly shining clouds against a dark blue

background; and below Him the Princes of the apostles lead the two saintly physicians Cosmas and Damian, who bear in their hands their martyrs' crowns. To the left and right the group is closed by the Pope, who carries a model of the church, and by St. Theodore with his crown of victory. A breath of antique grandeur and dignity seems to emanate from these great figures. Still more exquisite is the mosaic in *S. Pudenziana,* which is not quite a genuine antique, having been repeatedly restored. Christ is enthroned in the center, while on both sides the apostles stand in line a little below Him, and behind them are two women with crowns, prob-

Figs. 482–483. Interior Views of S. Sabina and S. Maria in Cosmedin

Fig. 484. The Crucifixion. Relief on the Door of S. Cecilia

ably representing the pair of saintly sisters Praxedes and Pudentiana. A hall with arcades closes the group. Above this group appear antique buildings (in Jerusalem?) with a richly decorated cross on a mountain; over all are the symbols of the evangelists.

*S. Pietro in Vincoli* (St. Peter in Chains).—The Acts of the Apostles tell us that on Herod's order St. Peter was thrown into a dungeon in Jerusalem and fettered with a double chain; but an angel freed the captive and led him past the sentinels and through the iron gate, which opened of its own accord. The chains remained in the prison. They were valuable treasures of the first community of Christians in Jerusalem, who obtained possession of them and guarded them with faithful love. In the fifth century (436) Empress Eudoxia Athenais, wife of Theodosius II, brought the chains to Constantinople and deposited one in a church that was built for the purpose, while the other she sent to Rome to her daughter Eudoxia Licinia, wife of Emperor Valentinian III. At that time (455) Leo I, the Great, was Pope and in the presence of the people he compared this chain with that which had fettered St. Peter in the Mamertine Prison in Rome. When he brought the two chains together they miraculously joined, the legend tells us, of their own accord. To preserve these fetters made sacred by the suffering of the apostle, Eudoxia erected a fine church, which is sometimes called the Eudoxian Basilica, sometimes St. Peter in Chains. About the year 722 great changes were made by Julius II, who, as cardinal, bore the title of this church, and while its original arrangement can still be recognized it has unfortunately been much disfigured in modern times.

Fig. 485. Christ. Mosaic in SS. Cosma e Damiano

*S. Pietro in Vincoli* is indebted for the throngs of strangers who traverse its wide, well-lit halls to still another monument—the world-famous Moses, by Michael Angelo. We have already spoken of Pope Julius II's command to Michael Angelo regarding a sepulchral monument for himself. The sculptor spent eight months in the marble quarries of Carrara selecting the necessary stone. According to his plans the monument was to assume gigantic proportions. The sketch, still in existence, shows a structure three stories high, forty statues ornamenting the detached lower portion of the tomb, which is richly decorated in high relief; in the second story is pictured the magnificent sarcophagus sur-

rounded by eight seated figures, among them Moses and Paul; and above are two angels upholding the figure of the Pope, who sleeps in death. The height was to be nearly thirty feet. In the old Church of St. Peter there would have been no room for such a monument, so Bramante was about to change it when the Pope decided upon a new design. The monument was never finished, chiefly because the Pope continually engaged Michael Angelo in other work. Again and again the plan was simplified, until it finally shrank into a mere piece of ornament. Julius rests in the great St. Peter's, while the crippled sepulchral monument stands in *S. Pietro in Vincoli*. In the center, upon a marble socle, is the seated statue of Moses; it is more than ten feet high and is one of the noblest achievements in art. It is incomparable. The leader of God's people has been figured as if he were about to speak to Israel; this is not Moses, meekest of men, who would sacrifice himself for his race, but Moses wrathful at the perversity and heedlessness of a fickle people. He firmly holds the Tables of the Law under his left arm; his hand grasps his abundant, wavy beard, and with threatening glance he turns his head aside. Whosoever looks attentively into his eye will little by little feel dread and fear of the anger therein. The entire external bearing, the loose, careless drapery, and, above all, the treatment of the nude part of the body corresponds to the inner feeling expressed by the face. Every blood-vessel is swollen, the whole network of veins is visible, all the nerves vibrate, the muscles are contracted and enlarged, the lips are puffed with anger, and all has been portrayed in marble with inimitable art.[1]

And yet one who knows the Moses of the Bible will not be entirely satisfied with this statue of him. Michael Angelo has represented an angry Moses who in burning wrath slays the Egyptian oppressor and with iron firmness leads a stubborn people for forty years through the desert;

[1] The horns of power on his forehead are the visible representations of the two rays of light that issued from his head after he had come in contact with God.

Fig. 486. S. Agnese fuori le Mura

but the high religious sanctification which Moses received before the burning bush on the summit of Mount Sinai, the man full of love and confidence in God, is not represented in this statue. When the great artist conceived the figure of Moses, his mind was permeated by the forceful domination of Julius II; nevertheless the work of art will always retain its incomparable value. Two other statues by

Fig. 487. Interior of S. Agnese

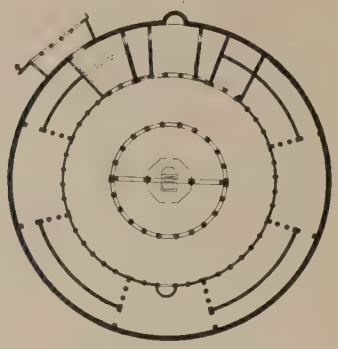


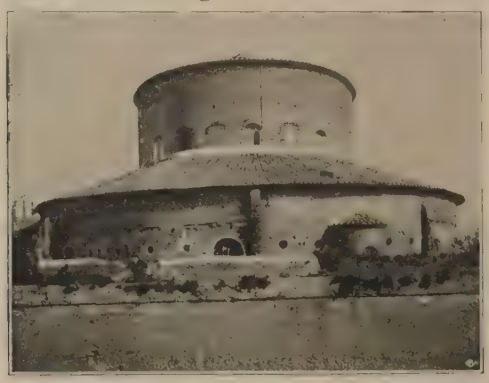
Fig. 488. Ground-Plan of S. Stefano Rotondo

Michael Angelo stand beside the Moses, Lia and Rachel, symbols of the active and the contemplative life; and there are others which have been made from Michael Angelo's models.

*S. Agnese fuori le Mura* (St. Agnes Outside the Walls).—In this church we find much that resembles the old parts of *S. Lorenzo*. Built over the Catacomb of the same name, the church lies much lower than the Via Nomentana on which it fronts. We descend to a side entrance by forty-seven marble steps. The oldest parts of the present basilica probably do not date further back than the time of Honorius I (625-640), although even Constantia, daughter of Emperor Constantine (according to some, Constantia, daughter of Emperor Constantius) honored the memory of the saintly maiden with a beautiful building. The last renovation was the work of Pius IX. The church is not large, but it makes a favorable impression with its clear, simple, and very harmonious arrangement of space. A peculiarity of the early Christian church edifices is expressed most distinctly in *S. Agnese*. The side aisles have two stories; and hence a double row of columns, one above the other, is found in the principal nave. In the upper story are the galleries—on the level of the street—where women attended service, because in general a separation of the sexes was rigidly enforced. Many early Christian churches in the Orient and Occident have a similar arrangement.

*7. Circular Churches.*—All the basilicas we have described thus far are structures with a clearly predominant longitudinal arrangement which at once guides the observer's eye to the end of the nave and to the apse with its altar. But another arrangement is also possible, in which all parts of the building are grouped around a center—buildings of this kind being therefore called "central" structures. This central unity was manifested externally by the existence of circular enclosing walls crowned with a cupola or with a tentlike roof. Even Pagan Rome was fond of circular structures, especially for sepulchral monuments, and they are also found in early Christian Rome.

The largest and most beautiful circular structure in ancient Rome was the Pantheon of Agrippa, and this it is even today in modern Christian Rome. From the year 399, in the time of Emperor Honorius, this wonderful building remained



Figs. 489–490. Exterior and Interior of S. Stefano Rotondo

Fig. 491. Interior of S. Costanza

closed for two hundred years. In the year 608 Pope Boniface IV received it as a present from Emperor Phocas and after having placed a large number of relics of martyrs in the confession he consecrated it to Mary, Queen of Martyrs. But since that time the structure has suffered much through plundering and from restorations. Thus in 1632 Pope Urban VIII (Barberini) had the bronze beams of the porch taken away and made into cannon. "What the barbarians left undone was done by the Barberini." Under Benedict XIV the antique wall of marble, porphyry, and serpentine was replaced by plates of stucco. Next to the third altar on the left the painter Raphael has his resting-place. In the second circular niche, to the right, the first king of United Italy was interred; the sarcophagus is a triumph of bad taste, resembling a reservoir attached to the wall, a gigantic water-basin. On the opposite side King Humbert found a provisional tomb. The sepulchral church proper of the royal family is the Superga, in an imposing position near Turin. The Pantheon is to become an emblem of United Italy.

Another most remarkable central structure is *S. Stefano Rotondo* (The Rotunda of St. Stephen). Opinions concerning its origin are divided. Many believed it to be an early Christian building, but recently it has been proved that the structure was an ancient Roman market hall of the Cœlian Hill district, that was changed into a Christian church by Pope Simplicius (468-483). Originally it consisted of a circular central structure or nave with a clerestory supported by twenty columns and two surrounding side aisles, separated by forty-four columns. Two axes intersecting it at right angles divide the structure horizontally. Nicholas V (1447-1456) removed the outer walls and joined the columns of the second circle by masonry, and thus one aisle was taken away.

The round form was quite common in the early Christian baptisteries or baptismal churches.

Next to the Lateran Church rises the Lateran Baptistery of Constantine. In the life of Pope Sylvester we are told of the building of a baptistery and of Emperor Constantine receiving holy Baptism in it (324). Other authors state that the emperor entered the Church by Baptism only a short time before his death in Nicomedia, where he fell sick (337). Modern investigations have led to the certain conclusion that the arrangement and manner of its building point to the time of Constantine. It consists of two high octagonal buildings, one containing the other. The inner octagon is composed of two rows of columns placed one above the other, and contains the baptismal font of beautiful green basalt. Most valuable remains of ancient Roman art are comprised in the building; the baptismal chapel and three adjoining

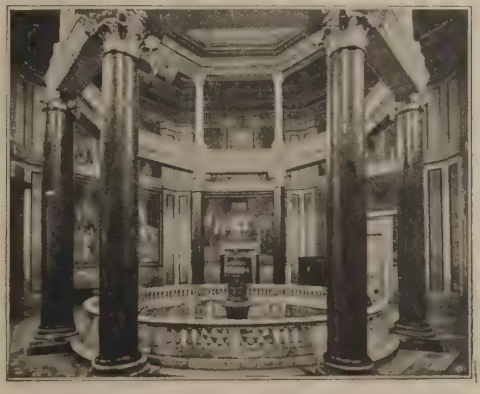


Fig. 492. Interior of the Lateran Baptistery

FIG. 493. CHURCH AND MONASTERY OF SS. GIOVANNI E PAOLO

chapels are decorated with mosaic and adorned with ancient and modern paintings. Every year on the Saturday before Easter those who have applied for admission to the Catholic Church and have been sufficiently instructed receive holy Baptism in this chapel; and this is the sole reminder of the fact that in former times the only baptismal font in Rome stood here.

A third most peculiar rotunda is *S. Costanza,* near *S. Agnese,* dating from the fourth century. While *S. Stephano* has a flat, tentlike roof, that of *S. Costanza* is vaulted. Twelve coupled pairs of granite columns with high imposts support the lofty central cupola, the cylindrical walls of which admit abundant light from above. For a counterpoise it is surrounded by a low barrel-vaulted gallery. In former times the cupola was decorated with Biblical mosaic pictures in most elaborate frames, but in 1620 these were removed and replaced by stucco in the baroque style. The gallery, however, still preserves its tesselated pictures — vintage scenes, wine-presses, and so forth—alongside of Christian symbols, and the same is true of the niches. This round structure was both a baptismal and a sepulchral church. In the fifteen larger and smaller niches of the enclosing walls there stood, in former times, mausoleums of the members of the imperial Constantine family, alternating with magnificent marble candelabra. The gigantic porphyry mausoleum of Constantia and some candela-

FIG. 494. CHRIST ON THE CROSS. FRESCO IN S. MARIA ANTIQUA

bra are now in the Vatican. This round structure, in which the traditions of classic art still persist, must have made a charming impression in ancient days, for a faint echo of it has endured until our own century.

Just as highly talented men have recently given themselves with great enthusiasm and devotion to investigating the Catacombs, so have others applied themselves to the study of the early Christian monuments remaining above ground, making excavations and carefully investigating the ruins. These studies have produced a great variety of valuable results. In connection with the excavations in the Roman Forum, toward the end of the last century, the vast ruins of an old basilica, *S. Maria Antiqua,* were exposed and therein were found a large number of Greco-Christian paintings dating from the sixth to the ninth century, the majority of which were in a good state of preservation. Previously, in the eighties, excavations in *SS. Giovanni e Paolo* (Church of SS. John and Paul) on the Cœlian Hill led to the discovery of peculiar mural frescoes. On the eastern slope of the Aventine stands the Church of *S. Saba,* dating from the eleventh century; in former times it belonged to Greek monks, but now it is the property of the German College. In 1899 excavations brought to light the ruins of an older small basilica with remnants of paintings of the utmost importance for the history of art. The interior of this lonesome church is now nothing but a heap of ruins, and it is evidently difficult to decide precisely what to do with it.

Fig. 495. Section of the Lateran Cloister

## 2. THE MONUMENTS OF THE MIDDLE AGES

THE basilican style of church-building lasted until about the eleventh century, save in Rome, where it continued far into the fourteenth century. By degrees the Romanesque or round-arched style was developed from the basilica and from the art of the Germanic nations, who from now on more and more decisively influenced all culture and civilization. In its later historical development this style gradually gave way during the thirteenth century to the Gothic or pointed-arch style. The period of the Middle Ages comprises the epochs of the Romanesque and Gothic styles.

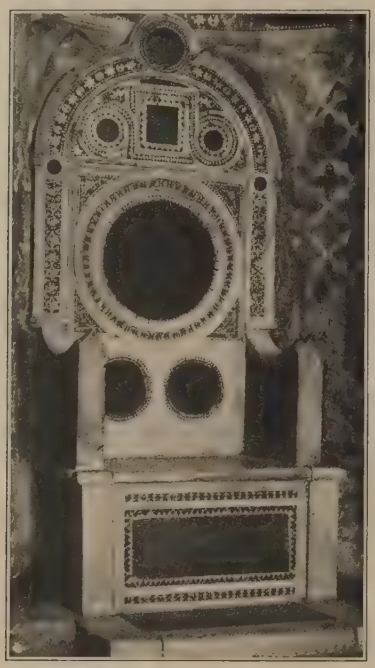


FIG. 496. EPISCOPAL THRONE IN S. BALBINA

Italy is extremely rich in most remarkable and peculiar Romanesque monuments, both religious and profane; but the Gothic style never found much favor with the Italians. They have, it is true, some of the most splendid structures in this style, but as a rule they do not apply its fundamental construction and its peculiar arrangement of space; they did, however, use its ornamental motives, but they changed them in a remarkable manner for the greatest display of splendor and the most graceful play of form.

Rome is remarkably poor in Romanesque and Gothic monuments and works of art. The reasons for this are many. For a long time, as we have said, the city on the Tiber clung to the basilican style; it still built new churches of this kind, restored or renovated and redecorated the old ones, especially from the eleventh century on—when art saw better days—while in other cities people already had begun to love and use the Romanesque. Wars, within and abroad, and the battles and strifes of noble families did not permit a full development of art. From 1308 to 1372 the Popes had their residence in Avignon, and in the meantime Rome became quite poor and deserted.

Thus it is that Rome possesses only a single Romanesque church, and even that is only in its outskirts, in Tre Fontane, about an hour from Rome, on the spot where St. Paul was beheaded. It is

FIG. 497. SEPULCHRAL MONUMENT OF THE SAVELLI IN S. MARIA ARA COELI

*SS. Vincenzo ed Anastasio* (SS. Vincent and Anastasius), a very effective basilica supported by pillars, which was consecrated in the year 1221.

The two most beautiful Romanesque examples in Rome are the courtyard of the convent of *S. Paolo fuori le Mura* and the even richer cloister next to the Lateran church. In their arrangement these show, however, a great deal more of classic architecture than of Romanesque. There is nothing more graceful than these fluted and variously twisted columns with their graceful archivolts; and a peculiar, quite new, ornamented motive now appears; namely, the friezes and flutings are inlaid with the finest patterns of mosaic, consisting of minute stones, chiefly red porphyry and green serpentine. In addition, there are insertions of gold and of gold leaf under a covering of glass fluxes. This is the so-called Cosmatic work, from the family of artists previously referred to. This family inserted panels and discs of porphyry and serpentine in wainscoting and added mosaic patterns of the most charming effect, instead of using plastic ornament. While their

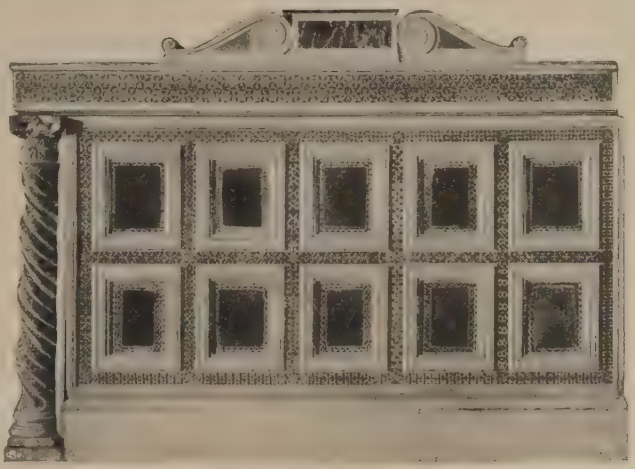


Fig. 498. High Altar Repository in S. Cesario

Fig. 499. Interior of S. Maria sopra Minerva

Fig. 500. Statue of Christ, by Michael Angelo, in S. Maria sopra Minerva

work shows great artistic skill it nevertheless assisted the destruction of ancient Rome, because the Cosmati stripped the valuable stone from classic monuments and searched for marble even in the Catacombs.

The only Gothic church in Rome is *S. Maria sopra Minerva,* so named because it is built above an old temple of Minerva. A little church which in former centuries had been built on this spot was given by Pope Zacharias (750) to the Greek nuns of the Order of St. Basil. In the thirteenth century the place was given to the young Order of the Dominicans, who built the present church there. This was erected about 1290, probably by Fra Sisto and Fra Ristoro of the Dominican Order, two brothers who possessed considerable knowledge of architecture.

The noblest families contributed toward the buildings and donated chapels, which, however, fail to harmonize with the original plan of the church. In recent times (about 1849) the church underwent a complete restoration and now presents a grave, dignified appearance. It was impossible altogether to resist the prevailing desire for splendor and magnificence; hence stucco, marble, and color have been used in a way that has little in common with the serious Gothic style of the church.

In remarkable art treasures, especially in sepulchral monuments of Popes, cardinals, and other famous men, this church is so rich as to have few rivals. On the left side of the choir a grave-plate has been inserted vertically into the wall. The outlines and the face in slight relief portray a Dominican with earnest features: it is Brother John of Fiesole, the "blessed painter" of divine beauty, who at the age of sixty died in the adjoining monastery (1455). The simple epitaph that Nicholas V wrote for him reads:

> "Do not praise me for having been a second Apelles, but because all gain, O Christ, I gave to Thy people; different are the works of the world and the works of Heaven. Tuscany's flourishing town bore me, John."

The mural paintings of the Florentine Filippino Lippi in the chapel of St. Thomas Aquinas are famed throughout the world. One of them represents the triumph of Science—Christian, believing science—in the glorification of St. Thomas, that shining light of the Dominican Order and the greatest Doctor of Divinity the Church has produced since the days of SS. Augustine and Jerome. Michael Angelo's statue of Christ at the left of the altar is technically perfect; He stands in an upright position holding the cross; in His left arm He has the hyssop with the sponge; the upper part of the body is consequently

turned toward the right; but while this bending of the body and play of muscles is done with supreme art the religious significance gains nothing thereby.

## 3. THE RELIGIOUS MONUMENTS OF THE RENAISSANCE

IN ALL civilized countries, especially in Italy, the fifteenth century was a time of great fermentation and convulsions in spiritual, social, and political life. The whole foundation upon which the Middle Ages had rested began to totter, and all joints and seams broke asunder. With tremendous labor a new era—Modern Times—was born. Of all man's activities art is the most sensitive, and art was the first to feel the breath of modern times in its intensity, especially in the most active of the civilized countries, Italy. This rising tide of art and style was called in Italy *Rinascimento,* Renascence; but the French word *Renaissance,* of the same meaning, has come into far more general use. The name originated from the fact that the first exponents of the new art believed that classic Greco-Roman art had newly arisen and been "born again." They express their naïve joy in various ways, for where people had so many antique monuments constantly before their eyes, as had the men of central Italy, the love and understanding of classic forms had never been quite lost. But apart from the fact that it is never possible to reawaken a dead period of art to a new life, the artists of the Renaissance were too talented, too rich in spirit and thought to be merely imitators; and in the birth of a new period they created also a new art without ever intending to do so.

The first spiritual center of this new art was Florence. Rome, however, soon assumed the leading position and the most sublime monument of the Renaissance in Rome is the new Church of St. Peter.

### THE OLD BASILICA OF ST. PETER

St. Peter suffered martyrdom in the Circus of Emperor Caligula and was buried nearby at the foot of the Vatican, a hill to the northwest. Caligula began building a race-course near the Vatican for chariot races; it was named for him, although it was completed by Nero. Magnificent gardens extended on both sides. All these places arouse the saddest memories in the Christian. Nero, it will be remembered, caused a large part of Rome to be burned in order that it might be rebuilt in a more beautiful and magnificent fashion. The crime of starting this conflagration, which lasted six days, was falsely attributed to the Christians and for several years they suffered severe persecution on that account. The Roman historian Tacitus tells us: "Their execution was accompanied by ridicule and mockery; wrapped in the skins of animals they were thrown before dogs that tore them to pieces, or they were nailed to crosses and covered with pitch in order to serve as torches for the night. For this spectacle Nero opened the imperial gardens." In spite of these memories connected with the Vatican it soon became the spiritual and religious center of the Christian world, for adjoining the race-course and the gardens of Nero they buried the poor fisherman from Galilee with whose name Eternal promises are linked. Over his grave now rises as a sepulchral monument the largest, most magnificent dome in the world, and in the palace near the dome now resides the heir of these promises, who will leave them undiminished to his successor, just as Peter received them from Christ.

The remains of St. Peter did not always rest in the Vatican, but were, for a

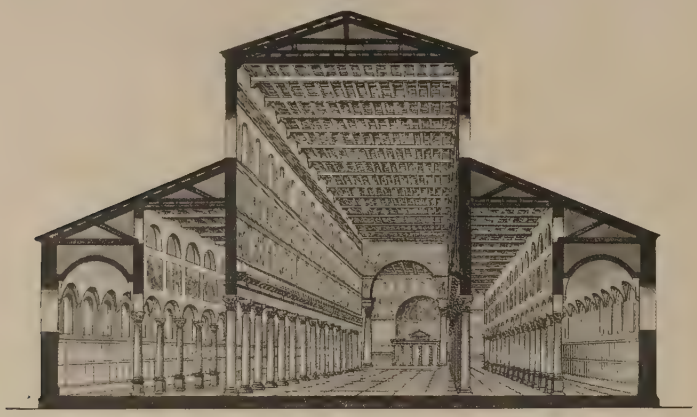


Fig. 501. Interior of the Old Church of St. Peter

time, in the Catacomb of St. Sebastian, (see p. 254) until they were restored to their former resting-place. When Constantine gave peace to the Church the Pope, St. Sylvester, is said to have begged the emperor to build a church over the grave of the Prince of the apostles. This was done, Constantine—the legend reports—digging out the first spadeful of earth. A part of Nero's race-course was used for the foundation, and the church was designed after the plan of an old Roman basilica. In front of it there was a large open space connected by high steps with a courtyard fifty-seven meters long and fifty-five meters wide, and surrounded on all sides by arcades. In the center stood the well of whose marble magnificence old legends have told so much. In the arcades tomb succeeded tomb; here the Popes were buried, Leo I, the Great, being the first in line; and here, too, rested those kings and princes who, far from their native land, were overtaken by death in Rome. The church was entered from the courtyard and the porch. Four long rows of columns divided the nave into five aisles. The ceiling was supported by a hundred columns, all of them cut out of costly stone and taken from the old Pagan temples to adorn the church of Peter. The clerestory walls of the central nave, twenty-three meters wide and eighty-eight meters long, were pierced by round-arched windows and covered with mosaic pictures and two rows of frescoes. Two mighty pillars supported the arch of triumph which led into the sanctuary proper. Over the grave of the apostle rose the altar on steps. The baldachin (canopy) was of gilded silver. It was built over the saint's tomb by Leo III, and weighed 2704 pounds. The altar itself was covered by Pope Hadrian with 597 pounds of rolled gold; the same Pope also paved the floor in front of the altar with silver. Constantine deposited the relics of the saint in a casket of gilded bronze and affixed a cross thereto. The surrounding walls and the vault of the apse gleamed with mosaic ornament and an inscription read:

> "To thee whose hand in triumph raised the world to the stars,
> To thee Constantine the Victor consecrated this noble temple."

In the course of time this large basilica was decorated throughout with wonderful magnificence; Popes, emperors, and poor pilgrims competed in lavish liberality. Even the roof shone with golden splendor, for the gilded bronze tiles of the gigantic temple which Emperor Hadrian had built in former times, in honor of the goddess Roma, were transferred to the basilica. The wealth of St. Peter's often led to criminal robbery, incited a desire for booty in foreign conquerors, and even awoke the avarice of Christian soldiers. Far more precious, however, than ornaments, gold, or precious stones were the memories connected with this church and its multifarious monuments. Almost all the important occurrences in the life of the Church and innumerable incidents in the universal history of a thousand years here had their memorial stones. In the course of time there arose around the cathedral a crown of smaller sanctuaries, chapels, and convents, venerable, like the

great church itself, through age as well as through the memories which they awakened. Such was the Old Church of St. Peter.

## THE BUILDING OF THE NEW CHURCH OF ST. PETER

In the year 1447 Nicholas V ascended the Papal throne. His reign, therefore, was during a time in which a feeling of unrest and activity became apparent in all walks of life. Men felt bold, fresh, and vigorous; a sensation prevailed that they had outlived themselves, that they had ceased to live, and that, therefore, they had to start again in quite a new way; in short, the time was a transition from the Middle Ages to Modern Times. We can easily see how in those days there frequently existed no feeling, no love, and no reverence for the old, and that people desired and craved the new. It is not at all astonishing, therefore, to find Nicholas V coming to the bold conclusion that St. Peter's must be completely rebuilt; and this is the less surprising, as the old church was found to be six feet out of plumb. This, however, was not the chief reason. Men's spiritual relation to the old building was lost. We have spoken of the gigantic plans of the Pope about rebuilding St. Peter's; but when the Pope died the walls of the choir rose but four or five feet above ground and remained in this condition until the time of Julius II, who, for a time, intended to carry out the plans of his predecessor. The Pope wished Michael Angelo to erect for him in St. Peter's a huge and magnificent tomb, but first of all a new chapel had to be built for it. Many architects had submitted plans and sketches for this, when Pope Julius decided to build a new St. Peter's. Besides Julian da San Gallo, Bramante worked out a plan that received the Pope's approval because it surpassed in grandeur, sublimity, and beauty anything yet seen. Julius II met with a great deal of opposition, especially from the cardinals, who sadly complained of the old basilica's fate, the structure made sacred and venerable by the memories of a thousand years. But they protested in vain; the greatness of the plan fascinated the ambitious prince, and Bramante was made architect of the cathedral. The rear of St. Peter's was mercilessly demolished and on the Saturday before Whit-Sunday, April 18, 1506, the cornerstone was laid for the new church which took a century and a half for its completion, including the portico and the piazza in front. The cornerstone was placed near the southern

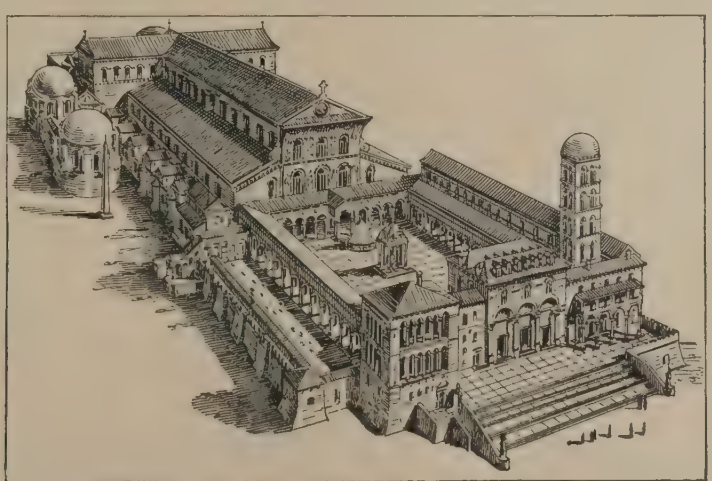


Fig. 502. The Old Church of St. Peter. Reconstruction by Brewer and Crostarosa

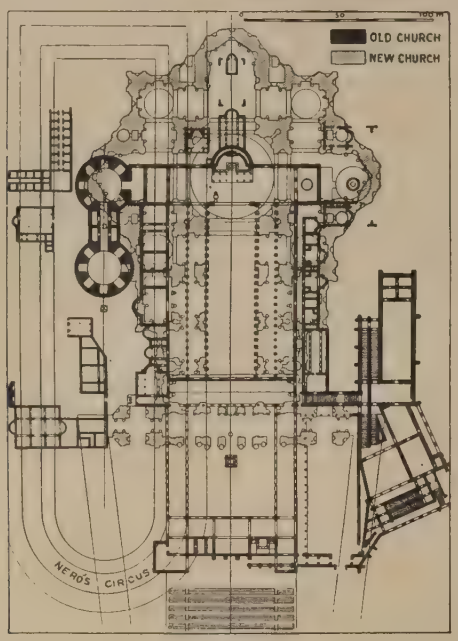



FIG. 503. GROUND-PLAN OF THE OLD AND THE NEW ST. PETER'S CHURCH

pillar of the cupola, where the statue of St. Veronica now stands. The building was to express the sublimity of the Roman Church; it was to be the largest, loftiest, most beautiful cathedral in the world, a central structure which, from one focus, would bind into unity the largest spaces and grandest proportions.

Bramante's plan is well known: the church forms a Greek cross, the four arms of which are of equal length. Over their intersection towers an immense dome resting upon four pillars which arise from the center of the church; from this spot the four arms of the cross extend as naves and are covered by smaller domes. Between the arms of the cross there are eight entrances, adjoining which are four towers—a wonderful plan, giving individuality and full value to every part of the building and joining them all into one uniform whole.

The Pantheon and the Basilica of Maxentius were two of ancient Rome's hugest buildings; and it was Bramante's bold, ingenious plan to place the Pantheon on top of the Basilica of Maxentius, that is, to have a foundation as large and gigantic as the latter and to crown it with a dome as beautiful as the former.

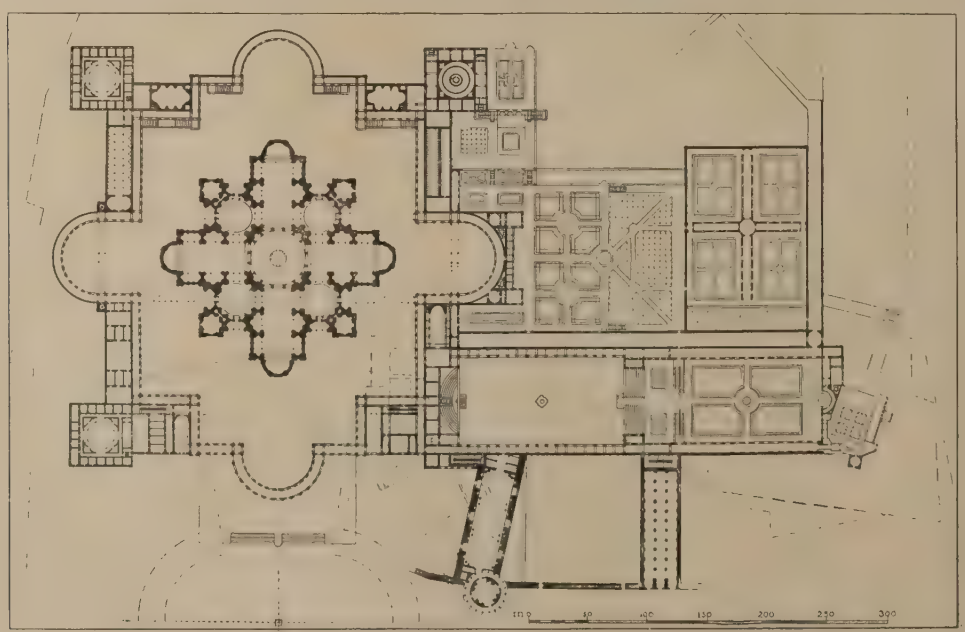


FIG. 504. BRAMANTE'S PLAN FOR ST. PETER'S, THE VATICAN, AND BELVEDERE

Sepulchral Monuments of Popes Innocent XII, Innocent XI, Alexander VIII, and Clement XIII, in St. Peter's

Urged by the ardent zeal of Julius II, Bramante began the daring task. In the Pope's opinion the pillars were not to be built, but were "to grow out of the ground." Bramante worked for eight years, had raised the pillars of the dome as high as the cornice, completed the arches between them, and placed on them the chief cornice for the drum of the dome, when he died. Julius II had preceded him in death.

The greatest architects and artists followed each other as chief supervisors of the building until it was completed, and this is the structure's misfortune. The successor never wanted to carry out the plans of his predecessor, but hoped to connect his own name with the largest cathedral in the world, and thus hand it down to posterity as the child of his own creation, ideas, and plans.

After the death of Julius II, Leo X summoned Julian da San Gallo to continue the building; San Gallo remained only a year and a half and then resigned of his own accord. On April 1, 1514, Raphael, the painter, then only thirty-one years old, was made architect in accordance with the wishes of the dying Bramante. In his letter of appointment the Pope expresses his expectation that Raphael would be mindful of his honor and his glory, that he would justify the confidence reposed in him, and that he would realize the lofty ideal of dignity and sanctity of this, the foremost temple in the world. First of all, the pillars supporting the dome had to be strengthened, because the foundation had settled and the arches threatened to collapse. Instead of retaining the Greek cross as in the chief plan, Raphael substituted the Latin cross, so that the arm of the nave toward the entrance was considerably lengthened, this model of the church forming, now, an oblong rectangle. All the parts were in such harmonious proportion to each other that, says a contemporary, "given any one measurement, all others could be determined."

After Raphael's death Baldassare Peruzzi, an ingenious and thorough artist, was appointed architect of the cathedral.

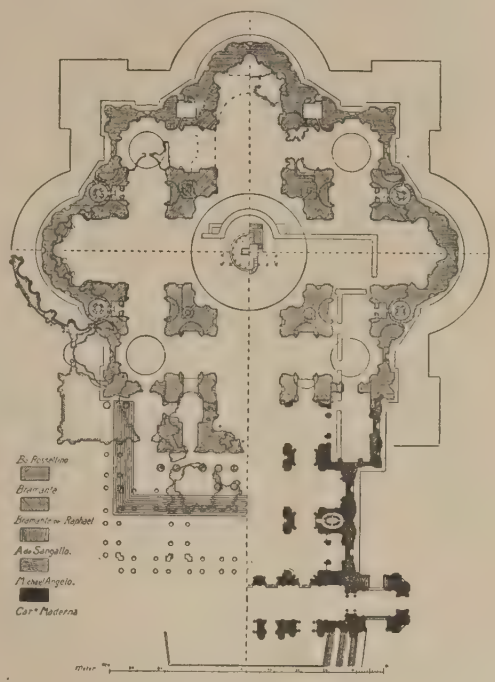



Fig. 505. Explanatory Ground-Plan of St. Peter's

He returned to the Greek cross, but made several changes in Bramante's original plan. His idea was to surround the chief dome with four smaller cupolas, but only two of them were ever built. The building progressed so slowly that Peruzzi was unable to complete his excellent model. Antonio da San Gallo succeeded him in 1546 and made a new model with one principal nave, thus returning to the Latin-cross form, and added a façade with two towers. The rest of his plan did not approach the sublimity of the structure as Bramante had conceived it, and San Gallo's death fortunately prevented it from being put into execution.

Michael Angelo was now prevailed upon to undertake the supervision of the building, by the entreaties of Pope Paul III. The great artist was seventy-two years old, but he distrusted his bodily and mental strength, averring that he was no architect, and accepted the position without any reward or compensation, but simply from his love of God and his reverence

Fig. 506. Angel, by Melozzo da Forli, in the Sacristy of St. Peter's

for the Prince of the apostles. He demanded from the Pope unlimited liberty and power to act and to build according to his own judgment. Paul III generously granted him everything, and Michael Angelo for seventeen years devoted his entire energy to the undertaking, thereby proving his extraordinary genius. The new model embodying his plans was ready in two weeks and cost twenty-five dollars; that of his predecessor had been the work of several years and had cost four thousand dollars. Michael Angelo came back to Bramante's plan (the Greek cross), but conceived it in the most sublime proportions with impressive simplicity and restful clarity. Although Michael Angelo adhered to Bramante's fundamental lines, St. Peter's in its entirety, as it is at present (save for Maderna's additions and interior decorations), is the master's work and glory; and this is especially true of the magnificent dome, built by him, much grander, more slender, and more beautiful than ever Bramante had conceived it. The work now progressed rapidly. When Michael Angelo died the fundamental form of the church was everywhere fixed in stone, the drum of the dome was completed, and, following the model he had left, any architect could easily place on the drum the shell with its lantern atop, so carefully had the position of the beams and stones been indicated. Vignola, Ligorio, and Giacomo della Porta continued the building after the plans of

Fig. 507. The Chapter-Hall of St. Peter's

Michael Angelo, so that nothing was wanting except the porch and the façade.

Carlo Maderna was the first to deviate from the building plan, and he extended the front arm of the cross by about fifty meters, thus changing it into a principal nave with two side aisles, so that now the church assumed the form of a Latin cross. This was done by order of Pope Paul V. When, in addition, Maderna had completed the porch and the façade, Urban VIII consecrated the cathedral with great solemnity on November 18, 1626, 1300 years after the day of the foundation of the old Constantine church of St. Peter.

Beginning in 1629 two belfries were to be erected on the sides of the façade under the direction of Bernini, but the foundations were too weak to permit this, and one tower which had been completed had to be taken down. In their places clocks have been substituted. Then Bernini built his masterwork, the magnificent steps and the arcades surrounding the plaza in front of the cathedral. Bernini also did most of the interior decoration of the church, inclosing the pillars with variegated marble and making the niches in them for the statues and monuments with which he peopled these immense spaces. Bernini is the most ingenious of the Italian baroque artists, and hence St. Peter's shows two styles—the structure which the proud, noble Renaissance began and that which the splendor-loving and airy baroque completed.

Fig. 508. The So-Called Dalmatic of Charlemagne in the Sacristy of St. Peter's

The cost of this great building was more than $52,000,000; the yearly expenditure for its maintenance amounts to $32,000, and the new vestry on the west side of the cathedral built by Pius VI called for the sum of $960,000.

It contains several large rooms: the vestry of the canons of St. Peter's, the vestry of the beneficiaries, the treasuries, and the chapter-hall. On the walls of this chap-

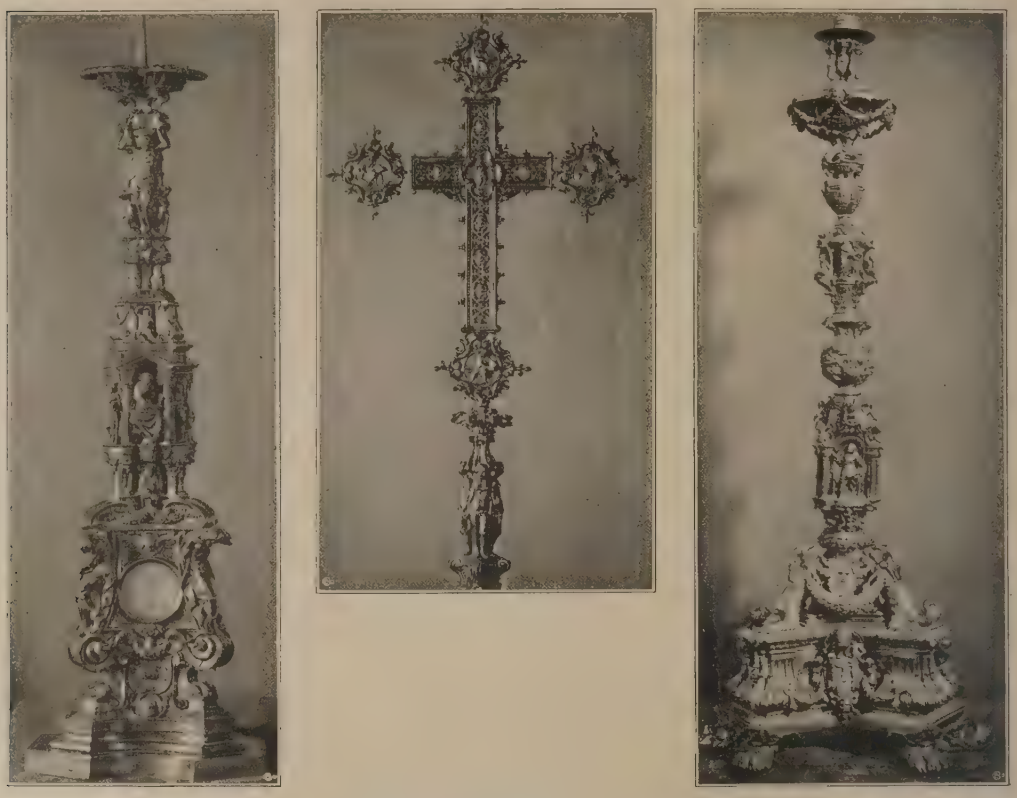


Fig. 509–511. Candlestick and Cross by Gentile; Candlestick by Pollajuolo, in the Sacristy of St. Peter's

ter-hall are the cherished remains of Melozzo da Forli's frescoes, which he painted in the half-dome of *Santi Apostoli* (1471-1481). In 1711 the dome was taken down. The frescoes are heads of apostles and half-figures of angel-musicians, charming in drawing and coloring and with faces of well-nigh perfect beauty. In 1809 the church treasure of St. Peter's was placed in tall, splendidly-lighted closets in two of the halls. Here were stored many precious objects of artistically wrought metal, and needlework of great value. Most of it belongs to the last few centuries; for what was not lost in the *Sacco di Roma!* An ancient picture in needlework is the so-called Dalmatic of Charlemagne, which is really a Byzantine vestment dating from the eleventh or twelfth century; it shows remarkable stitching in gold, silver, and colored silk on a violet background. The back shows the Transfiguration, the front the triumph of Christ and scenes from the Passion; on the sleeves Christ is depicted offering the apostles holy communion; on one side bread, on the other wine. Among the treasures in metal are three rows of candlesticks and candelabra remarkable for the richness and beauty of their design. Six of these, which adorn the altar of the confession on the feast of St. Peter, are attributed to the Florentine goldsmith Benvenuto Cellini. Two wonderful candelabra of gilded bronze by Antonio Pollajuolo (1429-1498) adorned in former times the tomb of Sixtus IV. The two other candelabra and a cross by the sculptor and goldsmith Antonio Gentile (1519-1609) are so ingenious and artistic that they have been attributed to Michael Angelo.

## THE EXTERIOR OF ST. PETER'S

Whosoever goes to the Holy City begins to strain his eye when a long way therefrom for a first glimpse of the wonderful dome of St. Peter's. At last, against the rose-tinted evening sky an indefinite form is silhouetted, the outlines of which gradually become clearer and more defined, shimmering like a high mountain peak, which in solitude leaps out of the plain, and on whose summit a golden cross sparkles. It is the dome of St. Peter's which greets the pilgrim when he is many miles distant and to whose greeting he responds with holy joy and longing. The dome with its strong though beautifully soft lines, the mighty drum carrying the gigantic hemisphere, from which springs the lantern, like a small sanctuary—this is a picture never forgotten. Once within the walls of Rome the stranger will at once make his way to St. Peter's. When he comes to Rusticucci Square he suddenly stands before the object of his seeking, but he will not stop, for only a short distance now separates him from the piazza proper of St. Peter's, which belongs to the cathedral and forms its outer courtyard. It is the most magnificent piazza in the world. Its outer limits are the large colonnades of Bernini, an immense ellipse joined in front of the church by a quadrangle of steps tapering upward. The larger diameter of this ellipse is 273 meters, the smaller 226 meters. The colonnades proceed in four rows of columns around this wide space, so that there are three covered arcades, the middle one being wide enough to allow two carriages to drive abreast. In addition there are two avenues of 88 pillars and 284 columns, the average height of which is 15 meters. From the crown of the stone entablature 162 statues of saints look down. They are splendid ornaments, but no stranger ever looks at them, for they appear as a subordinate, almost insignificant part of an immense whole. The piazza cost $921,400, the paving $95,300. In the center of the ellipse rises the tall obelisk which once stood in Nero's race-course. At each side of the obelisk two white and red plates have been inserted to mark the two foci of the stone ellipse. Whoever stands in these spots sees only one of the four rows of columns in the colonnade, so perfectly are they placed, making a fourfold circumference of the ellipse. Next to these foci play two magnificent fountains, whose water spurts up fifteen or twenty feet, falling from basin to basin or blown by the wind in a spray that sprinkles a large area of the surrounding piazza. At the upper end of the ellipse's shorter diameter begin the steps which lead up to the cathedral.

Fig. 512. Main Door of St. Peter's

Fig. 513. View of St. Peter's with the Colonnades and Piazza

If one pause near the entrance of the piazza the magnificent dome of the church will still produce a little of its distant effect, and two smaller domes between the arms of the cross can still be seen; but on closer approach the little domes disappear from sight. From the center of the piazza the small cupolas are invisible and the large dome extends its gigantic shell clumsily and shapelessly upward, whereas they were meant to be seen from this spot with dome and colonnade, all to form a wonderful and harmonious unit of architectural beauty. This is the penalty for not following out the plan of Bramante or of Michael Angelo. By prolonging the principal nave and choosing the Latin-cross form Maderna placed the entrance too far from the dome, destroyed its impressiveness from the immediate neighborhood, and made a uniform, general view from the piazza impossible.

Maderna's façade, 117 meters broad and 50 meters high, does not produce as grand and powerful an effect as one could wish. Colossal columns and pilasters, it is true, are before us, but the arrangement seems small, and the way the windows are placed gives the church the appearance of a palace. The "attic" (top story) is clumsy and oppressive; but it is the difference in the shape of the windows which most of all produces an unfavorable impression. Above the balustrade of the roof stand the gigantic statues of Christ, the Blessed Virgin, and the apostles. On solemn occasions the Pope used to give his blessing from a gallery over the middle of the five entrances to the countless multitudes congregated on the piazza, *Urbi et Orbi*—to the metropolis and to the world.

Maderna's masterpiece is the porch of the church. This rises resplendent in grandeur and majesty, marvelously spacious and as beautiful as a small cathedral. The hall is decorated with lavish splendor, its surfaces are covered with stucco ornaments, yellow on a white background, giving an inexpressibly noble, aristocratic, festive, and harmonious effect. Above the central entrance has been placed the

so-called "Little Ship of Giotto," a gigantic mosaic picture, which the Florentine artist made (1298) as an ornament for the exterior of the old Church of St. Peter. It represents the little ship of the Church with the disciples of the Lord tossed about on a wild sea, against which the winds—represented as human beings—make fruitless attacks. Giotto's peculiar touch has vanished with many restorations.

Five portals lead into the cathedral; the one on the extreme right, the Holy Door, is opened only in the time of grace during a jubilee. The bronze doors of the chief portal with their pictures, cast and chased by the Florentine Antonio Filarete under Eugene IV (1431–1447), formerly belonged to the old Church of St. Peter. The reliefs show Christ, the Blessed Virgin, the Princes of the apostles and their martyrdom, and some contemporary scenes. Garlands of plant and animal ornaments are merged with mythological stories of the friezes: Leda, Ganymede, the Roman she-wolf with the twins, and so forth.

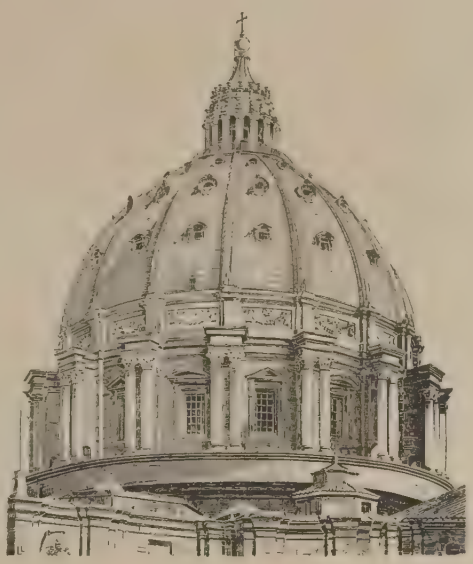


Fig. 514. The Dome of St. Peter's

## THE INTERIOR OF ST. PETER'S

St. Peter's is the largest church in the world. On the marble pavement of the central nave its relative size to the largest known churches is given. St. Peter's measures in length 187 meters, St. Paul's in London only 158.50, the Duomo of Florence 149.50, Milan 135, Bologna 133, St. Paul's in Rome 128, Cologne 132, Antwerp 117, and St. Sofia in Constantinople 110. The central nave near the entrance is 44.50 meters high and 26 meters wide; the width of the side aisles is 10 meters, that of the transepts 62.50 meters. St. Peter's covers a floor space of over 21,190 square meters, the cathedral of Milan only 11,740, St. Paul's in London 10,880, and the Cathedral of Cologne but 7,360. Furthermore, St. Peter's possesses 748 columns, 389 statues, and 30 altars. Such facts and measurements are known to every visitor who impatiently pushes aside the heavy curtain over one of the five portals in order to pass from the portico into the interior. He is prepared for a great surprise and his imagination expects the first impression to be far beyond the range of possibility. What is the consequence? A disillusion. St. Peter's appears to him immense, overpowering, lofty, and deep, but not as great or as gigantic as he expected. Other circumstances, besides the visitor's extravagant anticipations, help to bring about this disillusion—whoever enters a Gothic church always thinks it higher and longer than it really is, because of the effect produced by straight lines. When the pillars with their crowns of columns follow one another in long, extended rows the unpractised eye easily doubles their number; all the tall columns tend upward and do not begin to branch out until they reach the groined vault, the narrow span of which seems to remove the surfaces even farther away. In St. Peter's it is just the opposite. All lines, vertical as well as horizontal, are broken; all extended surfaces seem to be in a sort of pattern because of the numerous niches and ornaments of various

Fig. 515. Holy Water Font by Fr. Moderati in St. Peter's

kinds; no long rows of lofty columns deceive the eye. The mighty principal nave, itself big as the biggest cathedral, rests upon only five pairs of pillars, on eight arches. Who would believe that only four arcades could span the immense extent of this arm of the cross? And these pillars do not reach to the roof, but above them comes a cornice casting a deep shadow and to this cornice is joined the barrel-vault. So massive are the pillars that the side aisles at first produce little effect and the eye scarcely notices them. All this makes the immense spaces appear smaller than was anticipated. Only he who frequently and at different hours visits and walks through St. Peter's gains a true impression of its greatness. The dim light hides the mass of individual parts, of intertwining ornaments, and of statues; it obliterates the reflection of gold and the splendor of the colors which bring surfaces close to the eye, so that nothing now remains but the main lines and the high vaults enclosing immense spaces. It takes practice and study to appreciate St. Peter's in its immensity. It has been stated that the cornice over the pilasters and the frieze projects too much. Very well, but no one at first imagines that these pilasters are twenty-four meters high, or that the cornice projects so far out that a rider might comfortably exercise and manage his horse on it! On the frieze below the cornice all around the church this golden mosaic inscription is to be seen on a background of blue, *"Tu es Petrus,"* and so forth—"Thou art Peter and on this rock I shall build My Church." To a very well trained eye these letters appear to be about two spans high, whereas their height in reality is over two yards.

In the four wedge-shaped spaces just under the dome are the four evangelists in rich mosaic. They do not strike the eye as being at all gigantic and yet the pen in the hand of St. John has a length of seven spans. Standing near the entrance one can hardly believe that the cherubs who hold the basins for holy water affixed to the two nearest pillars are really giants, yet they are over six feet high. Who could imagine that such beautiful proportions could be given to these childish figures? Hundreds of people are constantly entering the basilica and they quickly disappear beneath the arcades; vainly we try to catch a glimpse of them. Far, far away the canons and chaplains of St. Peter's walk along the central nave, singing and praying, yet hardly a sound reaches the apse; it is as if they moved as silently as their reflections in the polished and mirror-like marble slabs. Even on those great days when the Holy Father goes to St. Peter's for a festival, when cardinals, bishops, priests, and a brilliant court accompany him, and when he is surrounded by thousands and thousands of people—when all the statues in the niches, all the saints on the altars, all the dead in their sarcophagi, and every stone in the church seem to be infused with life—even then these huge spaces and chapels are quiet, lonesome, and deserted.

He who starts with a knowledge of a few actual measurements and applies similar proportional and comparative standards to the vaults and surfaces of the cathedral will understand its magnitude. Even a single visit will suffice to give a faint idea of the splendor, magnificence, harmonious proportion, and sublimity of this church. And apart from the religious impressiveness that fills the mind in a stroll through these halls, a single

visit is quite sufficient to permeate one with a sense of comfort, pure pleasure,

Fig. 516. Interior of St. Peter's

and a feeling as if light were floating all around. The last-named sensation is caused by the masses of light streaming down from the golden barrel-vault and from the wide windows of the dome. Darkness is dispelled from the church and

great beams of quivering light surround and play about the spectator to his great joy and comfort. And for the Catholic comes in addition quite a different feeling; the temple's loftiness reminds him of the loftiness of the religion to which his faith and love belong and of the sublimity of the Church whose heart is Rome. This is the cathedral near which resides its earthly leader and whose first representative and director rests beneath the great dome. Almost all that is holy is represented in this sublime structure. Christ, as God and Saviour, sanctifies and fills St. Peter's with His invisible and visible presence, receiving the homage of the faithful in the instruments of His sufferings, because, as is known, a large part of the holy cross, the spear which pierced His heart, and the holy handkerchief of St. Veronica, are preserved in St. Peter's. The Blessed Virgin is represented by part of the veil that formerly concealed her virgin face. The relics of five of Christ's disciples and the body of St. Luke rest in the Vatican, in addition to the Princes of the apostles. The relics of famous martyrs of the Faith reposing under the altars are almost numberless, and even the bronze pillars of the canopy above the principal altar are filled with the remains of martyrs from the tombs in the Catacombs. The Shepherds of the Church, thirty-five holy Popes, several famous Fathers of the Church, and bishops await in St. Peter's the trumpet call for a glorious resurrection.

Then consider for a moment its historical consecration in addition to its religious importance! The new St. Peter's is the heir of the Constantine basilica, the heir of a large part of its monuments and sacred articles, the heir of all its historical memories. While the present St. Peter's is only three hundred years old, the cathedral is more than fifteen hundred years old. What has it not seen since the day when Constantine, putting aside scepter and crown, dug the first spadeful of earth to lay its foundation and to erect a tomb for the foremost Prince of the apostles and a cathedral for the Popes!

No sooner had the basilica's vaults closed over the apostle's grave than a stream of pilgrims began to flow from all countries, tribes, and peoples; the waves of this great mass are sometimes high and loudly roar around the grave and sometimes they diminish in strength and number, but they never, never cease! It is noteworthy that at the present time, a time too often unjustly accused as devoid of faith, we witness scenes like those of the splendid days of yore. When have Catholic nations sent so many pilgrims to Rome "to see Peter" in his successor as to-day, despite the fact that politics without faith tried to deprive the Pope of his secular power and spiritual authority at one and the same time?

Among the very first pilgrims were great princes and rulers. In 393 Emperor Theodosius the Great came here in the humble garb of a penitent, and before marching against the rebellious Eugenius he prayed in St. Peter's for victory in war and begged for the prayers of the Vicar of Christ. In 429 Emperor Valentinian III came with his wife and mother, the same Valentinian who built for his youthful spouse, Maria, a magnificent tomb near St. Peter's and who expressed a wish to rest there after death, so as to slumber beside her until the time of resurrection. In 689 King Caedwalla, a recent and zealous convert, left his kingdom in the British Isles for a pilgrimage to the threshold of the apostles and to be baptized by St. Peter's successor. The climate of Italy destroyed the flower of the king's youth, and he found a grave in the courtyard of St. Peter's. For centuries the inscription on his tomb praised his nobility, victories, treasures, and longing to see the grave of Peter, there to deposit rich offerings.

Twenty years later appear two other British kings, Coenred, king of the Mercians, and Offa, king of the East Saxons. In a convent near St. Peter's they both exchanged the purple for the monk's garb so as never again to leave the holy place. A little later (725) another British prince comes to Rome, King Ina of the West Saxons, to live, as Venerable Bede says,

a few days on earth near the saints and later to have a welcome reception among the saints in heaven. Toward the end of the century King Offa of the Mercians undertook a pilgrimage as penitence for grave trespasses, and he confirmed his repentance by making benevolent bequests. Hither came Luitprand the Lombard, Macbeth the Scotchman (1050), Christian the Dacian, Carloman the Frank—but who could name all the royal pilgrims?

Pilgrimages of other princes to the grave of the apostle are, however, of much greater importance. Christianity, *i.e.*, the Church, sanctifies the most trivial as well as the most important social relations. The Gospel reminds not only the subject of his duty but also the king; just as it refers their dignity to the will of God, so it assigns the burden of their office. It is, therefore, one of the most beneficent decrees of Providence that in those crude centuries an invisible hand led princes to Rome in order to receive the sanctification of their dignity and the importance and knowledge of their duties, making them swear on the relics of St. Peter in the hands of his successors to rule justly and to regard their crowns as divine fiefs. These coronations are among the most magnificent occurrences that St. Peter's has ever witnessed. On Christmas day, 800, when for the fourth time he visited the graves of the apostles, Charlemagne received the Roman imperial crown from the hands of Pope Leo III. While the great son of Pepin the Short was praying on the steps of the confession the Pope placed the crown upon his head saying: "To Charles, the pious, august, divinely crowned, the great peace-loving emperor of the Romans, life and victory!" Thrice the crowd repeated these words, thrice their shouts rose to the roof of the basilica.

Similarly many proud German kings brought their imperial crowns to Rome to receive them from the hands of the Pope in St. Peter's—the three Ottos, Henry II (the saint), Conrad II, Henry III, Henry IV, and others.

In the central nave of the church and near the entrance there is a porphyry disc sunk in the marble pavement. After the

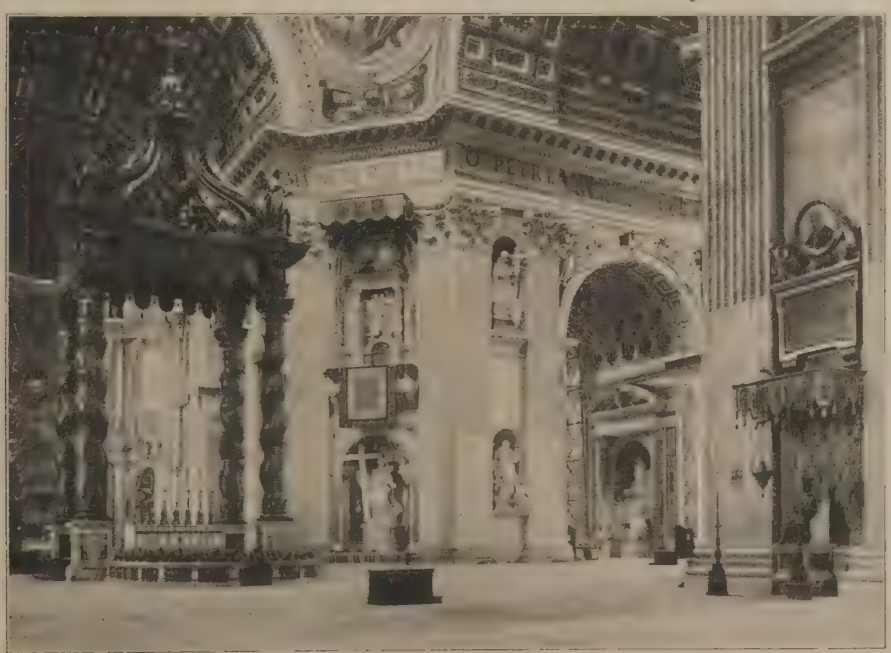


Fig. 517. The Baldachin over the Main Altar in St. Peter's

Pope had received (on the steps before the cathedral) the applicant for coronation he led him into the old Church of St. Peter as far as this porphyry slab. In a loud voice the king would profess his faith before all the people, after which the prayers and ceremonies of the coronation began.

Throughout the Middle Ages it was considered an uncontested privilege of the

Fig. 518. The Confession in St. Peter's

Pope to bestow upon a prince the right to accept his title and crown, and the highest honor and privilege of the prince to be anointed by the Vicar of Christ. Thus it was when the English king Ethelwolf with his son Alfred went (855) to Rome and the magnificent youth was crowned and anointed in St. Peter's by the venerable Leo IV. Alfred carried away indelible impressions which certainly helped this greatest and noblest king of England to become the truest son of the Church.

What wonder, then, that St. Peter's filled with reverence even the wild barbarians and rough conquerors? When Alaric, king of the West Goths, took Rome (410), with his permission his fierce warriors plundered and devastated the city, but he gave strict orders to spare the Church of St. Peter and to do no harm to those who sought protection therein. Theodoric, the great king of the East Goths, although captivated by heresy, humbly entered St. Peter's in order to say his prayers at the grave of the apostle. The same was done by the savage Totila. The Vandal Genseric plundered all the churches of Rome save those of the Princes of the apostles, which he would not permit to be touched. A similar event occurred in modern times. When General Berthier at the head of the French army (1798) prepared to bombard Rome from Monte Mario he forbade his soldiers to aim their cannon against St. Peter's because he reverenced the cathedral.

A certain pilgrim of recent times contended that it was almost a matter of regret that, owing to the comfort of modern travel, Rome had become so easily reached that its sanctuaries would lose their mysterious charm. That is not true. Even though the sun shines daily its rays always bring pleasure and life, and if for a single day it does not shine we long for its reappearance. So is it with St. Peter's in Rome.

Whom would such a sanctuary not uplift and inspire! In whom would it not arouse holy devotion and feelings of blessed joy that make him offer from his inmost heart a grateful and fervid prayer before the magnificent grave of St. Peter!

## THE TOMB OF THE PRINCE OF THE APOSTLES

On the frieze of the façade of St. Peter's is inscribed in gigantic letters—"In Honorem Principis Apostolorum" (In Honor of the Prince of the Apostles). The largest cathedral in the world was erected as a church and sepulcher in honor of St. Peter, and thereby for the glory and praise of the Almighty.

The name of the poor fisherman resounds in these golden halls, the dome carries it into the heavens, and his tomb is the center of the glories of the Church. This it is; and this fundamental thought could not have been expressed more beautifully. Beneath the intersection of the arms of the cross forming the ground-plan is the tomb of the apostle; above it rises the altar on which the successor of St. Peter offers the bloodless sacrifice of praise and gratitude, of entreaty and repentance; and far up, at a dizzy height, the ribs of Michael Angelo's dome close the vault.

Peculiar to the largest and oldest churches of Rome is the so-called "confession." In front of the high altar the floor is lowered in a wide semicircle to a depth of from three to four meters, and this space is enclosed by a marble balustrade; an artistically arranged double stairway leads down to an altar fixed to the wall, and this wall—above—supports the high altar. At the foot of the stairway a gate opens into the resting-place of the saints who are revered in the church. Paul V commissioned Maderna and Ferrabosco to build such a confession in St. Peter's. The circumference of its railing measures twenty-four meters. All parts, railing and steps, wall and floor gleam with the splendor of the most precious stones and metals. On the balustrade eighty-nine gilded bronze lamps borne by gilded bronze cornucopiae burn day and night. A gilded metal door with twining pierced leafwork, dating from the time of Innocent III, opens into a niche in the wall where the relics of the apostle are preserved. Before the sarcophagus stands a metal urn wherein the pallia of the patriarchs and archbishops of the Church are deposited. Between the steps before the confession stands a white marble statue of Pius VI by Canova. It was erected in 1822 according to the wish of the noble Pontiff, who is represented kneeling, as he often prayed before the grave of St. Peter—a touching picture!

If there is much that distracts attention and makes concentration difficult in these

Figs. 519–520. St. Andrew and St. Helena. Statues by Duquesnoy and Bolgi in St. Peter's

golden halls, everything in the confession demands seriousness and devotion: the lamps shining with a dim, religious light, the solemn magnificence which emphasizes the importance of the place, the portrait-statue of the Pope deeply absorbed in prayer, and, above all, the faithful who are always kneeling on the steps—the devout from all parts of the world and of all ranks, happy in the thought that they can pray at the tomb of the apostle.

Behind the confession and toward the principal nave rises the high altar, very simple and dignified, though richly decorated with marble and precious metals. It is a massive marble cube with a gigantic cross and candelabra of corresponding size. It would have far better suited the cathedral if Urban VIII had not conceived the unfortunate notion of having Bernini build a colossal baldachin or canopy over it. This is made from the bronze of the porch of the Pantheon (the metal weighing 186,000 Roman pounds),

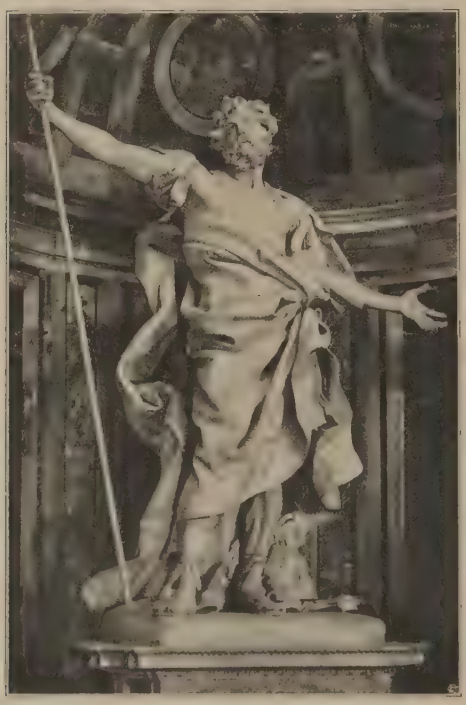


Fig. 521. St. Longinus. Statue by Bernini in St. Peter's

Fig. 522. St. Teresa. Statue by Valle in St. Peter's

and has huge proportions, measuring 28.5 meters to the top of the cross. It is supported by four twisted bronze columns richly decorated with gold. Apart from the fact that no spectator can gain any idea of its size, it is built in a style that shows little taste, and from almost every point blocks a good perspective view. For this reason, to one entering the church, it seems much smaller than it really is; the altar, though distant, breaking the perspective view.

The pillars of the dome, started by Bramante, rise at the four sides of the confession and high altar. The pillars in the principal nave are so massive that whole chapels could be erected in the space they occupy; the pillars of the dome are much larger still, their circumference being seventy-one meters; but since Bernini covered their surfaces with a marble wainscot and pictures they, too, do not show their real size. In the pillars of the dome four niches open toward the confession, containing the statues of St. Veronica by

Mocchi, of St. Helena by Bolgi, of St. Longinus by Bernini, and of St. Andrew by Duquesnoy. At the time of its erection St. Andrew was considered a masterpiece, according to the taste then prevalent, and, masterpiece or not, it is a very expressive piece of work. These four statues are each five meters high. Above them on the pillars are four galleries or "loggie," which are lavishly decorated by Bernini, containing the most famous relics of the four saints below, namely:—St. Veronica's handkerchief with which she wiped the sweat from the Saviour's face when He was carrying the cross, and from whom she received an impression of His face on the handkerchief as a reward for her charity; a fragment of the true cross found by St. Helena; the spear with which Longinus pierced the Saviour's side; and also the head of St. Andrew. On certain festivals these relics are shown to the people from the loggia of St. Veronica.

In wedge-shaped spaces above the chief cornice are pictured on the columns gigantic figures of the evangelists in mosaic, and above these, again, the drum of the dome begins. This is pierced by sixteen windows, while between each window is a pair of columns, inside and outside, supporting the beautiful crown of the cornice. From the point where the dome—properly so called—begins, sixteen ribs covered with gilded stucco stars and lion-heads rise in a gentle curve up to the "eye" of the dome. Six rows of mosaic pictures glowing in splendid colors cover the walls of the dome: Popes and bishops whose relics rest in St. Peter's; then the Saviour, the Blessed Virgin, and the apostles; above them, again, angels with the instruments of Our Lord's Passion, and, finally, the cherubim. Above the crown of consoles rises the lantern with its double-window arrangement. On the frieze above we read the words placed there by Clement VIII: *"S. Petri Gloria Sixtus V 1590"* (To the glory of St. Peter, Sixtus V). The picture on the roof of the lantern represents God the Father.

St. Peter's dome is the greatest architectural wonder in the world; its magnitude, beauty of form, and audacity make it so. In a beautiful and significant manner it brings all parts of the structure into unity; in the interior it covers and protects the grave of the apostle, pouring down great streams of light and fixing the visitor's eye at once upon it; on the outside, it towers audaciously above the immense mass that leans against and supports it on all sides.

Fig. 523. St. Bruno. Statue by Slodtz in St. Peter's

A much better idea of St. Peter's is obtained from the roof. One hundred and forty-two steps, very easy to ascend, lead to the roof of the nave. The first sight of the immediate surroundings is astonishing; a city on a small scale seems to spring out of the cathedral. Above the six oval domes of the side aisles the lanterns rise like small towers, and upon the two chapels near the two front pillars of the great dome rest the two beautiful small domes, 45 meters high and 92 meters in

Fig. 524. Bronze Statue of St. Peter in St. Peter's

circumference. Between them are many smaller buildings occupied by the *San Pietrini,* workmen and guards. They have their special laws and customs which, like their dwellings and occupations, are handed down from father to son. Workshops for smiths and joiners and ovens for bakers are in this settlement. A fountain supplies them with water. Here the immensity of the dome makes its great impression; its circumference measures 192 meters, its height from the roof to the top of the cross 94 meters (the height of the lantern alone being 15.5 meters); the distance from the ground is 44 meters and the diameter 42 meters, *i.e.,* only one meter less than that of the Pantheon. The bold idea of Bramante and Michael Angelo was to make the dome of St. Peter's appear like another Pantheon hovering in the air. In the year 1744, despite the solidity of the structure, in order to prevent any further cracks, the original pair of iron rings encircling the drum had to be supplemented by six new ones. Even from beneath the frieze of the dome the eye seems to look into apparently immeasurable depths and the pictures and ornaments up here are so gigantic that they seem like huge, distorted, shapeless masses; like thunder-clouds the evangelists, for instance, seem to rise in their triangular spaces. The dome consists of a double shell, so that to climb between the two roofs is easy and comfortable. A look straight down from the inner gallery at the edge of the dome focuses upon the polished marble pavement—a dizzy abyss! The view from the exterior gallery upon the massive architecture of St. Peter's, over the city of Rome, and across the hills is entrancing. Toward the south a silver line indicates the sea. From the roof of the lantern iron ladders lead to the metal ball below the cross, which can accommodate sixteen persons.

## THE SCULPTURES IN ST. PETER'S

St. Peter's in the Vatican is over-rich in unique ornaments, in statues, and sculptured work of every description. This much, however, must be said, that everything of this sort in St. Peter's does not represent the highest art or the purest religious sentiment. The completion and decoration of the cathedral occurred at a time when the great masters of the Renaissance no longer existed, when many a pupil imitated merely his master's faults, and when even the most talented and intellectual artists, like Bernini, struck out in a new direction. Splendor is the most striking feature in the interior of the church, next to its gigantic size. From the magnificently coffered barrel-vaults shines pure gold mingling with white; gold also shines from the cornices and arches which join the pillars; and gold gleams on

Sepulchral Monuments of Popes Paul III, Leo XI, Gregory XIII, and Urban VIII in St. Peter's

the altars. The marble of the pavement and the pilaster-like strips of the pillars shine like a mirror. Who can name the precious stones which adorn these halls as column, pilaster, console, or capital, as altar-table or sarcophagus? To this splendor correspond the sculptural ornaments both in material and execution despite the bad taste displayed in style. Few of these command reverence because of quiet dignity and simplicity, but they represent, instead, grandeur and nobility by dramatic poses, by fluttering, waving garments, and by obvious expression of "sentiment." Two rows of niches have been made in the pillars for statues of the founders of Religious Orders. It was a happy thought to erect the statues of these men all around the glorified grave of the Prince of the apostles. Just as they now heighten the splendor of his sepulcher, so they glorified the Church of God in their lives and in their deeds.

St. Bruno, by the French sculptor Michael Slodtz, carved about the middle of the eighteenth century; St. Teresa by Valle (1754); and St. Alphonsus Liguori by Tenerani (1834) are among the more beautiful of the statues. This last one reminds us of the historical fact that St. Alphonsus modestly refused the archbishop's miter offered him by the Pope.

One of the most venerable and best known of the statues in the cathedral is the bronze statue of St. Peter. Until recent times it was regarded as one of the oldest monuments of Rome, dating from the fifth or sixth century. Legend ascribed its origin to Pope Leo I, the Great (440-461), while some believed it to have been a gift to the Church of Rome by a Greek emperor.

Then began more modern investigations and the statue was assigned to the thirteenth century and to the school of Arnolfo di Cambio. The question is by no means settled and there are weighty reasons in favor of the former belief.

Fig. 525. Pietà. Group by Michael Angelo in St. Peter's

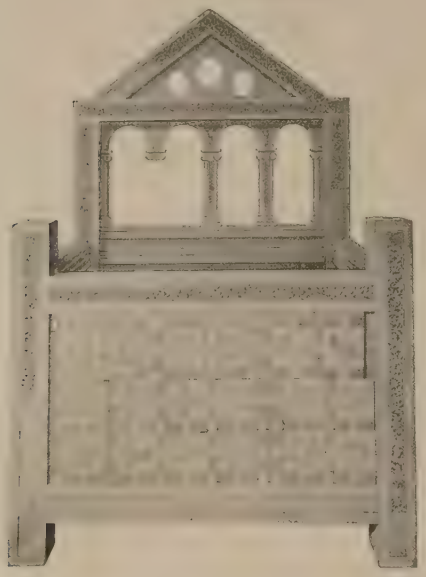


FIG. 526. THE CHAIR OF ST. PETER IN ST. PETER'S

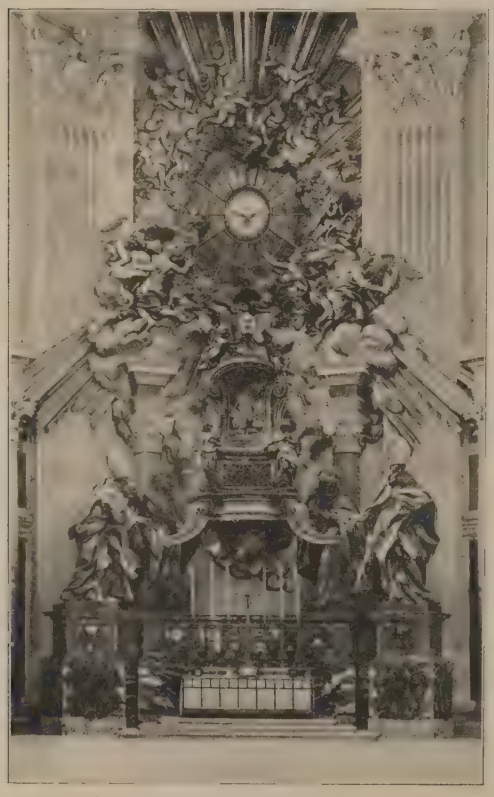


FIG. 527. THE REPOSITORY OF THE CHAIR OF ST. PETER, BY BERNINI

Paul V caused the statue to be placed on the right side of the confession near the last pillar of the central nave. St. Peter is represented clad in the garment of the ancient Romans, his right hand raised in benediction, while his left holds the keys. The bearing of the head is stiff; but in the noble, earnest lines of the face we recognize, in part, the picture of St. Peter in the Catacombs.

This much is certain; a picture of St. Peter received much veneration in ancient times and St. Gregory the Great called it "an object of Rome's jealous love." The Iconoclasts, a sect of the eighth century, in the Orient, wanted to banish all pictorial and plastic ornament from the Church, and to them this statue was, of course, an object of especial hatred. Emperor Leo wrote to Gregory II that he should give orders to demolish the statue of St. Peter which had been set up in public.

On the marble step of the statue was the inscription:

> "Lo! the Word (*i.e.*, Christ) is the rock
> Gleaming like gold and hewn by God,
> Walking on which I never totter."

A touching usage in connection with this statue of St. Peter is the custom of kissing the right foot, which projects beyond the marble pedestal. How many kisses must have been pressed upon this foot, to have so blurred its lines, so worn away its form, and so polished it! A Catholic gladly shows this respect to St. Peter; he expresses his love and trusting submissiveness with a kiss and by bowing his head above the foot of the Prince of the apostles.

The most beautiful of all the marble statues of the altars is the "Pietà," by Michael Angelo, close to the entrance in the right aisle. The artist was twenty-five years old when he chiseled this magnificent group, accomplishing it in one year. Mary sits at the foot of the cross and holds the dead body of her divine Son in her lap. Vasari says: "In this we recognize all the power and all the ability of art. Among the beauties of the work are the draperies, the magnificent limbs of

the dead Christ, and the body, which is so perfect that it seems impossible ever to find a nude body whose muscles, veins, and nerves are so correctly placed on their framework of bones. The face expresses kindness and gentleness. It is certainly marvelous that such perfection of form has been given to a once shapeless stone, a perfection seldom attained by nature herself in the flesh."

The whole grouping and arrangement, the lines, folds of drapery, position of the body, and the gentle inclination of the work of Bernini. The monument stands in the rear of the church at the end of that arm of the cross that has been prolonged behind the confession. The four great Church Fathers, SS. Ambrose and Augustine in front, SS. Athanasius and Chrysostom in the rear, uphold with the tips of their fingers the bronze receptacle in which the chair of St. Peter is preserved; above, symbolic of the Holy Ghost, hovers a dove in a wreath of clouds, rays of light, and angels. Garments flutter and angels fly through the moving masses of cloud as

Fig. 528. Sepulchral Monument of Sixtus IV in St. Peter's

Blessed Virgin's head, her expression of grief and resignation—all this is simple, natural, and true. Later on Michael Angelo carved bolder, more daring, and more imposing marbles, but none so pure, so beautiful, so full of religious and Christian spirit as this, which is counted among the finest of all modern sculptured works. The artist was reproached for making Mary appear too young. His answer was beautiful and correct; he said the virginity and imperishable beauty of the Mother of God would thus become so much more manifest to the world; pure women were wont to preserve their beauty and how much more the Virgin, who had never experienced an earthly desire!

Many monuments in St. Peter's have received severe criticism, most of all, perhaps, the baldachin above the high altar; another is the enclosure of the episcopal chair of the Prince of the apostles, the if a storm were sweeping through the halls. Everything is well thought out and has been executed with great skill, but, it must be said, with boastful pomposity. The artists used 2200 hundredweight of metal for the gigantic figures that are five meters in height, and the expense amounted to $120,000. The early Christians speak of a chair of St. Peter, not merely in a figurative sense, but the actual chair which the Prince of the apostles occupied as Bishop of Rome and as the head of the Church, and was for his successors to this dignity and office a visible token of the apostolic foundation of the Church of Rome, of the uninterrupted succession of its supreme shepherds, and of its connection with Peter. It was regarded as a sacred relic and has been preserved from century to century until our day.

In the year 1867, on the eighteen-hundredth anniversary of the death of St.

Peter, Pius IX caused the bronze receptacle of Bernini to be opened and the relic to be exposed for the veneration of the faithful. It was then possible to examine it accurately and describe it. The chair is supported by four firm props of oak; in former times these were square, but now they show not only the effects of time but

Fig. 529. Sepulchral Monument of Innocent VIII in St. Peter's

also distinct traces of splinters having been broken off that were doubtless borne away as relics. Above, four iron rings are fastened to the props, so that by inserting poles the chair could be borne like a sedan-chair, as was customary during the reign of Emperor Claudius (41–54) for high state officials. The supposition is usually accepted that the chair was given to St. Peter by the senator Pudens, in whose house in Rome the apostle was hospitably received. The feet and other parts of the chair are veneered, or inlaid with locust wood or else entirely made of it.[1] In the course of time the chair received a rich and valuable adornment of ivory pictures which cover the lower panels and the back-rest.

In the second Christian century the ecclesiastical writer Tertullian asserts the existence of the apostolic chair of St. Peter. In the third century another writer [2] gives the order of Roman bishops and begins in this way:

> "On this chair, whereon Peter once sat,
> Exalted Rome ordered Linus to be seated after him."

In the following century St. Optatus, opposing a schismatic bishop, likewise points to the number of Roman Bishops "who had all been seated upon the chair of St. Peter, which he (the intruder) probably never saw." From that time on the testimonies increase from century to century. St. Damasus placed the chair in the baptismal chapel which he erected near the church of the Vatican. For centuries this modest chair of St. Peter served as the throne whenever the newly elected Pope was inaugurated with solemn ceremony. Every year, on February 22 (the feast of the Chair of St. Peter), it was exposed for the veneration of the faithful. All this would appear very trivial and insignificant had not the chair of Peter become in early Christian times a blessed symbol—a symbol of the apostolic descent

[1] The parts made from locust wood doubtless date from later times. The back-rest, for instance, is made of it and the style indicates a later manufacture. The ivory pictures in front represent the labors of Hercules. The Christians in the ninth and tenth centuries were fond of using ancient Pagan objects of art without regard to the subjects represented, simply to adorn ecclesiastical objects, such as shrines for relics, missals, and so forth; this easily explains how some of the tablets have been attached upside down. The plates in the side-panels and the ivory borders of the arm-rests harmonize with the style of the chair and represent combats of animals. In the middle of the cross-piece under a triangular projection we see the picture of a crowned prince with the imperial globe and scepter; circumstances point toward an emperor, a descendant of Charlemagne.

[2] His name is unknown; he wrote against the heretic Marcion, probably in the third century.

of the Bishop of Rome, a symbol of the pure and unadulterated Faith, a symbol of the privileges obtained through St. Peter, the privileges of the Papacy. And, indeed, we must rejoice that our Faith agrees with that of early times.

No brilliant canvas adorns the altars, and yet each altar has its picture, shining with color; it is "tesselated painting"—mosaic. Gradually all paintings were replaced by mosaics, executed with such great art in stone *tesserae* that they faithfully follow and strikingly resemble the originals. Thousands enter and leave St. Peter's, make the round of the altars, look at Raphaels, Guido Renis, Domenichinos, and Guercinos, long familiar to them from photographic and engraved reproductions, without the least idea that they have been looking at pictures of stone, which, with infinite pains and patience the hand of the mosaic-worker created with tiny bits of stone. Mosaics last thousands of years without losing color and we can readily understand that when a man's paintings are copied and preserved in mosaic the highest distinction and best recognition have been accorded him,—and for such honor many have striven in vain. In a certain light the narrow cracks can be seen between the bits of stone. Mosaic pictures are, however, an esthetic aberration when they completely abandon their peculiarity and by an over-refined technique too closely imitate oil painting. Some of the original paintings are in the collections of the Vatican or the Capitol, some are in churches, but most of them are in *S. Maria degli Angeli.*

Among the most magnificent works of art in St. Peter's are the sepulchral monuments of the Popes. Some rest against the pillars; others are built into large niches in the walls; most of them, however, rise like altars, full of splendor and magnificence. Columns and pilasters flank them and they gleam with marble and mosaic. It is well to make the round of the monuments and examine the portraits of the Popes whose lives have been so closely connected with the joys and sorrows, with the struggles and victories of the Church, and thus bestir memories of former times. These monuments also represent the course and development of plastic art from the time of the high Renaissance down to the classic art of the nineteenth century.

The series begins with the tomb of Sixtus IV (1471–1484). In reality it is merely a monumental plate or bronze lid of a sarcophagus made by Antonio Pollajuolo in 1493, admirable in workmanship

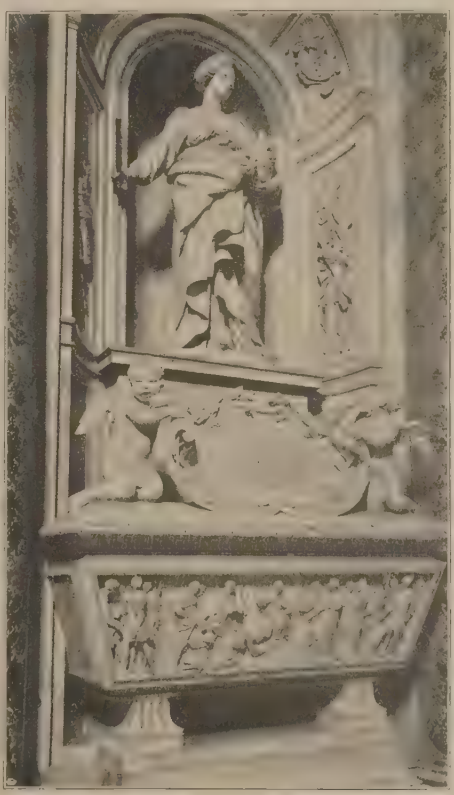


Fig. 530. Sepulchral Monument of Countess Matilda in St. Peter's

and highly decorative. A striking likeness of the dead Pontiff rests on the slab. In the high frieze around it are figures representing Theology, Philosophy, and the Liberal Arts, somewhat affected as to style. They rightly surround a Pope who was so enthusiastic for all knowledge and talent and who, with Nicholas V, was the precursor of the Roman Renaissance.

Somewhat less interesting, though an excellent piece of work, is the bronze sepulcher of Innocent VIII (1484–1492) by Antonio and Pietro Pollajuolo. The Pope is represented twice; below, on the sarcophagus, slumbering; above, seated on a throne and bestowing his blessing, holding in his left hand the holy spear-point which the Sultan Bajazet presented to him. In the side niches are the theological virtues in relief. Every detail of outline and execution is in the most refined taste.

The sepulcher of Paul III (1534-1549), one of the most beautiful in St. Peter's, brings us to the very heart of the High Renaissance. Paul's reign was extremely rich in important events. He confirmed the Order of the Jesuits (1540 and 1543) founded by St. Ignatius; the works of St. Philip Neri and the beginnings of the Oratorians, which he founded, also adorned Paul's period. He opened, through his envoys, the Council of Trent, which did so much for the honor and glory of the Church (1545). Paul III had a firm grip upon political events and protected art and science with true and generous liberality. During his reign Michael Angelo completed most of his famous works. Guglielmo della Porta, a successor of the incomparable master, built this Pope's tomb. The aged Pontiff, in bronze, sits upon the sarcophagus. The figure is simple and unadorned; the head with its high, bald forehead and long beard is gently inclined, as if absorbed in deep reflection. Slowly and with an effort due both to age and to the profoundness of his thought, he raises his right hand in benediction while his left rests simply and naturally upon his knee. It is a portrait true to nature, taken from life and glorified by the nobility of its conception. Below, on the volutes of the lower structure we see two reclining marble statues; on the right is aged Wisdom, whose face resembles that of the Pope's mother; on the left the charming figure of youthful Justice, with the features of his sister-in-law Julia Farnese.

Quite a different style marks the monument of Gregory XIII (1572-1585). The quiet Renaissance has passed away. The new baroque seeks more motion and richer motives of expression, bearing, and drapery. Grandly and solemnly the Pope raises his right hand symbolizing his words and actions. Near his grave, at the left is Religion; at the right Strength. The latter raises the shroud and looks upon the sarcophagus, whereon is shown how the Pope improved the old Julian calendar. A dragon, the ensign on the escutcheon of the Boncompagni, cowers beneath the sarcophagus. Gregory XIII was a most intelligent patron of science; its greatest and most magnificent homes were built by him in Rome—the Roman College (*Collegio Romano*) erected by Bartolommeo Ammanati, and the courtyard and façade of the *Sapienza,* built by Giacomo della Porta.

In the left aisle beneath a vaulted arch stands the tomb of Leo XI of the ducal house of the Medici of Florence. On the sarcophagus is a statue in bronze, by Algardi, of the Pope enthroned. Algardi chiseled from the marble the scene on the front of the sarcophagus, which, abounding in figures, represents King Henry IV of France forswearing heresy and confessing the Catholic Faith. During the ceremony Leo was present as the Papal legate of Clement VIII. The statue on the right, holding a cornucopia, has a face of gentle meekness; it is Abundance (by Peroni). That on the left is Strength (by Ferrata). On either side of the socle is a cluster of roses with a ribbon inscribed "*Sic florui*" ("Thus did I bloom"). Leo XI survived his election as Pope only twenty-six days—and then all splendor perished.

The sepulchral monument of Urban VIII (1623–1644) by Lorenzo Bernini was a model and pattern for many later ones. The magnificent sarcophagus is adorned in front with allegorical figures; and the socle rises behind for the statue of the Pope bestowing benediction. Bernini solved his problem excellently. The Pope has a look of repose and firmness; the drapery hangs in flowing folds; everything, including the statues of Charity and

Justice, is excellent. Offenses against good taste are not wanting, however, for behind the sarcophagus is a gilded skeleton representing Death inscribing the Pope's name.

The following Papal graves are all in the same style: the monument of Innocent XI (1676-1689) with a beautiful statue of the Pope (by Monnot after Maratta's sketch); that of Alexander VIII (1689-1691), by Bertoni and Angelo de Rossi; and that of Innocent XII (1691-1700), after a sketch by Fuga.

A new style appears in the tomb of Clement XIII (1758-1769), by Canova. The straight line again regains its rights. The structure, the figures, the drapery, everything becomes quiet, simple, and unaffected; artists again strive after classical proportion. Clement XIII, a Venetian of the family of the Rezzonico, was a man of blameless purity and great piety. His reign was an almost uninterrupted fight against the demoralized courts of the Bourbons in France, Spain, and Italy, bound together to urge constantly and by acts of violence to force the Pope to modify or abolish the Society of Jesus. But the Pope stood by his word; he would not please men by displeasing God; he would sooner lose everything than be unfaithful to the oath that he had sworn to the Church. His countryman, the great sculptor Canova, built the monument. The Pope is kneeling in prayer on the sarcophagus and all is true and natural. The high-girdled female figure of Religion, with a crown of rays and a cross, is stiff and lifeless, and out of harmony with the rest. The angel of death, with inverted and extinguished torch that rests on the cornice of the socle, is a wonderful bit of sculpture from hard stone. Two magnificent lions guard the gate of the grave; they are among the most beautiful creations of modern sculpture and have therefore been frequently imitated. Canova worked at this monument for eight years and unveiled it on the Thursday before Good Friday, 1795, in the light of the

Figs. 531–532. Sepulchral Monuments of Pius VII and Gregory XVI in St. Peter's

great flaming cross which on the evening of this day illuminates St. Peter's. The work was received with great favor.

The monument of Pius VII (1800-1823) is another example of classic art. Cardinal Consalvi had it erected by Thorwaldsen in honor of the Pope, whose sufferings and persecutions under Napoleon I he, as secretary of State, had shared. Above, seated, we see the High Priest with bowed head, his weary hand raised in benediction. The sides of the grave are adorned by female figures representing Wisdom and Strength, two qualities that never deserted Pius VII. This much we must say in praise of the baroque: it could bind into unity a sepulchral monument and its statues better than the classic and Hellenic styles of Canova, Thorwaldsen, and their successors. Italian art is without strength and vigor in the monument to Gregory XVI (1831-1846), by Amici. The allegorical figures of Faith and Charity are especially weak in outline, drapery, and expression.

Another interesting statue, near the second pillar of the right aisle, is that of the Countess Matilda of Tuscany, a great benefactress and guardian of the Church (died 1115). She holds upon her arm and has under her protection the tiara. Urban VIII caused her remains to be brought from *S. Benedetto* in Mantua to St. Peter's and Bernini modeled this beautiful head (1635). The carving in relief which shows the absolution of Emperor Henry IV in Canossa is the work of Speranza.

The simplest and most touching monument is that of Leo XII. In the chapel of St. Leo I, where the remains of the saint's holy successors, Leo II, Leo III, and Leo IV found their last resting-place, there is a simple tablet under which slumbers Leo XII. Upon the marble is an inscription which the Pope himself composed two days before his death: *"Leone Magno, patrono coelesti, me supplex commendans hic apud sacros ejus cineres locum sepulturae elegi Leo XII humilis cliens heredum tanti nominis minimus"* ("Commending myself to Leo the Great, my heavenly protector, as a suppliant I, Leo XII, his humble follower and the least among the heirs of the great name, have chosen this spot near his holy relics as my last resting-place").

Among the remarkable objects in St. Peter's are the confessionals in the left transept. They, too, give evidence that they are a part of a catholic, a world-embracing, a universal Church; for inscriptions inform the faithful that confessions will be heard in eleven different languages. The stranger's curiosity is aroused by the long rods standing near the confessionals; after giving absolution the confessor touches with them the head of the kneeling penitent. In this manner spiritual freedom from the servitude of sin is indicated, just as when in ancient Rome the slave in receiving his freedom received also a blow upon the head.

## THE CHAPELS IN THE VATICAN

### I. THE SISTINE CHAPEL (CAPELLA SISTINA)

THE Sistine Chapel is not a part of St. Peter's, but has been built into the Vatican Palace: it is the Papal private chapel for semipublic ecclesiastical functions of minor importance in which the Pope participates, and also for Papal elections since the seizure of the Quirinal Palace.

The chapel is named for Sixtus IV, who erected it after designs of the Florentine Baccio Pintelli in the second half of the fifteenth century. It is a large rectangle, the sides of which measure forty meters in length and eighteen in width. A tasteful, high marble balustrade separates the space in front reserved for the clergy from that assigned to laymen. A high barrel-

vault spans the chapel, which above the windows and in the corners is pierced by triangular openings. A mosaic of colored marble forms the flooring.

The Florentine Sandro Botticelli received an order from Sixtus IV to paint the chapel's walls; and while some of the mural paintings are from his brush, others were done by the famous masters Perugino, Rosselli, Signorelli, and Ghirlandajo, who were summoned from Tuscany.

The side walls are divided into three parts and, lengthwise, the two lower divisions are separated into panels by painted pilasters, the uppermost by round-arched windows. Painted curtains cover the panels of the lowest row. The so-called tapestries of Raphael, of which we shall speak later, once hung here. The panels of the middle row are filled with paintings by the above-mentioned artists. Those on the right side depict the life and story of Moses, the leader of the Chosen People. According to the custom and taste of those times several incidents are usually grouped around the chief subject in one and the same picture. The panels represent the following scenes: 1, The Journey of Moses into Egypt (Perugino); 2, Moses in the Desert before the Burning Bush (Botticelli); 3, Pharao's Destruction in the Red Sea (Rosselli); 4, The Giving of the Law on Mt. Sinai (Rosselli); 5, The Punishment of Core, Dathan, and Abiron, and their Adherents (Botticelli); 6, The Departure and Death of Moses (Signorelli).

Fig. 533. Exterior View of the Sistine Chapel, Vatican

In all these pictures Moses is conceived as the prototype of the Saviour, the founder and leader of the newly elected people of God; therefore these pictures correspond with those on the left wall which are taken from the life of Jesus: 1, The Baptism of Christ in the Jordan (Perugino); 2, The Temptation of Christ—just as Moses in the desert honored the true God, so does Our Saviour when Satan tempts Him—(Botticelli); 3, The Calling of the Apostles Peter and Andrew—the best and most beautiful of these paintings —(Ghirlandajo); 4, The Sermon on the Mount (Rosselli); 5, Christ gives the Keys to St. Peter—an excellent picture—(Perugino); 6, The Last Supper (Rosselli).

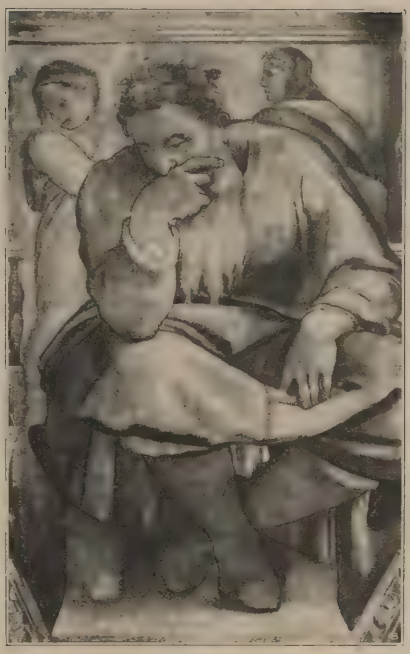
On one side of the large rear wall behind the altar Perugino painted the Finding of Moses, on the other side the Birth of Christ, in the middle the Assumption of the Blessed Virgin; below her is Sixtus IV, absorbed in prayer. The broad cornice above these pictures supports a gallery having an iron railing. Between the windows of the third story Botticelli painted twenty-eight Popes. If the Sistine Chapel had no other pictures to show than these, it would always attract lovers of art, because these represent the most famous artists of the *Quattrocento* (XV century); but alas! of the hundreds of people who daily pass in and out the majority give only a careless glance at these remarkable pictures. On the ceiling and on the main wall, from which the pictures by Perugino were removed, are the greatest creations of Michael Angelo, which call for admiration from all.

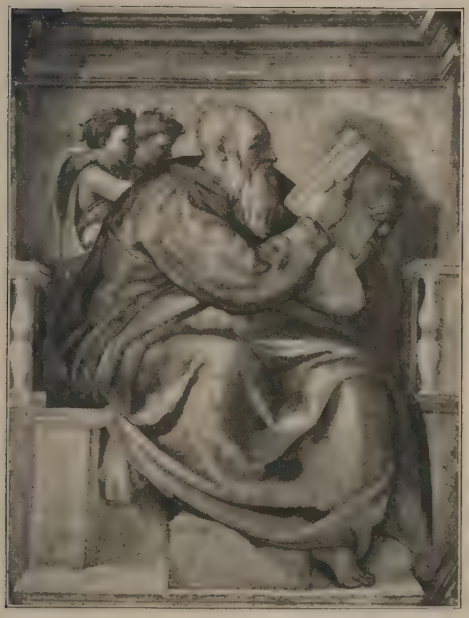
In 1508 Michael Angelo received from Julius II an order to paint the ceiling of

the Sistine. Roman artists—even Bramante, it is rumored—jealous of the favor done nothing of importance in great mural painting and his enemies, therefore, hoped

Fig. 534. Interior View of the Sistine Chapel, Vatican

and preference given to Michael Angelo, are said to have put this idea into the Pope's head. Until then Buonarroti had that he would not be equal to the task. Michael Angelo declined the order; but the Pope was only spurred on thereby and





Figs. 535–538. The Prophets Joel, Jeremias, and Zacharias and the Delphic Sibyl. Frescoes by Michael Angelo in the Sistine Chapel, Vatican

insisted that the master should execute the order, promising him a reward of 15,000 ducats, whereat Michael Angelo yielded. As with all great minds, the most difficult and apparently impossible feats possessed for him the greatest charm; and so he began the work on May 10, 1508. He called some of his fellow-painters from Florence to help him, but their work did not satisfy him and he sent them home, having rejected their sketches. He now wanted to do it all alone; he even whitewashed the walls and ground his colors himself. He locked himself in the Sistine Chapel and worked with such untiring zeal that in the autumn of the same year half the ceiling was finished; and after twenty-two months the entire work was completed, a statement that appears almost incredible. In order to leave no empty space Michael Angelo divided the barrel-vault into larger and smaller surfaces. Just as the subject of the mural paintings is redemption by Christ, so all the pictures on the ceiling were to be included in the same cycle of sacred history, from the creation of the first man to his redemption by Christ.

"These paintings in the Sistine Chapel are the loftiest and the best of Michael Angelo's creations. In them his great mind is reflected in its highest dignity and purity. . . . They represent a magnificent poem that describes the fate of the world, of man and his relation to God as revealed in the Holy Scriptures; they represent the creation of the world and of man, the fall of man and its consequences, the miraculous deliverance of the Chosen People, the approaching time of salvation, typified in the ancestors of the Blessed Virgin, and the prophets and sibyls who foretold the Saviour's coming" (Fr. Müller). These pictures of Michael Angelo show, in order: The Separation of Light and Darkness; The Creation of the Sun and the Moon; The Separation of Land and Water; The Creation of Adam and Eve; Man's Fall and Expulsion from Paradise; Noe's Sacrifice; The Deluge; Noe Asleep and his Sons. Never have these scenes been depicted in a grander and more sublime manner, nor can the supernatural be represented more palpably. How grandly does God the Father in His eternal majesty and divine sublimity rush over chaos and water, accompanied by a host of heavenly spirits that half carry Him and are half borne by Him in the folds of His garments! This figure of the Creator of heaven and earth has ever since remained a model and type for all artists; even Raphael could not find a nobler figure. And with what feeling is shown how the first man receives life! Again the Eternal with His angels hovers above in a cloud! Adam has been shaped out of the dust of the earth; he lives, but it is only an earthly, gloomy life; then God stretches out His creative hand and gently touches him with the tip of His finger and like a divine electrical spark the higher life of the soul and mind passes into the creature of dust. Below the chief pictures, in the large triangular spaces at the springing of the vaults, there is room for the seated figures of men and women busied with scrolls and books, "all absorbed in earnest contemplation of and devotion to the divine revelation and their own mission, filled with a higher inspiration and raised above the commonplace of human nature, the sight of which fills one's mind with holy awe and admiration." They are the prophets among the Israelites and the sibyls among the heathen [1] who kept awake the hope of a Saviour and foretold His coming. It was an extremely happy thought to place these magnificent figures between the scenes on the vault above and on the walls below, be-

[1] In ancient Christian times it was considered an unquestioned fact that among the heathen were several famous women, called sibyls, to whom God had granted a certain degree of prophecy, without, however, including them in the same class as the prophets. The most famous Fathers of the Church maintained that the reading of the writings preserved under their name was advantageous, because they contained proofs of Christianity. According to the views of other ecclesiastical teachers they were under the influence of Satan, but in such a way that often, upon the order of God, they revealed the Truth to the heathen and prepared them for salvation. In Pagan Rome the sibylline books enjoyed the highest estimation. The number of sibyls is variously given as from four to ten; historical credence, however, can not be demanded for these legends. The most famous sibyls were the Cumæan of lower Italy, the Libyan of Africa, the Delphian and Erythrean of Greece, the Persian, and the Babylonian.

Fig. 539. The Choir in the Sistine Chapel, Vatican

tween the subjects that had inspired their prophecies. And what a dignity and majesty in these prophets, all inspired by God and yet differing so materially from one another! Jeremias, sitting there, his right arm resting upon one knee and supporting his head in his hand, with lowered eye, wrapt in melancholy; Ezechiel, excitedly turning to an angel who announces to him the decree of God; Joel, absorbed in reading a scroll; Zacharias, a beautiful figure full of holy restfulness; Isaias, as if just awaking from a vision; Daniel, a most beautiful man in the full vigor of his youth, who hastily and joyfully inscribes upon a tablet what is revealed to him in the angel's book; Jonas, just vomited out of the whale's belly, showing that he has newly regained life. Just as grand and characteristic are the sibyls, the Persian and Cumæan appearing as aged, powerful women, the Erythrean and Libyan in the flower of youth but with an almost masculine appearance.

In the panels next to the round arches of the windows and in the vaulted cappings of the windows Michael Angelo painted the ancestors of the Blessed Virgin, the series leading up to our divine Lord. In most cases the Scriptures give only the names without mentioning incidents in their lives. The great master solved the difficulty by conceiving them as family groups. Thus in the thirty-two panels we find mostly small domestic scenes expressive of calm, quiet waiting for the future Saviour. The great figures of the prophets are not repeated; but these pictures are full of repose, peace, and sentiment, in effective contrast to the others.

Among the painted architectural motives are many figures from Michael Angelo's brush, some in natural colors, some in a stone color only, and others in a tone resembling bronze. The varied forms and attitudes reveal once more his inventive genius and creative power.

In 1532 Clement VII again called the great master to Rome to paint the "Last Judgment" upon the principal or choir wall of the chapel—that above the altar. Michael Angelo at once began his sketches and plans; but the work was not completed until 1541, in the reign of Paul III. The picture is over twenty meters high and ten wide: hundreds of figures are moving in it, in all possible positions.

A picture of the Last Judgment should always express two things: the hope, confidence, and bliss of the saved, and the despair, punishment, and suffering of the damned. Michael Angelo conceived the Day of Judgment only as a day of wrath and lamentation; and in his own indescribably touching way he painted it. From far aloft angels descend with the instruments of Christ's Passion, less for the consolation of the just than for the despair of sinners who, in spite of the Redemption, through their own fault, were not saved. Hosts of saints appear among these groups; amid them, seated upon a cloud, we see the infinite, awful Judge; upon His lips is the dreadful edict: "Depart from Me, ye cursed!" A quaking horror passes through heaven and earth; even the Blessed Virgin, quivering, clings to her divine Son and turns her face from the sufferings of the abandoned, because she is ever the merciful Mother. On both sides of the Judge appear two rows of gigantic figures representing the Old and the New Testament; on the right Adam with an animal's skin over his shoulders; on the left St. Peter, who shows the Judge the carefully kept keys of heaven. Around Adam are grouped the saints of the preparatory time—Abel, Moses, and John the Baptist; with Peter stand SS. Paul, John, and others. At the feet of Christ we see St. Laurence with his gridiron; near him is St. Bartholomew, holding in his right hand a knife and in his left his own flayed skin; we recognize the apostle Simon with a saw, Catherine with her wheel, Blase with the iron hatchel, and Sebastian with his arrows. Below the offended God are angels with trumpets recalling the dead to life and holding out to them the book of eternal reckoning. On their right the blessed ascend in their glory to heaven. Many touching scenes are here; in order to show the power of prayer and the intercession of the Blessed Virgin one of the saved rescues another with a rosary. On the left angels of wrath push back the damned, who try to rise and whose weight drags them back. Devils hang on them, as added weight, pulling them down where the ferryman of Hades conducts them across the stream to the home of despair, whence there is no return. This part of the picture is terrible and deeply affecting; these, indeed, are the terrors of the Day of Wrath. On the opposite side is the resurrection of the body; the dead awake and try to lift their tombstones, while skeletons cover themselves with flesh. The conception is incomplete: in vain we look for the glorified who gather around the Son of God in the bliss and joy of their eternal salvation. Even the Judge lacks the expression of divine majesty and appears rather a wrathful giant. All the figures, saved and condemned alike, with immense bodies, no longer resemble the inhabitants of earth. The artist painted them nude, although nothing was further removed from his intentions than painting for lewd eyes; but it is a weakness in the great picture. Right after its unveiling on the eve of All Saints' Day, 1541, opposition and complaints about the liberties taken by the artist broke out in the face of enthusiastic admiration. As for the nudities, Paul IV made Daniele da Volterra paint over the most objectionable parts, which earned him the name of

Fig. 540. The Pauline Chapel, Vatican

Fig. 541. The Ordination and Almsgiving of St. Stephen. Frescoes by Fra Angelico in the Chapel of Nicholas V, Vatican

"il Bracchettone" (the trousers-maker). The picture was similarly repainted under Pius IV, Pius V, Gregory XIII, and Clement XIII. The Last Judgment is, nevertheless, one of the finest works of art. Goethe said well and truly: "One who has not seen the Sistine Chapel can get no clear idea of what man can do."

All paintings in the Sistine have suffered greatly; they are partly blackened by smoke, partly faded. The first impression is not very favorable. Only in a clear light can one get a good view; and this is the more regrettable since Michael Angelo must be seen often and for a long time in order to be understood.

Having seen all this great art we must not leave the Sistine without admiring two examples of artistic workmanship; the floor is an imitation of beautiful early Christian designs in marble mosaic, and the *Cantoria* or organ-loft on the right side is a most exquisite specimen of early Renaissance work; every little detail shows a different design in its ornamentation; the pier-tables, the panels, the escutcheons —all are in gold and white, pure in taste and well arranged and executed.

### 2. THE CHAPEL OF PAUL III (PAULINE CHAPEL)

On the frieze above the marble lintel of the door is inscribed the name of Paul III, for by his order in 1540 the architect Antonio da San Gallo built it and Michael Angelo, his favorite artist, adorned it with two mural paintings representing the Conversion of St. Paul and the Crucifixion of St. Peter. Michael Angelo was old, in his seventy-fifth year, and no longer felt an incentive to new and large undertakings; but he could not deny any request of his august patron. Both paintings attest the peculiarity of the artist, and also the depressing effects of age on his disposition —the hand of the master of the Sistine is no longer in them. The paintings, too, have suffered from fire and the effects of time, most of all from repainting. On the first Sunday in Advent the Pauline is used for the Forty Hours' Devotion, and during the last days of Holy Week it is transformed into the Holy Sepulcher. This chapel is the parochial church of the dwellers within the Vatican and regular Sunday services take place in it.

### 3. THE CHAPEL OF NICHOLAS V (OR OF ST. LAURENCE)

The small private chapel which Nicholas V built for himself was decorated in 1447 by Fra Angelico da Fiesole. At that time the artist was sixty years old, yet in these pictures we see the grace, the freshness,

FIG. 542. POPE SIXTUS II TURNS OVER TO ST. LAURENCE THE TREASURES OF THE CHURCH TO BE DIVIDED AMONG THE POOR. PAINTING BY FRA ANGELICO IN THE CHAPEL OF NICHOLAS V, VATICAN

the beauty, the loveliness, and the innocence of youth joined with the progress and experience of manhood. One can hardly imagine a more vivid pictorial contrast than that made upon one's mind and feelings after coming from the Sistine into the chapel of St. Laurence. In one are vigor and power in every brush stroke, in every fold of drapery, in every fiber of the figures; and everything is intentionally avoided that might appeal to the heart in a kindly or cheerful manner. The pictures of Fra Angelico breathe restfulness, peace, and quiet bliss.

The chapel is spanned by a groined vault in the panels of which the venerable figures of the evangelists hover against a blue background dotted with stars. There are two rows of pictures: the one above is from the life of St. Stephen, the one below from that of St. Laurence. These paintings thoroughly prove that the exercise of his art was, for Fra Angelico, an occupation of holy meditation, true prayer, and service to God. So delicately and so gently are the figures treated that he seems to have revealed the soul in its chaste and virginal beauty under the almost transparent skin. Even to the smallest detail the work is as complete and perfect as in those small pictures which the monks of the Middle Ages painted in their parchment prayer-books. The pictures of Fra Angelico at once remind us of these miniatures. They also bear witness to the fact that Fiesole was a real artist and never rested after conquering a difficulty. His early work moved along the line of Gothic tradition; in his later style he followed as much of the realism of the artists around him as his religious tendency allowed.

One of the pictures of St. Stephen shows the consecration of the saint as deacon. St. Peter stands on the steps of the altar and extends to him the chalice and paten, uttering the words which give the levite authority to touch the holy vessels. In the background some of the apostles are present as witnesses. All this takes place in a Renaissance structure, only the lower row of windows reminding us of the Gothic style. The pictures of St. Laurence also show architectural forms of the early Renaissance; as in that where the saint is bestowing alms upon the poor and sick, the figures are taken from real life and but slightly, though artistically, idealized.

## THE GROTTOES OF THE VATICAN

BENEATH St. Peter's are large subterranean halls or grottoes, because in 1536 Antonio da San Gallo, then architect of St. Peter's, raised the floor of the new structure 3.2 meters above the flooring of the old one. Steps lead down from the great piers of the dome to four chapels, from which as many hallways lead into a long corridor shaped like a horseshoe. If

Fig. 543. St. Peter Receiving the Keys

we descend the steps near the western pier, under the picture of St. Veronica, we enter the elliptical corridor, the so-called New Grottoes. Turning from these toward the west we come to the Old Grottoes, corresponding to the three aisles of the nave of the old church. They were meant to hold all kinds of works of art that had stood in the courtyard or inner space of the old basilica. This highly interesting collection contains 235 pieces—mosaics, paintings, and plastic works, especially tombs of Popes, cardinals, bishops, and royal personages. There was not room enough to erect here the larger mausoleums, but it is regrettable that the parts of beautiful sepulchral monuments like those of Nicholas V, Paul II, and Cardinal Eroli are scattered in various places. Similarly, the fragments of the tabernacle of the Holy Spear, of the Ciborium and marble balustrade of Sixtus IV are separated and dispersed.

One of the first chapels into which the corridor leads contains the statue of St. Peter, which we have previously mentioned. Some claim the statue to be that of an ancient senator or statesman, which has been changed to represent St. Peter by adding the arms and symbols. The pedestal is adorned with fine work by the Cosmati and is flanked by lions; it comes from the tomb of Urban VI (died 1389), while the late-Gothic throne once supported the statue of Benedict XII (1342).

Near the entrance into the southern aisle of the Old Grottoes slumbers a woman of high rank, Christine, Queen of Sweden, daughter of the proud Gustavus Adolphus. She recognized the truth of the Catholic Church and found herself between the alternatives of resigning her throne or denying the truth of Christ. She gave up scepter and crown, following her religious conviction, and made Rome her abode. After her death in 1689 she found a grave in old St. Peter's. She rests in an unornamented sarcophagus. A little farther on are sepulchral monuments of the three last Stuarts, who retained nothing but their empty title; James III (1735) and his sons, Charles Edward (died 1766) and Cardinal Henry of York. They are the last descendants of the unfortunate Mary, Queen of Scots, who died on the scaffold at Fotheringay.

A noble German prince, Emperor Otto II,

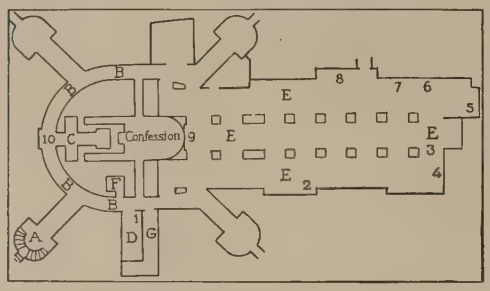



FIG. 544. PLAN OF THE VATICAN GROTTOES

A. Steps near the statue of St. Veronica; B. New Grottoes; C. Chapel at the Tomb of St. Peter; D. S. Maria de Porticu; E. Old Grottoes; F. S. Salvatorino; G. S. Maria Prægnantium; 1. Statue of St. Peter; 2. Sepulchral Monuments of the Stuarts; 3–9. Sepulchral Monuments of Otto II, Gregory V, Boniface VIII, Nicholas V, Paul II, Urban VI, and Christine of Sweden; 10. Sarcophagus of Junius Bassus.

lies in a large sarcophagus near the end of the southern aisle. He loved Italy, but she was ungrateful to him, and after a reign of ten years he died in 983. Very near him is the grave of the first German Pope, Gregory V (966-999). He was the cousin of Emperor Otto III, and was only twenty-four years old when he ascended the chair of St. Peter. He died three years later. The inscription praises the beauty of his eye and face, his love for the poor, and his zeal in instructing the people in three languages, Latin, German, and Italian.

The northern aisle contains a large number of Papal tombs, the sarcophagus of Hadrian IV (died 1159), of Boniface VIII (died 1303), and, further down, that of Nicholas V (died 1455).

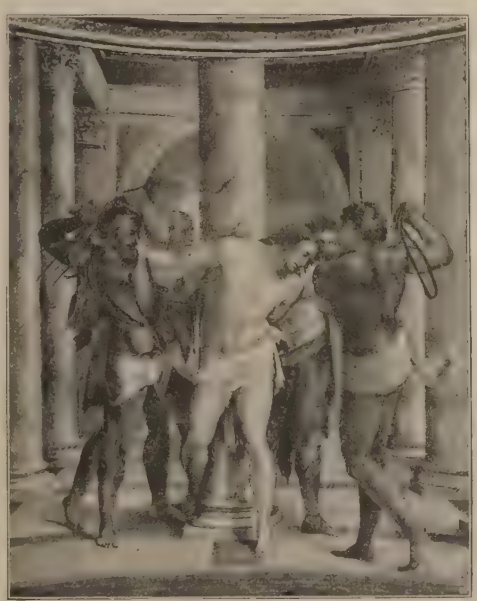
Among the most valuable contents of the New Grottoes are the works of the early Renaissance, that epoch of art which handled the chisel with a simple naïveté and a joyous zeal for work and which gave fresh grace to its pictures—their most beautiful inheritance. In this group are the reliefs showing the Madonna and Child between Peter and Paul, surrounded by angels and the portraits of the donors, by Mino da Fiesole, and on the opposite side God the Father with angels. The first named tablet comes from the chapel of St. Blase in old St. Peter's. Even more valuable are the plastic works from Paul II's tomb (died 1471), by Mino da Fiesole and Giovanni Dalmata; it was the most beautiful monument in old St. Peter's. The mezzo-rilievos of the personified cardinal virtues, Faith, Hope, and Charity, the Resurrection of Christ, and the Last Judgment possess imperishable charm. The relief tablets attributed to Pollajuolo of scenes from the lives of SS. Peter and Paul are remarkable for their very expressive figures. They formerly belonged to the marble balustrade with which Sixtus IV enclosed the confession, or tomb of St. Peter, in the old basilica.

In old St. Peter's, on the same floor, in the principal nave was the grave of St. Peter, whose relics rested beneath the altar. Now we approach the grave of the first Pope from the crown of the horseshoe-like corridor of the New Grottoes, to enter the confession or chapel. It is most splendid: twenty-four modern bronze reliefs depict incidents from the life of the Prince of the apostles. The relics of St. Peter are not visible; they have rested for centuries in the earth. It was not the custom in Rome to dig up the relics of saints or arrange or enclose them and then expose them for veneration; still less was it deemed pious or in good taste to articulate skeletons, to add to them, or to make substitutions and enclose them thus in shrines exposed to public view.

FIG. 545. MADONNA BETWEEN SS. PETER AND PAUL, BY MINO DA FIESOLE. VATICAN GROTTOES

## S. PIETRO IN MONTORIO

ON July 29, A.D. 67, two occupants of the Roman prison left the dungeon to go upon their last journey; they were the Princes of the apostles. St. Paul was led southward on the road to Ostia, to receive his death-blow outside the city walls, since the law so demanded. And St. Peter? Reports differ or, rather, are vague. To-day it is generally believed that he was taken westward to that spot where to-day stands the wonderful cathedral, and that the cross on which he died was erected not far from where now in the marble confession his relics rest and where the foot of his statue is kissed by pilgrims. Since the end of the Middle Ages until modern times it has been maintained that the apostle was dragged past the race-course of Nero and Cæsar's gardens to the summit of the Janiculum, a mountain that rises next to the Vatican Hill. This tradition, however, is an erroneous conception of old rumors. In the Middle Ages this mountain, the highest of the hills of Rome, received the surname "golden," from which the present name Montorio is derived. On account of the wonderful view it affords over Rome the mountain deserves its title still. Before us lies the Queen City surrounded by a crown of hills; on the opposite side is Monte Pincio, with its white steps leading up to the beautiful avenues on its summit; further to the right are the towers of *Santa Trinità,* then the long rows of windows of the Quirinal; still further to the right are the towers of *S. Maria Maggiore;* at the extreme end is St. John Lateran, and close to the other bank of the Tiber are the quiet churches and monasteries of the Aventine. Beyond the walls and the hills stretches the Campagna; to the right is the immense plain with the arches of aqueducts and the ruins of ancient splendor, and the debris of old palaces; to the left we see the ranges of the Sabine hills, the hills of Albano with their



FIGS. 546–547. ROUND TEMPLE OF S. PIETRO IN MONTORIO AND THE SCOURGING OF CHRIST. PAINTING BY SEBASTIANO DEL PIOMBO IN S. PIETRO IN MONTORIO

Fig. 548. The Four Sibyls. Painting by Raphael in S. Maria della Pace

terraces, and directly in front of us the shimmering houses of Frascati, Rocca di Papa, and Castel Gandolfo. At our very feet, starting from the fringe of hills and spread like a carpet of many colors, is a unique Rome, with its towering ruins, with the Colosseum, which, although half in ruins, rises like a giant above the new Rome's palaces, steeples, and domes. The stranger notes the many domes so as to find his way through the sea of houses and to impress indelibly the panorama of Rome upon his mind. Below and quite near are *SS. Trinità dei Pellegrini* (Charity to Pilgrims), *S. Carlo ai Catinari,* and *Il Gesù* (the Church of the Jesuits), *S. Andrea della Valle,* the *Sapienza,* and *S. Carlo al Corso.* But every dome is surpassed by St. Peter's; it rises on the left near the slope of a hill. On the right near the Tiber the façade of the new basilica of St. Paul's is seen shining with the golden splendor of mosaic. The view from the golden mountain is so beautiful, so charming, that the spectator involuntarily exclaims: "He that has stood here once can never be quite unhappy, for in his greatest suffering the memory of this view would sweeten the bitterest drop of woe."

Once Christ said to Peter: "When thou wast younger, thou didst gird thyself, and didst walk where thou wouldst. But when thou shalt be old, thou shalt stretch forth thy hands, and another shall gird thee, and lead thee whither thou wouldst not." Christ said this, as the evangelist explicitly states, in order to indicate by what kind of a death Peter would glorify God. Peter stretched out his hands and Roman slaves bound him to the cross. All Rome lay at his feet, the marble Rome of Emperor Augustus, the golden Rome of Nero; everywhere palaces, everywhere towering columns, turrets, and domes, everywhere monuments and memorials of victory, but no cross shone in the morning light, no monument reminded him of Christ. Now there is nothing but domes and towers of cathedrals and churches—all bearing the sign of salvation —as far as the eye can reach. If those who saw the crucifixion of St. Peter could have beheld this new Christian Rome, if they had seen St. Peter's, and if some one had told them that this gigantic structure, this wonderful dome is the sepulcher of the poor fisherman on the cross, it would have been a most beautiful exhortation for them to confess the Faith and the doctrine of Christ. It was currently believed that St. Peter suffered martyrdom for his Master on Montorio; and to keep alive this memory a monument was erected, a small round temple enclosed by the walls of a Franciscan monastery. Bramante, who made the plan for St. Peter's, built this little monument to the Prince of the apostles. It was completed in 1502 and although small it nevertheless reminds us of the beautiful Vatican dome. Sixteen col-

Fig. 549. Madonna del Parto. Group by Jacopo Sansovino in S. Agostino

umns of granite with bases and capitals of white marble surround the circular lower story. A small dome covers the second story. In the interior stands a statue of St. Peter; and this little temple, devoid of ornament, is admirable because of its simplicity and beautiful proportions. According to the original plan the rectangular courtyard of the monastery was to be changed into a circular structure surrounded by a colonnade.

Both the temple and the monastery of the Franciscans were built at the expense of Ferdinand and Isabella, king and queen of Spain. When a part threatened to collapse on account of dangerous cracks, it was again a Spanish king, Philip III, who had the hillside strengthened by masonry, and paid for laying out the piazza in front. The church was built by the architect Baccio Pintelli and consecrated in 1500 in honor of St. Peter. It stands with its simple, tasteful façade at the edge of the hill —a magnificent position. It is rich in remarkable tombs, plastic ornaments, and paintings. The most famous of the latter is the Flagellation of Christ, by Sebastiano del Piombo. In order to create a rival for the great Raphael, Michael Angelo is said to have made the drawing, while Piombo, his friend and follower—who like most Venetians possessed an excellent color technique—was to do the brush-work. Thus the picture was produced by the combined efforts of two artists. The illustration gives us only Michael Angelo's work. One can easily recognize the great master by the way in which the greatest physical pain of the Saviour is expressed by dislocation of the members, contraction and displacement of the muscles, as well as by His sorrowful countenance.

Fig. 550. Madonna with Saints. Painting by Peruzzi in S. Maria della Pace

S. AGOSTINO, S. MARIA DELLA PACE, S. LORENZO IN DAMASO

ROME possesses several other churches belonging to the Renaissance period. Among them is the Church of *S. Agostino* which the French Cardinal d'Estouteville had erected by Giacomo da Pietrasanta (1479-1483). The interior is in the form of a Latin cross, has a high vault, and makes a serious and gloomy impression. It possesses a small dome. Near the entrance there is a marble statue of the Blessed Virgin, Madonna del Parto, by Jacopo Tatti, called Sansovino, a work of high artistic merit, and for the Roman an object of the highest veneration and religious devotion. The prophets are painted on the pillars; one of them, Isaias, by Raphael, evidently painted while under the influence of Michael Angelo's work.

About the same time the Church of *S. Maria della Pace* came into existence. Formerly a church dedicated to St. Andrew—the patron of fishermen and water-carriers—stood in its place. In the Middle Ages, after the aqueducts had been destroyed, the water-carriers in Rome were a numerous and important guild. Kneeling before a picture of the Madonna venerated in that church, Sixtus IV, threatened by war, prayed to the Blessed Virgin to intercede for him and gratefully

FIG. 551. THE CAPELLA CHIGI IN S. MARIA DEL POPOLO

FIG. 552. THE PROPHET JONAS, BY RAPHAEL AND LORENZETTO IN S. MARIA DEL POPOLO

attributed to her the restoration of peace between Naples, Florence, Milan, and the Papal States. In memory of this peace (Dec. 23, 1482) the Pope caused the present church to be built by his architect, Baccio Pintelli. Alexander VII restored it after the Peace of Westphalia (1648) and also built its large, semicircular porch. The plan of the church is simple; there is a short nave to which is joined an octagonal structure supporting a cupola; both are surrounded by chapels. The most remarkable of these is the one on the right nearest the entrance, the founder of which, Agostino Chigi—a famous patron of art and a rich banker of Siena—wished the small free space to be painted with pictures of sibyls and prophets as Michael

Angelo had covered the vault of the Sistine. Raphael, Michael Angelo's greatest rival, was induced to undertake the task.

Raphael painted the sibyls on a small strip of wall above the altar which is pierced by the niche of the choir, an unsuitable place; but, as Goethe says, "Without the peculiar space limitations the picture would not be so inestimably full of genius." We have seen how Michael Angelo represented the sibyls. In order to mark them as God-inspired and God-instructed foretellers of the future he made them of heroic proportions. Raphael proceeds differently: he gives beauty, grace, and charming movement to the sibyls' figures, as their chief characteristics; but at the same time, in order to represent the maidens as sibyls, as chosen revealers of God's decrees, they appear as companions of the angels of God, who reveal to them secrets of the future which they are to tell the world. With Michael Angelo this was not necessary; their appearance alone shows them to be sibyls, superhuman and more sublime than Raphael's graceful, pleasing depiction; but Raphael's are the more distinct because the duty of the seers has been brought closer to the mind of the

Fig. 553. Cupola Decoration of the Capella Chigi in S. Maria del Popolo

Fig. 554. Sepulchral Monument of Cardinal Girolamo Basso, by Andrea Sansovino in S. Maria del Popolo

spectator by their proximity to the angels of God.

The inscriptions on these mural paintings express the master's belief that the sibyls were heralds of the Resurrection. The Cumæan sibyl, on the extreme left, holds the book of prophecies in one hand while with the other she takes from an angel a manuscript roll upon which is written: "Resurrection from Death." At her side is the Persian sibyl leaning upon the edge of the arch and writing upon the angel's tablet: "He is doomed to death." Upon the shield of the angel between them we read the words: "Toward the light." The two sisters of fate on the right side—the Phrygian and the aged Tiburtine—are guided by an angel toward the words: "Heaven encloses the space of earth," while another angel says: "And I shall rise from the dead." Above, in the center of the whole group, is an angel raising a blazing torch, symbolic of the enlightening of the heathen by sibylline revelations.

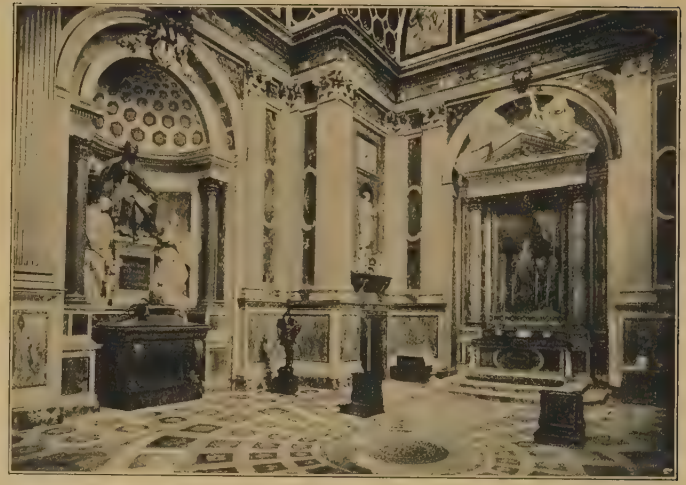
Two pictures above these and on both sides of the window represent the four prophets foretelling the Resurrection. Raphael made the sketches, while his compatriot and assistant Timoteo Viti (1515) painted them, and although they have been retouched we can still recognize characteristics of Raphael's drawing. If he gave the sibyls sublime female beauty, to the prophets he gave the nobility and dignity of venerable old men. Daniel alone has been represented in the flower of manhood, a youthful figure busily writing, his face showing heavenly inspiration and patient waiting. At his side is King David in the robes of the high priest; he carries a tablet inscribed with some words from the Psalms suggested by an angel: "I have risen from the dead and am still with you." The second picture is equally admirable. Jonas gazes toward heaven with intense expectation; on his left Osee points to his prophecy. There is no need for Daniel to point to any words of Scripture, for his description of the Last Judgment is well known; and Jonas after three days at the bottom of the sea becomes a blessed symbol of the Resurrection.

There is a beautiful story about Raphael's mural paintings in *S. Maria della Pace.* The master had received 500 scudi (about $500) on account from the cashier of Chigi before beginning the work. After its completion he requested payment of the rest, but the cashier thought enough had been paid for the pictures. Raphael asked to have the work appraised by a connoisseur and Michael Angelo was chosen by the cashier, who believed that Raphael's rival would not overvalue the work. Michael Angelo looked at the pictures in silence and when urged at length to give his opinion he pointed to the head of one of the sibyls, saying: "This head alone is worth a hundred scudi."

"And the others?" asked the cashier.

"They are not worth any less," replied the great master.

When Chigi heard of this he hastily paid



Palace, Façade of the Basilica, Courtyard, and Corsini Chapel—The Lateran

the hundred scudi for each head. "For," he said, "if Raphael asks us to pay for the drapery as well, we are ruined."

Besides these pictures the church possesses many other remarkable mural paintings, by Albani, Sermoneta, and Raphael's friend Baldassare Peruzzi, who was not only a famous architect but a thorough painter, as is shown by his picture of the Madonna in the chapel opposite Raphael's sibyls. On the right side of the Mother and Child is St. Bridget, on the left St. Catherine, beautiful and characteristic figures and full of sincerity despite their freedom of execution. In the foreground kneels Cardinal Ponzetti, the donor of the chapel, receiving the divine Child's blessing.

The Church of *S. Lorenzo* received the surname *"in Damaso"* because Pope Damasus (366-384) built here a basilica of five naves in honor of St. Laurence and adjoining it a magnificent structure for an archive of the Roman Church. Toward the end of the fifteenth century the church and the palace for the Papal Chancery were rebuilt.

Excepting St. Peter's, the richest of Roman churches in monuments is that of St. Mary of the People (*S. Maria del Po-*

Fig. 555. The Assumption. Painting by Pinturicchio in S. Maria del Popolo

Fig. 556. St. Bruno. Statue by Houdon in S. Maria degli Angeli

*polo*). Sixtus IV (1471-1484), of the della Rovere family, had it built probably by the Tuscan architect Meo del Caprina. His nephew, Julius II, enlarged the choir, his architect being the great Bramante. This was the chosen monumental church of the Roveri and their intimate friends. Neither in the interior nor on the outside are special excellences visible; it is a structure consisting of three naves spanned by groined vaults and having a row of chapels on each side. The august donors of the chapels have equipped them splendidly. The most beautiful is the *Capella Chigi*, the sepulchral chapel of the rich Sienese banker Chigi, who lived in Rome and was a patron of Raphael in architecture, sculpture, and painting. The ground-plan is composed of five sides of an octagon; above a system of simple and coupled pilasters rises the circular "tambour," and this drum is covered by a dome of eight parts. The mosaics in the cupola are in eight panels and depict the symbols and allegories of the planets and heavenly bodies. From the lantern the all-ruling Creator looks down. In the niches below are the four prophets who foretell the Resurrection: Jonas, the most beautiful of them all, who has just escaped from the whale's belly, is a happy conception of Raphael, executed by Lorenzetto, who also painted Elias; Daniel and Habacuc are by Bernini. The bronze relief on the altar-table, showing the woman of Samaria, was

Fig. 557. Nave of S. Maria degli Angeli

made, it is thought, by Lorenzetto, after a sketch by Raphael. Sin, redemption, and resurrection are represented in the remaining pictorial works in this chapel.

Among the many beautiful sepulchral monuments in the church two in the choir surpass all others in grandeur and beauty: one is the tomb of Cardinal Girolamo Basso, a nephew of Sixtus IV, and the other of Cardinal Ascanio Maria Sforza. Both are of white marble, sculptured by Andrea da Sansovino, and are the most beautiful Renaissance sculptures in all Italy. Architecture plays the chief part, making a monumental frame for sculpture and decoration which are managed in a wonderfully tasteful and harmonious manner. The two resemble each other, the tomb consisting of three parts, of which the central contains a niche with the sarcophagus, on which reposes a sleeping figure of the cardinal, his head resting on his right hand. It is very instructive to contrast these tombs with the baroque Papal monuments in St. Peter's comparing architecture with architecture, sculpture with sculpture, ornament with ornament, and then draw conclusions as to the general effect.

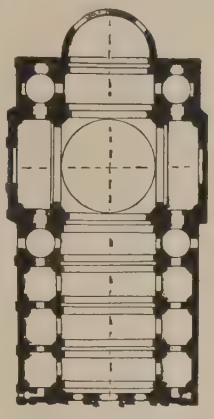


Fig. 558. Ground-Plan of the Church of Il Gesù

The painter Bernardino di Betto, called Pinturicchio, celebrates his triumphs in *S. Maria del Popolo.* Although not a painter of the first rank, Betto is one of the most skilled and rich in color, especially effective when he frames his pictures in white, colored, or gilded stucco; then he becomes a magician. It was thus he painted in the vault of the choir the Ascension, four Fathers of the Latin Church, and four sibyls, whose effect upon the eye is enchanting.

### S. MARIA DEGLI ANGELI

THE Church of *S. Maria degli Angeli* (Our Lady of the Angels) is not a Renaissance structure but a magnificent work of ancient Rome in the Baths of Diocletian. Pius IV, everywhere active in the early Renaissance, ordered Michael Angelo to change the long hall that was 90.6 meters long and 27 meters wide by 28 meters high, into a church with a single nave. It was then handed over to the Carthusians, who in 1749 altered Michael Angelo's plan, making a transept out of the long hall and building a porch and narrow choir among the ruins of the Baths, so as to have a nave. The Italian government intends to return to Michael Angelo's original plan, in which event we shall enter from the southeast directly into the chief hall and be at once impressed by its extraordinary length and size. Eight ancient columns of oriental syenite stand on the sides, each a monolith 11.6 meters high; the real bases are concealed beneath the floor. In the porch we find the beautiful statue of St. Bruno by the French sculptor Houdon. Clement XIV said of this statue that it would speak if speaking were not forbidden by the Carthusians.

## 4. THE RELIGIOUS MONUMENTS OF THE BAROQUE STYLE

IN the year 1568 Giacomo Barozzi, called Vignola, began building the Jesuit church *Il Gesù,* and finished it up to the chief cornice. After his death in 1575 his pupil, Giacomo della Porta, took his place and finished the building, partially changing the plan. This church is the foremost monument of the baroque style in Rome. In other countries, as in Ger-

many and France, the baroque was succeeded by the rococo in the early part of the eighteenth century. Then followed the thin, compact, classic style, then a passing Hellenism, then Romanticism with the Gothic and Romanesque styles of the Middle Ages, until, finally, the modern style appeared, following paths quite its own. While Rome felt almost nothing of these changes, in the nineteenth century the baroque (in Rome) became more moderate, more quiet, and somewhat more classic. But the baroque still rules the Romans, and even to-day it is their favorite style.

It is the prevailing custom with some historians of art, critics, and "guides through Rome" to call whatever the baroque created, built, painted, or sculptured an aberration of taste and to pass it by with a shrug of the shoulders. This is unjust. These critics force artistic judgment and productions of art into fixed grooves and patterns; and whatever does not fit is rejected as worthless. They all consider baroque productions unfit for a church and contrary to the dignity of religion.

The baroque style is an effect of its time just as every other style is, and, strange as it may sound, is the result of a time of ecclesiastical uplift and religious rejuvenation. It began in Rome, the residence of the Popes, and the center of the Church —in Rome where were then living a great number of saintly men who nursed and nourished the new ecclesiastical life.

It is an inversion of facts and a misunderstanding of natural possibilities and developments, if adherents of different creeds maintain that the baroque in art produced the religious rejuvenation of ecclesiastical life, or that the times were a result of the baroque and not vice versa— a nonsensical deduction.

To condemn the baroque in general is to condemn the age which produced it and in which it conquered the world as no other style has. In saying this the excellencies of every style, many of them greater and nobler, are by no means attacked; but the baroque, too, has its good qualities.

The highest artistic aim of this style is to create a uniform total space, broken by no column, by no pillar, but in which the

FIGS. 559–560. S. MARIA IN CAMPITELLI AND S. ANDREA DELLA VALLE

Fig. 561. St. Mark. Fresco by Domenichino in S. Andrea della Valle

horizontal division predominates. The former styles divided the interior space of the church into several naves by means of rows of columns and pillars; but the baroque wishes to keep the entire interior undivided as a single unit of space, so that every one may have a free and unimpeded view of the pulpit and the altar. Even if pillars are employed in baroque churches they are not intended to give the interior triple division. The side aisles are made so narrow that they serve merely as passageways, and the pillars are used to make the principal space larger and to give it more width and light. This principal space is covered by an undivided barrel-vault or dome. The greatest successes in building for unbroken space and largeness were reached, not by Roman, not by Italian architects, but by the masters who built in southern Germany, Switzerland, and Austria. Unlike these architects the Italians almost universally placed a dome over the intersection of nave and transept; and since the time of the Renaissance a cupola towering above the whole structure and binding it into unity has been the ideal of architects.

Fig. 562. SS. Domitilla, Nereus, and Achilleus. Painting by Rubens in S. Maria in Vallicella

A second characteristic peculiarity of the baroque is a striving after magnificence and splendor, an effort for motion and pictorial effect. The surfaces, especially those of the barrel-vaults and domes, are decorated with gigantic paintings—scenes of celestial events and glories predominating—and between these pictures are many stucco ornaments, some white, some gilded. The walls shine with marble tablets and the pilasters show gilded flutings. All architectural elements such as pilasters, columns, and pediments are doubled and tripled where one would suffice. By degrees the straight line appears too mathematical, too consequent, and too logical, and then the curved waving line predominates in the ground-plan, more so in the ornament, in construction, cornices, and entablatures. The way was thus opened to men of mediocre talent to transgress, exaggerate, and debase this style.

The number of baroque artists in Rome and Italy who are thorough and capable is legion. In Rome two names shine

brightest: Bernini, who did not always produce works wholly free from objectionable features, and Borromini.

Bernini's triumphs made Borromini restless, for he wanted to outdo Bernini, to surpass him with new and impossible productions, till, at last, he despaired of himself and his art.

Rome is full of the baroque in architecture, sculpture, and painting. It gives to the city on the Tiber its chief characteristic impression, yet it angers us because it attacks the work of other and better days and does not spare a single basilica or a single structure of the Renaissance. The mixture of styles in St. Peter's is explained by the long time consumed in erecting this marvel.

### THE GESÙ AND S. IGNAZIO

THE Church of *Il Gesù* has a single nave 34 meters broad. From it high arches open toward the niches of the side altars. It is intersected by the transept and covered by a barrel-vault of a wide span, which is pierced by side windows that permit a bright but quiet light to enter from above. The effect of space is grand and sublime, and the spirit of a free, brilliant treatment breathes from every part of this church. In the nave a single gigantic picture on the ceiling by Giovanni Battista Gaulli represents the triumph of the name of Jesus. Two chief altars in the transept are magnificent, especially the one to the left, which is consecrated to St. Ignatius. Gilded bronze, precious metals, and the most costly stones, such as malachite, verd-antique, *giallo antico,* and lapis lazuli abound, in addition to plastic groups in marble, notably the "Victory of Faith," by Teudon, and the "Triumph of Religion," by Legros. The exterior of the church is very simple, the façade clumsy, the dome compressed in an ugly fashion—in fact, among many domes it modestly hides itself. *Il Gesù* became a model for many churches, especially those of the Jesuits; but high open galleries were often built in the nave above the chief cornice and over the side chapels.

The second Jesuit church, *S. Ignazio,* planned by the Jesuit Fr. Grassi and completed in 1685, has three naves, but its side aisles are low and of little importance. On the ceiling of the central nave is a gigantic painting by the Jesuit Fr. Pozzo, the greatest virtuoso among the baroque artists. Above the real architectural structure is a painted architecture which opens upward and shows in the far distance the assumption of St. Ignatius into heaven. Hosts of angels descend upon heavy, brownish clouds, which, higher in the sky, seem to dissolve in a delicate white light of glory. Illustrations of both these churches are shown on the opposite page.

### THE FOUR GREAT POPULAR CHURCHES

THE adjective "great" is to be taken relatively; these churches are not so spacious as the convent or collegiate churches in southern Germany, but they are larger than the majority of churches in Rome, and are at the same time those which the people most frequently visit and like the best.

*S. Maria in Vallicella,* called also *Chiesa Nuova, i.e.,* the New Church, is the church of the Congregation of the Oratory. It was built by the Congregation's founder, St. Philip Neri, begun in 1509 by Giovanni Matteo, and completed in 1605 by Martino Lunghi. The interior has three naves and side rows of chapels, and is splendidly equipped. The greatest ornaments of the choir are three very beautiful paintings by Rubens, which the master painted in Rome; in the center is the Madonna in her glory, to the right St.

FIGS. 563–566. FAÇADES OF THE CHURCHES OF S. MARIA IN VALLICELLA, S. IGNAZIO, S. SUSANNA, AND IL GESÙ

Fig. 567. S. Agnese on the Piazza Navona

in a broad, free, yet elegant manner, and are not only of great beauty as pictures, but have become an essential part of the space. The façade of this church, a work of Rainaldi (1665), speaks in firmer and louder accents; columns take the place of pilasters; the framework, cornices, entablatures, all project so far that they cast a deeper and stronger shadow, thus producing a more picturesque perspective effect.

A similarly rich, but most harmonious façade is that of the Church of *S. Susanna,* by Maderna, while the façade of *S. Maria in Campitelli* is too crowded and too loud.

Gregory with SS. Maurus and Papias, and to the left St. Domitilla with her chamberlains SS. Nereus and Achilleus. The façade of the church is simple and impresses one with its moderation, nobility, and dignity.

The church of the Theatines, *S. Andrea della Valle,* possesses a large, magnificent, spacious single nave. It was begun in 1591 by Pietro Paolo Olivieri. Carlo Maderna built the choir and the beautiful high dome. Recently the church has been restored. It is a pity that the gold decoration gives a predominating yellow tone to the interior. How much more beautiful is the dome, white and showing but moderate gilding! In the choir are very beautiful paintings by Domenichino; the evangelists below the dome have been sketched

*S. Carlo al Corso* (on the Corso), built since 1610 by the two Lunghi, father and son, is remarkable for its disposal of space; its decoration is not so good as its architecture. The Church of the Apostles (*SS. Apostoli*), begun in 1702 by Francesco Fontana and consecrated in 1724, is one of the most beautiful churches. Under the magnificent columnar arcade of the vestibule and in the interior are remarkable sepulchral monuments, among them that of Pope Clement XIV (1769-1774) by Canova, the sculptor's first public work. In this statue of the Pope we still perceive a faint trace of the baroque. The two allegorical figures, Gentleness and Moderation, and the general construction of this tomb are in the purely Roman-Classic style.

## CENTRAL CHURCHES OF THE BAROQUE

St. Peter's Basilica was planned by Bramante and Michael Angelo as a central structure, but unfortunately it turned out otherwise. However, there are two other churches which give us, on a smaller scale, an idea of what a gigantic exemplar St. Peter's might and should have been.

The first of these churches is *S. Carlo ai Catinari* (Among the Potters, *i.e.* in the pottery quarter). Rosati began the structure in 1612 and Giovanni Battista Soria added the tasteful façade. The ground-plan resembles a Greek cross with equal arms having chapels in the diagonals between the arms of the cross. Four cof-

Sepulchral Monuments of Hadrian VI, in S. Maria dell' Anima; Eugene IV, in S. Salvatore in Lauro; Cardinal Roverella, in S. Clemente; and the Brothers Bonsi, in S. Gregorio

fered arches carry the light and slenderly rising dome. The construction is very noble and effective. *S. Carlo* has paintings by Domenichino, but they do not approach those in *S. Andrea*.

Much larger and much more pretentious is *S. Agnese* (St. Agnes) on the Piazza Navona, by Carlo Rainaldi (1652). High columns enclose on the façade the structure of the portals, and two narrow wings join them by means of curves. Above rise two lavishly decorated towers, square below and cylindrical above. The church itself is planned on the Greek cross. In the interior the arms of the cross are covered with barrel-vaults which serve as a counterpoise for the mighty dome that rises in a most beautiful curve. The windows admit a gentle, subdued light.

## 5. THE LATERAN CHURCH

IT may seem strange that St. John Lateran, one of the oldest churches in Rome, is described with the monuments of the baroque style, but its history will explain this.

In the eastern part of the city, on a spur of the Cœlian Hill, a branch of the old Roman family of the Laterani had a magnificent palace which, because of a conspiracy, was declared by Nero to be public property. The palace became the property of Fausta, wife of Emperor Constantine; she gave it to Pope Sylvester (314-337) and changed the halls of the palace into a basilica. Hence come its oldest names, Constantine or Lateran Basilica; but the name was often changed. From a vision of St. Sylvester, to whom appeared a picture of the Saviour borne by two angels, it was called the Church of the Most Holy Saviour. St. Gregory hails it as the Golden Basilica, for almost incredible stories are told of the splendor and magnificence of the gold and silver offerings made by Constantine. Since the ninth century it has been known as St. John Lateran, after a monastery dedicated to John the Baptist and John the Evangelist.

This basilica surpasses all other churches in Rome, even St. Peter's, in ecclesiastical rank, for it is the cathedral, the Bishop's church, and as such—as an inscription on the façade tells us—it is "the mother and the head of all churches of the city as well as of the earth." Hence came the custom of each newly consecrated Pope solemnly proceeding to the Lateran to take possession of his cathedral. Since the occupation of Rome by United Italy this solemn ceremony has been omitted. The old palace of the Laterani next to the basilica was the home of the Popes from Sylvester's time until the fourteenth cen-

FIG. 568. SEPULCHRAL MONUMENT OF CLEMENT XIV, BY CANOVA IN SS. APOSTOLI

tury; hence it was called the *Patriarchium.*

The Lateran has a rich and beautiful history. The importance which the Vatican has to-day was for a thousand years attached to the Lateran church as the center of Rome and of the Catholic world. One hundred and sixty-one Popes have resided in the palace, sixteen larger Church councils, and five general councils were held either in the basilica or in the *Patriarchium.* During the council under Callixtus II (1123) more than 300 bishops and 600 abbots came on the Pope's summons. Under Innocent II (1139) the number of the princes of the Church in attendance amounted to a full thousand. Among the prelates who attended the synod in 1179 under Alexander III, when the Catholic world was divided into two parties on account of the stubbornness of a German emperor, we hear of two Scotch bishops, of whom one made the journey to Rome on a single horse, the other on foot; and of an Irish bishop whose sole revenue was the milk of three cows. The most splendid council was opened in the year 1215 by the great Pope Innocent III; 412 bishops, 71 archbishops, more than 800 abbots and priors, and ambassadors and envoys of almost all Christian rulers were present. The crowd was indescribable; the archbishop of Amalfi was crushed by the vast concourse in the courtyard of the church. The last council in the Lateran Church was held from 1512 to 1517 under Julius II and Leo X.

The *Patriarchium,* the former residence of the Pope, was a large irregular structure, the various parts of which were added through many centuries. After the Popes changed their residence to Avignon a fire in 1308 destroyed the palace. Several Popes repaired and rebuilt it, but it again fell into decay and in the sixteenth century there existed nothing but bare, ruined walls with dilapidated shrines, open halls with valuable mural decorations, to remind us of the glory of former days. Sixtus V had the débris removed and the present immense palace built. It is in the baroque style and was intended for a Papal residence as well as a meeting-place for ecclesiastical consistories and councils.

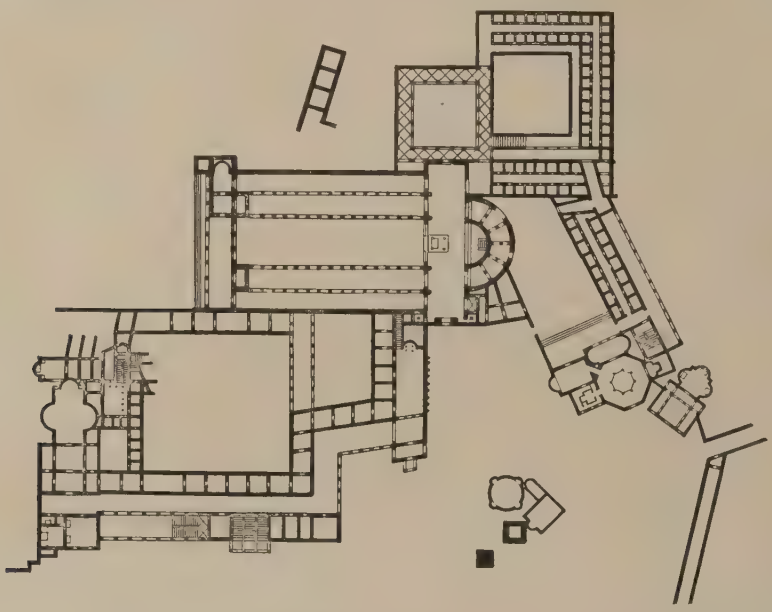


Fig. 569. Ground-Plan of the Old Patriarchium Together with the Basilica and Baptistery of the Lateran

But the great distance from St. Peter's and the lonely, deserted, even unhealthy neighborhood was unfavorable, and the successors of Sixtus V have all occupied the Vatican. The nearer and more beautifully situated Quirinal with its gardens, parks, and magnificent views was much better adapted for a summer residence.

Less is known of the remote history of the Lateran church than of any other of the great basilicas of Rome. None had such an adverse fate; in 896 it was destroyed by an earthquake and Sergius III (904-911) rebuilt it. In 1308 the church and palace were destroyed by fire; but through the efforts of Clement V the church arose from its ashes more beautiful than before and more splendid. In 1361 it again suffered from fire. "The Lateran lies on the ground, the mother of all churches lacks a roof, and is open to the wind and rain," thus Petrarch writes to Gregory XI at Avignon. The honor of the Papacy demanded that the Bishop's basilica should be thoroughly renovated, and almost all the successors of Gregory XI contributed anew to its splendor.

In 1650 when it again needed restoration Innocent X gave the work to the architect Borromini, whose name is synonymous with many aberrations of the baroque. He completely changed the appearance of the venerable basilica and gave it characteristics of his style, which it now bears.

Fig. 570. Mosaic Work by Jacopo Torriti in the Choir of the Lateran

The main façade of the church, which Clement XII chose Alessandro Galilei in 1733 to build of Travertine broad-stone, makes a grand and very harmonious impression; it is beyond doubt one of the most beautiful modern church façades in Rome. It has two stories, each of five arcades. These arcades have an imposing frame and are beautifully separated by pillars and columns that extend through both stories. Formerly the Pope used to bestow his Papal blessing on Ascension Day from the middle arcade of the second story, which is surmounted by a gable. Above the high cornice, crowned with a balustrade, there are fourteen gigantic

FIGS. 571–572. INTERIOR VIEW AND NEW CHOIR OF THE CHURCH OF ST. JOHN LATERAN

statues which, though not wholly pleasing when viewed at close range, are from a distance very picturesque because they are visible from all the high points in Rome as well as from the distant Campagna. Five gates lead into the church, which has five naves. When seen from the threshold of the chief portal the interior looks very grand and majestic. The high, broad, central nave, the bright masses of light which stream through the lofty windows and are reflected by the mirror-like surfaces of the polished marble floor (laid by Martin V, 1417-1431); the beautiful gilded ceiling, said to have been sketched by Michael Angelo; the choir shining with gold and marble—all this unites to produce a splendidly effective whole. Six pillars on the right as well as on the left support the central nave. Formerly it was upheld by a row of columns as in other basilicas. Borromini, however, joined two columns into one immense pillar like a pilaster, and part of them are, therefore, still enclosed in the mass of new masonry.

Fig. 573. Sepulchral Monument of Leo XIII in the Lateran

Fig. 574. Pietà. Group by Montauti in the Corsini Chapel, Lateran

The twelve pillars are triply divided. Below is a rich and preciously adorned niche for the gigantic statue of an apostle; above are scenes from the Old and New Testaments in relief, over which the prophets may be seen. The mosaics in the choir are the most valuable artistic property of the church. They show the heavenly Jerusalem; in the uppermost panel is a half-length picture of the Saviour, beneath it the cross, and on either side, still lower, the souls of those redeemed by the cross and who have received the grace of the Holy Ghost; two rows of the chosen are led by the Blessed Virgin and the disciples of Christ. In order to gain room Pius IX began to build a new choir, whose architects were the Vespignani, father and son.

The valuable mosaics from the old apse were transferred to the new tribune. Using older mosaics as models Nicholas IV (1288-1292) had these made by two Franciscan monks, Fra Jacopo Torriti and Fra Jacopo da Camerino. The Holy Ghost hovers above, and beneath is a noble half-length figure of the Saviour, dating from the fourth or fifth century; a little further beneath is the cross, from whose base spring the four streams of paradise, stags and lambs drinking of the water. At the sides are rows of saints with the

Fig. 575. Triclinium of Leo III near the Lateran

Blessed Virgin at their head. The apostles are between the windows. The socle of the new choir (completed under Leo XIII in 1887) follows the style of the ancient Christian basilica, and above it we see the richest Italian Renaissance, the Lateran, therefore, embodying the best of all periods. The newest mural paintings in the choir are symbolical pictures without value. On the right side of the choir above the entrance to the passageway around the apse Leo XIII built a sepulchral monument in honor of Innocent III; it is technically a good work, but lacks every grand trait. On the opposite side rises the monument to Leo XIII erected in his honor by the cardinals he had chosen. The Pope is bestowing his blessing, the attitude reminding us strongly of the figure of Clement XIV by Canova; on the left, below, we see a pilgrim ("To the Father come the sons full of reverence"); at the right the mourning Church ("The Church sighed and complained as the whole earth wept with her").

The Lateran is very rich in sacred possessions. In the Papal chief altar is the wooden table upon which, according to trustworthy tradition, St. Peter and his successors offered the Holy Sacrifice in the Catacombs. This altar is, therefore, the only one in the world in which no relics of saints are preserved, for the sacrificial table of the Prince of the apostles has inherently a special and extraordinary sacredness. The high Gothic baldachin which covers the altar preserves the heads of the Princes of the apostles and other precious relics that increase the high rank and dignity of this church. The Lateran, furthermore, glories in the fact that it possesses the cedar table at which the Saviour with His disciples celebrated the Last Supper and instituted the new bloodless sacrifice. In former times this table was covered with silver plates, but the greed of thieving soldiers during the Sack of Rome in 1527 is responsible for their disappearance.

A number of richly decorated chapels adjoin the side aisles; the names of their donors are those of the most famous old

Fig. 576. Silk Embroidery of the Annunciation in the Chapel Sancta Sanctorum, Lateran

and new noble Roman families, such as Orsini, Massimi, Lancelotti, Torlonia, and others. These chapels, especially the Torlonia, possess magnificent sepulchral monuments, none of which, however, surpasses in beauty and splendor the Corsini chapel on the left side nearest the entrance. Clement XII, of the noble Corsini family, built it in honor of his relative St. Andrew Corsini, bishop of Fiesole (died 1373) and as a sepulcher for his family, which is still flourishing. Nothing could be more gemlike than this shrine formed like a Greek cross. From socle to dome the walls are covered with costly and tasteful marble plates and the golden coffers and rosettes of the dome are repeated in the marble mosaic floor. Besides Clement XII four cardinals of the Corsini found their last resting-place in this chapel; the cardinals lie in magnificent marble sarcophagi, the Pope in a priceless porphyry basin that formerly stood in the ancient baths of Agrippa. The altar is dedicated to St. Andrew Corsini; at its left stairs lead down into a crypt lit by a single covered lamp, whose mild rays fall on a beautiful marble group, an exquisite "Pietà" by Montauti. The body of the Saviour is leaning against broken pieces of masonry; Mary, with loving and sorrowful face, is supporting His head. The picture takes the visitor by surprise and is doubly touching with its dim illumination.

It is mentioned as one of the praiseworthy acts of Leo III (796-799) that in the Papal residence in the Lateran he built a *triclinium,* or large dining-hall, for entertaining emperors and princes or to give festive dinners at Christmas and Easter. On the day of the Resurrection and to commemorate the Passover, the Easter of the Old Testament, the Pope here distributed a lamb that had been blessed among the eleven Cardinals and other illustrious guests at his table. Three apsides of the hall were adorned with remarkable mosaics, fragments of which existed until the last century. In 1743, to preserve their memory, Benedict XIV caused an imitation of the central one to be inserted in a newly built arch. In the conch (or shell) Christ appears in the midst of His disciples; on His lips are the words: "Go ye therefore and teach all nations," and, "Lo, I am with you all days, even to the consummation of the world." On the lateral front walls of the apse two smaller pictures express the idea that spiritual and temporal power on earth are emanations of divine power. On the left side St. Sylvester and Constantine kneel before the throne of Christ; the Pope with a circular halo and the pallium—the sign of his priestly dignity—receives from the hand of Christ the keys of spiritual power; and the emperor, with a square halo and a crown, and armed with sword and spurs, receives the banner of the cross, decorated with roses. In the picture on the right Peter, the Vicar of Christ, is seated on a throne and gives Leo III the stole as a symbol of ecclesiastical power; on Charlemagne he bestows the banner which as

Fig. 577. Enamel Cross in the Chapel Sancta Sanctorum

protector of Rome and defender of the Church he is to bear. If kings, like Constantine and Charlemagne, if emperors and rulers would regard their power as a fief from the hands of Christ, and if, like those great princes, they had always stood firmly by the spiritual power, then what is written above the chief picture would be true to-day: "Glory to God in the highest and on earth peace to men of good will."

The Chapel of the Most Holy Saviour of the Holy Stairs (*Scala Santa*) adjoins the Lateran Church. It was once the private chapel of the Popes in the *Patriarchium* and was called the Chapel of the Most Holy (*Sancta Sanctorum*) on account of the great number of precious relics it enshrines. The old chapel having fallen into serious disrepair, the present Italian-Gothic one was erected during the reign of Nicholas III (1277-1289), by Cosmatus. Many of the relics and their caskets date back many centuries, even to ancient Christian times, and were kept in the walls of the chapel and in a special room. The most valuable, however, were in the altar-table behind heavy bars and under iron locks. Fr. Florian Jubaru S.J. who wrote a life of St. Agnes, received Papal permission to open the locks, because old records stated that the head of St. Agnes was among the relics; this proved to be correct. When, previous to this investigation, these gates had been opened God alone knows. P. Grisar, a historian of Rome and of the Popes of the Middle Ages, could not rest until he, too, received permission from Pius X to look at this mysterious treasure and to use it for his studies. Not only did he find precious relics, but in their receptacles he recognized valuable objects of art in metal, enamel, ivory, wood, and woven silk of the highest interest; a golden cross richly adorned with enamel enclosed in a silver receptacle, the cross probably dating farther back than the time of Pope Sergius (687-701); a second golden cross

Fig. 578. The Scala Santa (Holy Stairs) Lateran

Interiors of Il Gesù and S. Maria in Vallicella

Fig. 579. Santa Croce in Gerusalemme

richly set with pearls, also in a silver receptacle and dating perhaps from the sixth century; a silver box of the time of Honorius III (1216-1227) containing the head of St. Agnes; also a Greek shrine for relics with plastic figures of saints and enamel medallions dating from the tenth century, containing the head of St. Praxedes. A silk picture of the Annunciation dating from the sixth to the ninth century is unsurpassed in the beauty of its weaving. The majority of what was found and the most valuable objects of art have since been placed in a room next to the Vatican Library. Sixtus V brought the Holy Stairs (*Scala Santa*) to the Lateran. According to a legend these steps were brought from Jerusalem to Rome by the Empress Helena. They are from the official palace of Pilate, the steps which Christ ascended in the days of His suffering and on the topmost of which He stood as *Ecce Homo*. Tradition receives additional confirmation through the fact that the twenty-eight steps are cut from oriental Tyrian marble and that in the palace of Pilate in Jerusalem, now a barracks, the steps of the entrance are missing. In order to protect the venerable relic from wear and tear, Clement XII caused a pierced or open-work wooden covering to be placed over it. Pious custom demands that the steps upon which Christ stood as the suffering Saviour be ascended on one's knees and that on each step a short prayer be said. Adjoining the pillars at the base are two beautiful marble groups by Giacometti: on the right "Christ Betrayed by the Kiss of Judas"; on the left "Christ Shown to the People"—*Ecce Homo.*

In the quiet and lonesome quarters of the Lateran is the Church of the Holy Cross in Jerusalem (*Santa Croce in Gerusalemme*). Led by the entreaties of St. Helena, his mother, Constantine built here in 330 a church as large as a palace. Only the exterior walls of the original structure remain; the interior has been changed several times, last of all by Benedict XIV, who freely employed the baroque style of his era. The church receives its name from the remarkable relics it possesses. According to tradition St. Helena sought and found in Jerusalem the genuine cross on which Our Saviour died, as well as other instruments of His suffering; these

FIGS. 580–583. EXTERIOR AND INTERIOR VIEWS OF S. GIUSEPPE AND S. GIOACCHINO

Fig. 584. Church of S. Antonio di Padua

she deposited in the then new basilica. Even to-day fragments of the cross, a nail from it, and long, pointed thorns from the crown are shown; and a fragment of the inscription on the cross (made of cedar) which was found in the fifteenth century in the top of the triumphal arch of the church when alterations were in progress. The letters, *intaglio*, are reversed and must be read from right to left; they repeat the inscription in Hebrew, Greek, and Latin.

## 6. THE RELIGIOUS MONUMENTS OF MOST RECENT TIMES

ITALY—and Rome with it—did not follow the changes in style which other countries followed since the eighteenth century, but always clung to a purer and more classic form of the baroque. This is especially the case with Rome and does not speak well for the great activity and intellectual sensibility of her artists. It is only in very recent times that we observe a revival of religious architecture, and this, indeed, was too often but a result of necessity; and for this reason works of original power can not be looked for. Whatever new was produced shows merely eclectic grouping as in the time of Romanticism.

*S. Gioacchino* (St. Joachim) was founded by M. l'Abbé Brugidou, a French clergyman, from contributions of the Catholic world when Leo XIII celebrated his jubilee as a priest. It is a modernized basilica, built by Raffaele Ingani after the plans of De Rossi. The interior has three naves with an arcade of granite columns; over the transept rises an oval dome. Pure art is lost through the effort to obtain effect and splendor.

The church of the Friars Minor, *S. Antonio di Padua* (St. Anthony of Padua), beautifully situated near the Lateran church, was built by Luca Carimini (1893). It is a mixture of the basilica and the Romanesque styles. The interior has three naves with galleries and open rafters; the support of the two stories in the nave being slender granite columns

with a straight entablature giving a monotonous effect and lacking rhythm. The paintings in the apse are poor. The residence of the General and the college of the Friars Minor are built against the church. Similar elements of this style, mixed with those of the Renaissance, are found in the church of the Salesians, *Sacro Cuore di Gesù* (Sacred Heart of Jesus), near the railway station, intended to please the popular taste, and indeed producing a cheerful and bright effect. Vespignani was the architect (1878–1887). It has three naves, a flat, richly gilded wooden ceiling covering the central aisle, while the side aisles are surmounted with small domelike vaults.

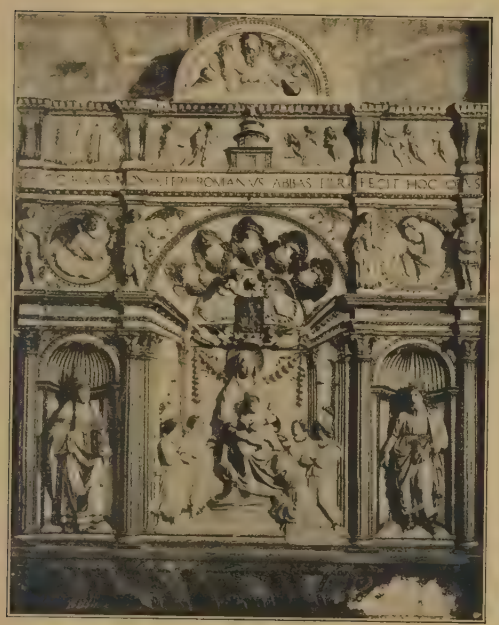
Two other recently built churches have borrowed construction and form from the Romanesque style of Lombardy: one is the church of the Carmelites, *S. Teresa,* on the Corso d'Italia, a beautiful brick and stucco structure whose interior is disfigured by an indescribable coat of dirty brownish-black paint. On the way to *S. Agnese fuori le Mura* lies the second of these churches, *S. Giuseppe* (St. Joseph), built by Bosseri, the architect of St. Peter's, in the same style. The interior is nobly constructed. Wide cross-beams are supported by columns, three coupled round arches on each side standing between them.

Fig. 585. Church of the Sacred Heart of Jesus near the Railroad Station

The newest large religious building is the Church of *S. Camillo,* consecrated in 1911 and built by the Clerks Regular of St. Camillus on Monte Pincio beyond *S. Maria degli Angeli.* It is in the Romanesque style, although Tullio Passarelli, its architect, used dignified native forms such as are often found in churches of the Abruzzi.

The most important, most thoroughly artistic, and most beautiful specimen of modern religious architecture in Rome is the church and the college of the Benedictines, *S. Anselmo,* on the Aventine Hill (1895). The Abbot-Primate de Hemptinne was its builder, architect, and supervisor. The church with its beautiful, spacious crypt closely resembles ancient Christian architecture, while the charmingly picturesque forms of the Italian Romanesque style were chosen for the college. The long projecting and retreating lines of the building, its high belvedere, and its varying fronts make a beautiful crown for this quiet hill.

Beginning with the eighties we see, except in Italy, markedly new styles denominated in general "The Modern Style," a chief characteristic of which is a return to archaic, primitive forms. Rome has yielded only in most recent days to this novelty. Elegant modern villas were built on both sides of the Via Nomentana, and then followed the erection of the most modern church in the new "workingmen's quarter" near the Testaccio Hill, frankly modern and Romanesque. Striving after a grand and spacious effect they nevertheless used constructive and decorative forms of the simplest and most primitive kind. In its plan the structure resembles the Greek cross with equal arms. Four powerful columns and two pillars support the wide span of the nave, and then comes a spacious transept to which the apse is



Altar in S. Gregorio, Tabernacle in S. Marco; Sepulchral Monuments of Cardinal Savelli, in S. Maria in Ara Coeli; and Leo X, in S. Maria Sopra Minerva

joined. The building has its defects because the exterior corresponds but little with the interior; because the domelike tower is closed in the interior and is not sufficiently emphasized; and also because the windows of the central nave pierce the barrel-vault in an ugly fashion. But the spacing is large, wide, and power-

Figs. 586–587. Exterior and Interior Views of the Church of S. Teresa

Fig. 588. Interior of S. Camillo

ful. At present the church contains only white cathedral glass, but after it once gets proper windows its interior will be magnificent. To-day everything looks too strange, too new, especially the primitive forms, which lack every element of decorative detail and are but little understood.

How many churches are there in new Christian Rome? Some say as many as the days in a year, and others count four hundred. Because of excavations and the opening of new streets many a little church has been closed or moved to another place, so that it is difficult to give the exact number.

Age and religious privileges, magnitude and magnificence have made a distinct order and rank among Rome's churches, corresponding in many instances to the ranks of the Church dignitaries. First in honor and importance are the four patriarchal churches. When the world-empire of the Romans became Christian it was divided into five patriarchal districts. First in dignity was the patriarchal district of Rome; the ecclesiastical power of its incumbent extended over the entire Catholic world, over pastors and flocks, just as to-day the official power of the Pope reaches to the ends of the earth. Then came the patriarchal districts of the Orient—Constantinople, Alexandria, Antioch, and Jerusalem—where the greatest Shepherds and Fathers of the Church occupied bishops' chairs. The Oriental

Fig. 589. Exterior of S. Camillo

Fig. 590. The Benedictine College of S. Anselmo on the Aventine

patriarchal districts no longer exist, for they did not resist the attack of heretic creeds; but Rome preserved their historical memory, their names being transferred to its churches—St. Peter's, St. Paul Outside the Walls, and St. Mary Major. Just as the patriarch of Rome is the head of the Church, so his church—St. John Lateran—is the head and mother of all churches. These four churches and the churches of the Holy Cross, St. Laurence, and St. Sebastian are, with the Lateran, the seven churches of Rome which all pious pilgrims visit, because rich indulgences and special privileges are attached to "a journey to the seven churches." In the case of the patriarchal churches their rank is marked at their "Holy Doors"; on the right of the principal portal is a door closed with masonry and adorned with a simple cross. At the beginning of a jubilee year it is opened with solemn festivities and remains open during the time of grace so as to offer a new entrance to the stream of pilgrims and to symbolize a more copious flow of grace.

Sixty-six other churches, venerable by age and famous relics, have won higher distinction, because fifty-one cardinal priests and fifteen cardinal deacons bear their name and title. In former times the number of parochial churches was eighty-one, but Leo XII reduced it to fifty-four. Pius X added a few new ones in districts recently developed.

The Roman loves the basilicas and sacred places in his native city. The Southerner's character is one that embraces religion with heart and feeling rather than with intellect and a clear understanding; he makes of it not merely a Sunday observance but a principle of life, introducing it directly into his every-day surroundings, where every formality is dropped and where its place is taken by a sincere intimacy. It is an old saying that the Italian, and especially the Roman, stands on an intimate footing with God and His saints. Hence the sober and cal-

Fig. 591. Exterior View of S. Maria Liberatrice in the Testaccio Quarter

FIG. 592. THE CHRIST-CHILD, S. MARIA IN ARA COELI

culating Northerner notices many seemingly startling incidents in the religious festive life in the South.

Should you at Christmastide climb up the 124 marble steps to *S. Maria in Capitolio,* also called *Ara Coeli,* the church with a high, unfinished brick façade, you will hear the gentle voices of preachers resounding through the columned halls. The first chapel at the left of the entrance has been converted into a Christmas landscape representing the birth of the Saviour; in the midst of figures (half life-size) we see the Christ-Child (*il santo Bambino*), beautifully carved out of a part of an olive-tree from the olive garden near Jerusalem, in the sixteenth century. The Romans tell wonderful stories of the graces obtained through this statue. In the afternoon children from six to eight years old stand before the great throng of people to recite the praises of the divine Christ-Child. The sermons do not last long and the preachers constantly relieve one another. It is remarkable with what freedom and certainty, with what earnestness and emotion, with what vivid gestures and expression the children recite; nothing is omitted—neither discussion of the mysteries of the Faith nor quotations cited as proofs, *"Cosi dice San Paolo, Sant' Agostino"* ("as St. Paul, St. Augustine says"), nor the moral. This imitation of Dominican or Franciscan preaching, this transfer of powerful words, earnest thoughts, and noble gestures from a venerable admonitor to a child, is peculiarly pleasing. Indeed, it is hard to say which is greater, the satisfaction of the little preachers or the pleasure of the auditors. The preachers usually close their sermons with the wish: *"Buona festa, Signori!"* ("Merry Christmas, gentlemen!") J. Gaume tells us in his "Journey to Rome": "As I entered a little girl was standing in the pulpit; . . . she spoke with much unction and vivacity. . . . The conclusion was full of enthusiasm. The little girl fell upon her knees, stretched out her hands toward the Christ-Child, addressed a sincere prayer to Him, and then, like an old preacher, bestowed benediction." Almers tells us of a girl who closed her sermon with an exhortation to all to follow her and to offer honor and praise to the dear little Christ-Child on the straw. "Come, come, all of you, all! . . . quick,

FIG. 593. S. MARIA IN ARA COELI ON THE CAPITOLINE

Section of the Ceiling in the Sistine Chapel, Rome, Decorated by Michael Angelo

quick!" A general *"Brava!" "Bravissima!"* arose from the delighted crowd.

Who does not know the love and confidence the Italian has for the Madonna, our dear Lady? The Roman is the last to hide this national trait; and a walk through Rome will prove this. Many houses have a Madonna, sometimes a painting, sometimes a statue; sometimes simple and unadorned, sometimes rich and tasteful; and when the Angelus is rung and twilight falls (night advances more quickly than in the North) a small light is placed before her. A century ago Rome knew no other illumination of the streets than these so-called lights of the divine Mother.

A similar surprise greets you on entering many a store or little shop. In the background or in a corner of the dark room the staple goods form a small niche wherein we find a picture of the Madonna before which burns a tiny flame, glowing with quiet peace and devotion; in the front of the shop every-day life goes on. The light of the Madonna burns in the anteroom of prince and cardinal as in the sitting-room of the laboring man, who lights it in the gloaming in order to say with his family the evening prayers by its gentle, peaceful gleam. Rome celebrates no great feast of the Virgin without the illumination of many homes by rows and rows of colored lanterns. The new spirit of the times has, however, extinguished many of these small lights; but better days will light them again, while more evil ones can never extinguish them all, because the love of the Madonna will never die in the heart of the Southerner.

True, these incidents in the religious life of Rome do not belong to its monuments, which possess world-wide historical importance; but they are like the ivy that clings to the holy buildings, and hence let us take our readers into a death-chapel of Rome. It lies near the Sistine Bridge (*Ponte San Sisto*) and, like other death-chapels, it has a room above ground and one below. During the great week of the dead after All Souls' Day it is most impressive. In the upper church stands a black coffin covered by a black drapery and shaded by cypress-trees; its ornaments are the cross and the skull. The lower room is illuminated with a glaring light; its walls are covered with ornaments such as stars, crosses, flowers, and rosettes in pale, faded colors; but their colors and forms are not the most peculiar part of them; it

Fig. 594. Children Preaching in S. Maria in Ara Coeli. Painting by W. Wider

Fig. 595. Small Altar by Donatello. In the Sacristy of St. Peter's

is the material of which they are constructed—the bones of the dead. Between them are placed whole skeletons holding inscriptions in their bony hands which beg for the prayers of the living or remind us of the vanity of earthly beauty and human greatness. An odd wall-ornamentation; is it not? There are long festoons made of the skulls of children, others of larger skulls, and between them queer forms, arabesques, garlands, friezes for arches, ribs of vaults made of small bones of the hands, legs, shoulder-blades, and ribs; even the candlesticks, from which comes the smoke that fills the room, are made of bones. The echo of penitential psalms sung by the priests and the faithful ("Out of the depths have I cried unto Thee, O Lord!"; "Blessed are they whose iniquities are forgiven, and whose sins are covered"), makes it impossible to imagine a more awesome *Memento Mori.* What a contrast between the room filled with reminders of death and the clear Italian sky above it! The imagination, the vivacity, and hot blood of the Southerner join and separate, explain and overcome everything.

## ARTISTIC GLEANINGS

ROME possesses a great number of works that do not belong to the realm of high monumental art, but have, nevertheless, a high artistic value. They sometimes belong to the field of sculpture or of architecture, sometimes to that of decorative art, like chapels, altars, tabernacles, and sepulchers. The best and most beautiful were produced during the Renaissance, especially in the fifteenth century, when masters worked with a devoted eagerness and youthful, naïve desire, when they could hardly satisfy their longing to create, and when as if by magic blossoms of art burst forth everywhere. Several of these masters have been described: Mino da Fiesole, the Venetian Lorenzo Bregno, Isaia da Pisa, Giovanni Dalmata, and Luigi Capponi. To these must be added the earnest and great Florentine, Donato di Niccolò di Betto Bardi, who was called Donatello. The classic school was introduced by Canova.

Much that belongs here has already been mentioned; we therefore shall select only some characteristic works.

The magnificent chapels in *S. Maria Maggiore,* the Sistine Chapel, and the Pauline, which is perhaps the richest chapel in Rome, have been described, as have also the two fine chapels in the *Gesú* dedicated to St. Ignatius and to St. Francis Xavier. The *Capella Cibò* in *S. Maria del Popolo,* in the form of a Greek cross, is another. It was altered by Carlo Fontana in 1680 for Cardinal Alderano Cibo. The walls are covered to the dome with dark mirror-like marble, and against them stand sixteen reddish columns of "blood"

marble. The Church of *S. Maria del Popolo* is noted above all others for its wealth of beautiful chapels, sepulchers, and altars. The great altar in the vestry by Bregno or Andrea da Milano, who worked on it with Mino da Fiesole, is excellent; the arrangement is pleasing, the plastic forms showing a charming grace. In the gable is the figure of God the Father; in the two side niches the Princes of the apostles and SS. Jerome and Augustine; and in the triangular spaces above the central figure are lovely angels. The founder (1473) was Cardinal Borgia, later Pope Alexander VI. The altar of *S. Gregorio* on the Cœlian Hill is also very charming, though almost too rich in plastic work. The central group gracefully represents the Madonna with the Christ-Child, four angels, and the founder—the abbot of the Monastery of St. Gregory.

The earliest works in Rome of Mino da Fiesole were reliefs for the baldachin of the principal altar in *S. Maria Maggiore*, which Cardinal Estouteville erected in

Fig. 596. Tombstone of Martin V in the Church of the Lateran

Fig. 597. Tomb of G. Volpato, by Canova, in SS. Apostoli

1463. It was removed under Benedict IX. Mino's work is now placed in the walls of the vestry and the choir: a lovely half-length "Madonna with the Child," the "Our Lady of the Snow," the "Birth of Christ," and the "Assumption of the Blessed Virgin," with charming angels. In general, however, the work lacks individuality.

The tabernacles serve as receptacles of the Holy Eucharist and of the holy oils; the richly decorated one in *S. Maria in Trastevere* was made by Mino da Fiesole for the holy oils. The opening of the shrine is guarded by adoring angels. The architecture is richly embellished with plastic ornament. The tabernacle in *Quattro Coronati* (the Four Crowned Martyrs—SS. Severus, Severianus, Carpophorus, and Victorinus), by Luigi Capponi, is simpler but more tasteful. That in St. Mark's, now unfortunately in fragments and placed in the walls of the vestry of the church, is highly interesting. Mino da Fiesole and Giovanni Dalmata shared the work, a not unusual proceeding for these two; the former made the

FIG. 598. MADONNA WITH CHILD. RELIEF BY MINO DA FIESOLE IN S. MARIA MAGGIORE

figures of Abraham, Melchisedech, God the Father, and the praying angels, and his work can be recognized by the flat, low relief, by the large hands that are treated somewhat carelessly, by the carefully folded garments, and the non-supporting leg of the figure in profile. Dalmata portrayed Isaac bringing game to his father, also the beautiful half-figures of the angels in the side niches. He is characterized by a bold treatment, careful execution of details, and by individualization of his heads. A tabernacle of the old St. Peter's, now in the vestry of the beneficiaries, is one of Donatello's masterpieces, the most powerful in the realm of form. A free, bold spirit is expressed in the magnificent angels, who approach the entrance adoring, and lift the curtain from the bier of Christ.

The number of sepulchral monuments which should be mentioned because of their artistic merit is well-nigh boundless. We shall describe but a few.

The monumental grave of the Middle Ages was an architectural niche with a pointed arch in which the dead slumbered on a bed of state. Later, from the thirteenth to the fifteenth centuries, appeared the sepulchral slab of stone or metal with ornaments in relief. When Eugene IV (1431–1447) wanted to erect a monument in honor of his predecessor Martin V (1417–1431) he used this style and chose bronze as its material. Simone Ghini, who somewhat resembled Donatello, was the master who produced this elaborate work. This slab is in the confession of St. John Lateran, and is a most vigorous, tastefully decorated monument.

This, the simpler form, was later discarded and Gothic monuments in the Renaissance style were erected. Now we see a high socle supporting an altar-like superstructure with pillars and pilasters and straight entablature upholding a crowning gable. The dead Pope slumbers in a receding central panel; he lies no longer on a bed of state, but upon the sarcophagus itself. The rear wall, the lateral supports, and the gables are all rich in plastic ornament. The beautiful monument by Isaia da Pisa is built in this manner.

Variants of this type are found in many other sepulchral structures: the monument of Cardinal Forteguerri in *S. Maria in Trastevere,* by Mino; the grand mausoleum of Cardinal Pietro Riario, by Bregno and Mino, in the Church of *SS. Apostoli;* the beautiful and tasteful monument of Cardinal Cristoforo della Rovere in *S. Maria del Popolo,* by Bregno and Mino; the monument of Cardinal Roverella in *S. Clemente,* by Giovanni Dalmata; and that of Cardinal Lebretto in the Church of *Ara Coeli,* by Bregno. The figures are the highest achievements in composition, expression, and the technique of marble chiseling. Bregno's monument of Cardinal Savelli in *Ara Coeli* resembles these and is an excellent production.

In the monument of the two brothers Bonsi, in *S. Gregorio,* a new form appears, introduced by Luigi Capponi, who, unable or unwilling to represent both deceased on the same sepulchral structure, placed their busts in two round niches. This innovation was well received and came into use for single monuments. The tomb of the heaven-gifted artist Bregno, near *S. Maria sopra Minerva,* has the master's bust in a round niche.

The monument of Leo X (1513–1521) in the choir of the Minerva is wholly un-

like these. It is a mediocre work by Raffaele da Montelupo, representing the Pope, seated, with a lifelike expression. From this period on, additions are constantly made, such as allegorical figures and reliefs, drawn like those in the Attica, from incidents in the life of the dead, or Biblical scenes with allegorical meanings.

In the monument of Leo X, designed by Baccio Bandinelli, decoration almost completely disappears. It was not built until the reign of Paul III (1534–1540). Once more, for the last time, we behold in a Papal grave, that of Hadrian VI (1522–1523), the figure in a recumbent, slumbering position. The monument is in the German national church, *S. Maria dell' Anima* (Our Lady of the Holy Souls). Hadrian VI, the last foreign Pope, was a German, Dedel of Utrecht. The sketch for his mausoleum was made by the architect Baldassare Peruzzi, hence the preponderance of clumsy architectural construction. The reclining statue is by Michelangelo of Siena, otherwise Niccolò Pericoli, called Tribolo.

We meet with well-proportioned classic art which goes back to ancient models in the monument of Clement XIV (1569–1774) in the Church of *SS. Apostoli.* It is one of Canova's creations. Near the sarcophagus repose the allegorical figures of Gentleness and Moderation. The Pope, giving his blessing in an animated and imposing attitude, still reminds us of the baroque style, with which Canova wanted to inaugurate this, his first great work of the chisel. The engraver Giovanni Volpato had recommended the young Canova for the work, although the sculptor was but twenty-seven. In the porch of the Church of *SS. Apostoli* stands Canova's simple, noble monument in honor of his friend Volpato—the Genius of Friendship grieves before the bust of Volpato, the great engraver.

FIGS. 599–600. THE VATICAN WITH THE LOGGIE; THE VATICAN MUSEUM AS SEEN FROM THE GARDENS

Fig. 601. God Separates the Light from the Darkness. Loggie of Raphael, Vatican

# III. The Art Collections

## 1. THE VATICAN

TO the right of St. Peter's and behind the arcades of Bernini huge buildings arise whose irregular lines are lost in the background; this is the Vatican, the residence of the Popes, and a most sublime seat of art.

Even in very early times there was a palace near St. Peter's in which the Popes sometimes resided and which they assigned as a residence to noble guests—emperors and kings who made a pilgrimage to the grave of the apostles. From the time of Emperor Constantine, who gave peace to the Church, the residence of the Popes was the *Patriarchium* adjoining the Lateran Church. This palace became a ruin during the residence of the Popes in France; but after their return to the Eternal City Urban V and Gregory IX made their home in the Vatican, and since that time it has been the Papal residence. Because the Vatican was neither large nor beautiful, the dignity of the head of the Church, the art newly awakened in Rome, and the love of art that animated the Popes—all demanded a new building. We have referred to the noble and gigantic plans of Pope Nicholas V. The residence of the Popes was completely changed, but only the chapel of Pope Nicholas with paintings by Fra Angelico is left intact. The other old parts of the present palace date from the time of Sixtus IV (1471–1484). The latter built the Sistine Chapel, with which we are acquainted; it is situated in that part of the palace which lies toward the Church of St. Peter. In a northerly direction and about four hundred paces toward the heights of Monte Mario his successor, Innocent VIII, established a charming summer-house, called Belvedere because of the beautiful views it affords. The heir to his dignity, Alexander VI, of the Borgia family, built a number of splendidly equipped chambers in the palace which Nicholas V had restored. Later we shall walk through these rooms, for they contain famous mural paintings. The quarters of Alexander are called even to-day *Tor di Borgia* (Borgian Tower); the chambers of the first story are called *Appartamento Borgia* (the Borgian Apartment), those of the second story are famous the world over as the Stanze (rooms) of Raphael, for he adorned them with wonderful mural paintings.

The residence of the Popes, therefore, consisted of two groups of buildings; in front near St. Peter's the larger, irregular building, the work of various Popes, and some distance from it the beautiful, lofty Belvedere built by Innocent VIII.

Julius II made the Vatican the largest palace in the world. Bramante, the architect of St. Peter's, lent artistic expression to the Pope's projects by a double architectural creation.

Standing in the open space in front of St. Peter's we see on the right a towering structure consisting of three wings which meet at right angles; the fourth side, toward the Piazza, being open. On the inner side toward the courtyard the three high stories are surrounded by open halls and galleries supported by columns and pillars. They are the famous Loggie (open halls) of Bramante, which were not finished until after his death; a part of them has likewise become famous under the name of "Raphael's Bible," or the "Loggie of Raphael," because this artist decorated them with Scriptural stories and wonderful ornaments in glowing colors, combining architecture and painting and producing a most beautiful effect. The bright, clear, sunny sky of Rome harmonized well with the airy open halls, where vaults and panels shone with the greatest wealth of rich and delicate colors; the view from the Piazza of St. Peter's must have been incomparably beautiful. The Loggie exist to-day, and so do the paintings, but in order to protect the latter the halls had to be inclosed in glass, and the galleries thereby lost to a large extent their light, elegant appearance. The colors are no longer effective at a distance and the immense structure looks not unlike a glass house.

Julius II conceived the plan of connecting the palace in front with the villa of Innocent VIII, and Bramante at once started to accomplish it. But neither Pope nor artist survived its completion. In order to connect the two buildings Bramante inserted between them a gigantic rectangle, the longer sides of which measure more than four hundred paces and the width of which amounts to almost one-third its length. As the ground rises considerably, he first made two great level spaces; the lower one equipped for splendid festivals, the upper one transformed into a garden. Just as in the Loggie the long structure had open halls on its inner side, which later were closed with masonry, in order to support the walls and to gain more space. For the same reason

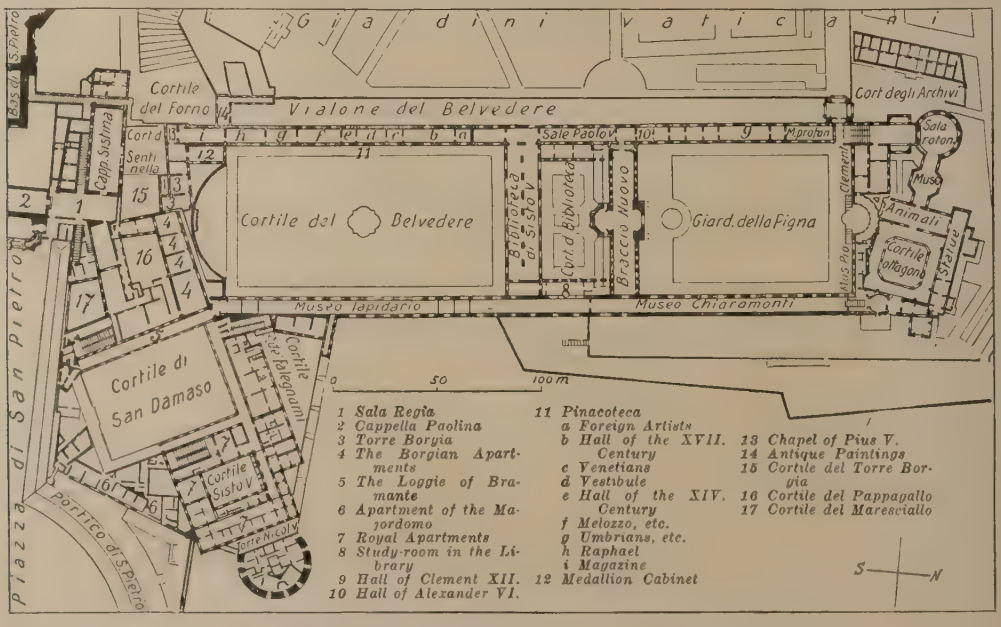



Fig. 602. Plan of the First Floor of the Vatican

Decoration by A. Pozzi, S.J. on the Ceiling of S. Ignazio, Rome

Sixtus V joined the longer sides of the rectangle with a central wing which was to contain the Vatican library. Similarly, Pius VII built a second cross-wing (*Braccio Nuovo*) for famous objects of ancient art. The Pope uses nothing of Bramante's structure for his own quarters; all parts, including the Belvedere of Pope Innocent VIII, are devoted to art and science, their rooms containing scientific and artistic collections of every kind. The Pope resides with his court in a comparatively small part of the palace nearest to the Piazza of St. Peter's. Opposite the Loggie of Bramante rises a large cube-like building which was erected by Sixtus V; it is in this structure that the Pope now resides. The windows of his rooms offer the most beautiful view of the Piazza.

All rooms devoted to art and science are richly decorated with marble and other precious materials, as are also the halls and chambers for audiences to strangers, as, for instance, the Throne-Room, the *Sala del Consistorio,* the *Sala Ducale,* and the *Sala Regia.* A large part of their splendid equipment consists of presents given to the Popes from all parts of the world. But all this magnificence has nothing selfish about it, for the rooms that remained simple are the few in which the Pope lives. Men like Pius VII and Gregory XVI preserved, even in the Vatican, the simplicity of the monastic cell in which they had lived.

## THE STANZE OF RAPHAEL

THE Stanze of Raphael, consisting of one hall and three consecutive chambers, are situated in the oldest part of the Vatican and in previous times formed a part of the quarters of Nicholas V. A groined vault divides the ceiling into four panels and forms semicircular arches on the four walls. The longer sides afford the widest space for large paintings, while the smaller sides, pierced by windows, are ill-suited for free artistic work. Nicholas V had various artists paint frescoes in the rooms, and when Raphael received orders from

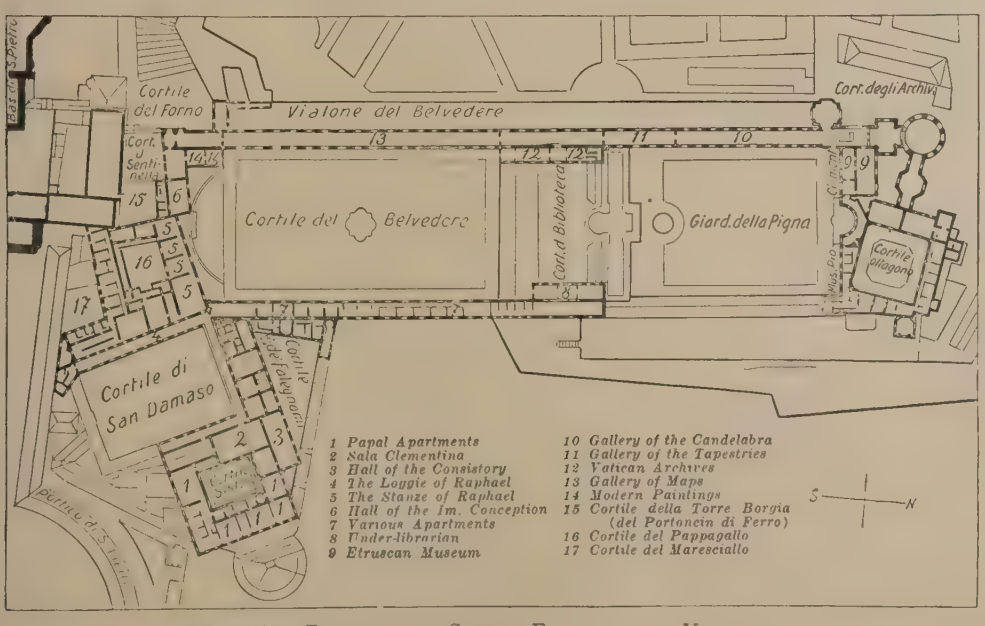



FIG. 603. PLAN OF THE SECOND FLOOR OF THE VATICAN

Julius II to redecorate them these frescoes were effaced; only a few pictures on the ceiling by Perugino, Raphael's teacher, and by Bazzi (called Sodoma) being spared. Raphael began his work in 1508, but Julius II did not live to see it completed; his successor, Leo X, however, furthered the work with equal love. The great artist worked at these pictures until his death (1520), when they were still incomplete; and the last of the paintings were done after his own sketches by the most talented of his pupils.

But these rooms of incomparable beauty were hardly finished when they were damaged. In the year 1527 the savage hosts of Charles V, under the leadership of the French Bourbon who had taken Rome by force, lighted their fires in these rooms and blackened some of the pictures; the stained-glass windows with their beautiful pictures were broken; and the soldiers made bullets for their guns from the lead. Under Clement VII Sebastiano del Piombo repaired the greatest of the damage; but when, soon after, he led the great Venetian painter Titian through the Stanze he must have been somewhat disagreeably surprised by the latter's question: "What bungler dared to besmear these pictures?"

From the time that the new palace of Sixtus V was chosen as the ordinary quarters of the Pope and the Quirinal as his summer residence the Stanze remained lonely and deserted. The carelessness of guards and the damage done by native and foreign visitors have injured the paintings more than the savage roughness of the soldiers. Dust and dirt settled on the pictures, some parts were badly repaired, and those on the socles were ruined by visitors' names being scratched upon them. At the beginning of the eighteenth century, therefore, Clement XI caused a second, more

Fig. 604. The Throne-Room in the Vatican

important restoration to be made by Carlo Maratta. This artist so venerated Raphael that he limited himself to restoring only those pictures that were most in need of attention. The unskilful renovation was removed, and the walls were washed with Greek wine to clean the paintings; but the socle pictures, which were completely spoiled, had to be replaced with new ones.

The Stanze are completely covered with decorations, chief of which are four large mural paintings in each room; the ceilings and smaller surfaces beyond the frames of the principal pictures are decorated with symbolical subjects—minor scenes which refer to the principal pictures—or they are filled with rich and elegant stucco ornaments.

These pictures of Raphael are among the best and most excellent in the world; they are among the most famous works of the incomparable master and at the same time the legacy, the last productions, of his magnificent genius. The greatest artists and countless patrons of art have become enthusiastic over them, perceiving in them what art, *fine art,* truly is.

Several of the pictures show wide historical and scientific knowledge; for the artist was assisted by several learned men at the Papal court. The pictures are, furthermore, rich in symbolism and allegory that did not spring from Raphael's artistic mind. It is surprising that the master did so well with it. To Raphael, unaided, belong the incomparable composition, the wonderful outline, and the masterly technique. In accordance with the taste of his time the artist was fond of inserting portraits of contemporaries, often at the request of his noble patrons. Although this was inconsistent with the lofty themes of the paintings, the master never lost sight of his great purpose. Raphael was not always free in his conceptions and representations; in many pictures we can plainly distinguish the personal wishes of Julius II and Leo X, but in most cases the master knew how to reconcile even opposing elements.

## THE STANZA DELLA SEGNATURA

In the *Stanza della Segnatura* (Chamber of the Signature) assembled the highest Papal court, the Pope presiding; and here the Pope formerly signed the decisions of the court. The four great mural paintings represent the four greatest sciences: the sacred science of God, Theology; the highest natural science, Philosophy; the science of property, of right and order, Law; the science and art of song, Poetry. But the object was to represent not only the four principal pillars of human knowledge, but the medieval idea of their relations to the highest aims of humanity, as guides to God. Beauty in poetry as well as in art ends in the highest beauty, *i.e.,* God; all research and knowledge leads to God, just as all justice and power comes from Him and leads back to Him; religion links heaven with earth, God with man, the triumphant with the militant Church.

The four sciences are represented symbolically on the ceiling in the form of saintly virgins: Theology teaching Religion and Faith; Philosophy, with the power and natural light of reason searching the grounds and the essence of all things; Law guarding the foundations of order in the State and individual security; Poetry adding beauty and grace to life. These four disclose the highest and noblest qualities of heart and mind in human beings: faith and knowledge, a socially ordered life and artistic beauty. Ere the Pope's pen confirmed a decree he was to take counsel with the revealed truth of faith and the manifestation of reason, with law and beauty. The grandeur and loftiness of the thought are equalled by the artistic representation.

The mural painting depicting divine science bears the misleading title, *Disputa del Sacramento*—"Discussion about the Blessed Sacrament"—which it is not. The greatest mystery of the Church, the center

of everything holy in Christianity, is the Saviour's presence in the consecrated host as He continually offers Himself in the Holy Sacrifice, entering the hearts and dwelling among the faithful on earth "until the end of all time." Being the highest conception of all mysteries, the Blessed Sacrament is also the sublimest and deepest symbol of divine science, theology. It is with this idea we should look at the magnificent picture, the first which Raphael painted in the Vatican.

It shows us two worlds, heaven and earth, the union of which is effected by Christ, through the redemption and His presence in the Most Blessed Sacrament. In a sea of golden rays, surrounded by legions of angels, God the Father sits enthroned as the creator and preserver of the world, one hand lovingly holding the globe of the earth, the other raised in benediction. Below Him, resting on clouds, we see the Saviour in the midst of a crown of angels on a blue background, the lower part of His body concealed by a white garment. With an expression of infinite love and pity that is increased by a gentle inclination of the head, He shows the wounds through which He brought salvation to the world. On His right the Blessed Virgin expresses her glorification and also her modesty by bowing before Him who is the cause of her greatness and the source of her blessedness; on the left St. John continually calls to the world from the heights of heaven: "Behold the Lamb of God, who takes away the sins of the world!" Saints are on both sides —those of the Old Testament without, those of the New Testament with, the halo. At the extreme ends of the chain are Peter and Paul, the Princes of the apostles, the foundations of the Church, and the ancestors of the elect. Near St. Peter are Adam, meditating on the fall and the redemption of his race; John, the apostle, who most beautifully announces the new law of love and who in the Apocalypse wrote down the destiny of the kingdom of God; then David, the ancestor of Christ in the flesh; then Stephen, the first martyr for the holy doctrine and science of Christianity; next is Josue, almost completely concealed. Corresponding to them, on the other side, stand Abraham with the knife, a prototype, through Isaac's sacrifice, of the death of Christ; Jacob, the elder, the apostle of hope and active faith; Moses, with the tables of the law; St. Laurence, the most faithful levite; Stephen of Rome, and, finally, Judas Machabeus.

The connection between heaven and earth is expressed by a descending dove, the spirit of truth, which preserves the Church and its teachers in pure faith and unadulterated doctrine; for that reason we see descending with the dove four beautiful angels holding the books of the evangelists. Heaven and earth are to each other as type and prototype. The Holy (visible) Trinity, above, corresponds to the invisible, concealed God below; those above, who see and enjoy, correspond to those below who believe without seeing. It is a beautiful representation of the words of St. Paul: "We see now through a glass in a dark manner; but then face to face" (1 *Cor.* xiii.12). The ostensorium with the host stands in the center of an altar. On the steps of the altar, Fathers of the Church, famous saints, Christian Doctors and praying and venerating faithful are placed together in picturesque groups. Some are absorbed in deep meditation on the Divine Mystery; others express their confident conviction; again the faith of others is glorified here below in a kind of blessed vision, and therefore their eyes are turned toward heaven. In some figures, on the left, faith and doubt seem still to be struggling. In this way the assembly, despite all apparent repose, shows the animation and variety of expression so much admired in pictures. The master represented chiefly historical personages; through appropriate symbols and signs many of the figures are easily recognized, while others show a portrait-like similarity to the artist's contemporaries. Every figure in the picture represents a personage, complete in itself, and of a character which clearly and distinctly appears in the features painted in a wonder-

fully soft and yet clear manner; every figure is in its own peculiar position, has its own peculiar animation, in its own peculiar condition, and yet all are brought together in a most beautiful, unified group.

In front, nearest the altar, are seated the four great Fathers of the Latin Church. At the right St. Augustine speaks to a beautiful youth who sits upon the uppermost step and writes. At his side his teacher, St. Ambrose, looks rapturously toward heaven. Opposite the latter St. Jerome, with the lion at his side, studies a book on his knees; his is an extremely expressive, magnificent figure. St. Gregory, in full Papal vestments, with the tiara on his beautiful Roman head, looks blissfully upward in holy content. The man on the right side of the altar with bald head and long beard, teaching and demonstrating with upraised arm, is said to be Peter Lombard, the greatest teacher of the twelfth century. On the opposite side, with similar deep conviction, St. John Chrysostom or, as some assert, St. Bernard, in richly embroidered green episcopal vestments, points toward the Source of all light and salvation. Behind St. Augustine is St. Thomas Aquinas—in the Dominican habit—who sang and wrote so beautifully of the Blessed Sacrament. The Pope at his side with the book of Church doctrine is Anacletus or Sixtus IV, beside him the cardinal and saint, Bonaventure, "the Seraphic Doctor," as the thirteenth century called him. The Pope in the foreground on the lowest step, who gazes prayerfully upon the altar, is Innocent III, a learned man and the great Pope of the close of the twelfth and the beginning of the thirteenth centuries; he wrote about the holy sacrifice of the Mass. In the background the greatest Christian poet, Dante, receives a crown of laurel. In the foreground on both sides magnificent groups of people express a variety of sentiments. Three youths full of faith rush forward and kneel in prayer; others hesitate and study books and manuscripts, while believing disciples at once direct them to the Blessed Sacrament, where every doubt is silenced or disappears. In the landscape one sees the beginnings of a church structure, this no doubt being a reference to the beginning of the building of St. Peter's.

This is the *holy* science: here below, faith, a joyful presentiment, deep conviction; above, contemplation, pure enjoyment; here below, unrest and unsatisfied longing; above, blessed rest, no longer any investigating or striving, but undisturbed possession. This lofty and sublime thought corresponds with the clear arrangement, the regularity of line, and quiet proportion in the dividing of the groups and figures. After the custom of the old masters Raphael here made rich use of gold, whereas in later times he employed it sparingly and, finally, not at all. The halo of God the Father is slightly in relief, by means of gypsum. The splendor of the gold harmonizes excellently with the solemn, mysterious character of the picture.

On the opposite wall the highest secular science has been represented in the so-called *Scuola d'Atene*—the "School of Athens." It is almost incredible what mysteries learned men have found in this picture, thoughts which never would have entered the mind of Raphael. (It is always dangerous for learned men to stand before a work of art; they are impervious to its effect, for they want to master it; they are unwilling to see in it what the artist wishes to express, but want to read in it what they themselves think.) Soon after its completion the "School of Athens" had its interpreters and even now there are people who call the picture "Paul in Athens"; others see in it chiefly saints, in the two chief persons Peter and Paul, and evangelists in the writing philosophers. The literature concerned with the interpretation of this picture of Raphael has become almost boundless. The true conception, however, has again and again asserted its superiority, and we may rest assured that it is merely a picture of the higher learning of the Greeks embodied in its most famous representatives. The name, the "School of Athens," is justified, in so far as Greece was in ancient times the leader in all scientific endeavor and be-

Fig. 605. The Disputa del Sacramento. Painting by Raphael in the Stanza della Segnatura, Vatican

cause the greatest intellectual impetus came from Athens. The scene has been changed; here no heaven opens, no divine-human being shows the wounds which redeem the world, no divine ray of light descends to the earth in order to enlighten and quicken human understanding. The hall of a Graeco-Roman temple, covered by a dome, forms the frame and background of the picture. The harmony of its clear and beautiful arrangement indicates the noble proportion, the unostentatious evidence of Greek culture. On the steps of the brightly illuminated porch are grouped representatives of the highest science in the heathen world. The arrangement and execution of this picture surpass in many excellent elements even the "Theology." The groups are freer, more artistic, and more animated. As the features of most of the men represented in fragments of ancient art were not then known, the artist could create freely, unhampered by portrait-like resemblances. On the other hand, his task became proportionately more difficult, because to each figure, to each head, must be given a characteristic peculiarity. And whereas among the Christian theologians all were joined in one faith and one thought, and were grouped about one altar and one ostensorium, in the various Grecian schools philosophers sought the truth in various ways, reaching most contradictory results, because no higher light, no supernatural enlightenment preserved them from going astray.

In the great assembly of these sages of all times and of all places four groups especially can be distinctly recognized. On the uppermost step, in the center, we see the most famous philosophers of ancient times—Plato and Aristotle—whose doctrines and views re-echo even to-day. Plato, on the left, consistently with his high ideals, points toward the eternal and the divine; even the heathen recognized that *there* must be the Source of truth. Aristotle, on the other side, points downward to the earth, to the visible world of experience, through the investigation and recognition of which we shall learn truth. Disciples in great numbers surround the masters, pupils in the flower of youth, and others grown old in the search for truth.

On the left of Plato and his pupils we see, on the top step, clad in a simple garment of bluish green, his bald-headed teacher, Socrates, one of the noblest of Pagans; for him the highest wisdom and science meant honesty, a pure life, and virtue. He seems to be expounding his doctrines to his five pupils by counting them on his fingers, quite like his clear, intimate instruction by questions and counter-questions; the young man leaning against the base of a pillar, showing a free, open countenance, is his loving and beloved pupil Xenophon, and the tall warrior on the opposite side is the beautiful Alcibiades.

The foreground on the left shows one of the most beautiful groups, the school of Pythagoras. Supporting himself upon one knee, the master writes his doctrines. He makes it his chief task to recognize in the whole world and in everything a law and harmony ordained by God and to restore in man's own heart the harmony disturbed by evil. The Oriental wearing a turban, who looks at the writing of Pythagoras, is sometimes identified as Averrhoes, sometimes as Epicharmus. The magnificent youth who turns his head toward the spectator bears the features of Francesco Maria della Rovere, Duke of Urbino, Raphael's sovereign; the pretty boy behind Averrhoes is said to be the young Federigo of Mantua, who was brought up at the court of Julius II, and the writing philosopher seated at a stone bench may be Heraclitus.

In the center Diogenes carelessly reclines on the steps. He was a peculiar character, who deemed the greatest and happiest man to be he whose needs were least. He, therefore, limited himself to the bare necessities: a scanty garment, a knapsack, a staff, and a wooden cup; but even the cup he threw away when he saw a boy drinking from the hollow of his hand. Of the great conqueror Alexander he begged only one favor—that he would not

FIGS. 606–607. THE SCHOOL OF PYTHAGORAS; ARCHIMEDES WITH HIS PUPILS. FROM RAPHAEL'S "SCHOOL OF ATHENS," VATICAN

Stanza della Segnatura, Vatican

stand between him and the sun. This voluntary poverty and renunciation presupposes a strong mind, but Diogenes was as proud of his dirt as others are of their wealth; Paganism taught him no higher motives.

On the right, in the foreground, Archimedes and his pupils form a most beautiful group. Archimedes of Sicily was the foremost mathematician of antiquity; Raphael, therefore, represents him bending down and drawing geometrical figures upon a tablet. This is also homage to Bramante; for Raphael gave to the Sicilian the features of the great architect of St. Peter's. The clearest characterization is expressed in the pupils of Archimedes; the foremost, resting upon his right knee, shows great attention and intellectual effort, but does not understand the master's proof; the youth with blond curls, standing behind him, shows by an expressive motion of his left hand and by his joyful features that light dawns on him and he begins to understand. The third pupil, likewise resting one knee upon the ground, understands all and is able to explain it to a fourth pupil standing behind him, who follows with astonishment the master's proof. The two men with globes who stand behind Archimedes are the geographer Claudius Ptolemaeus (he wears a crown because the Middle Ages mistook him for an Egyptian king of the same name) and Zoroaster (?). Behind them, quite at the edge of the picture, Raphael drew himself with his teacher, Perugino.

Every figure has received a definite name, but it is certain that many of the figures existed only in the imagination of the artist, who created them to round out his groups.

The "School of Athens" is, on the whole, perhaps the most splendid, most artistic, and most remarkable work of Raphael in the Stanza, "which in itself alone constantly exhorts us to journey to Rome."

Poetry and Law are represented on the smaller sides of the room. In "Parnassus" the most famous singers of Greece, Rome, and Italy are grouped around Apollo, the god of song, on Parnassus, the mountain of poets. In "Law" the treatment is quite different. Instead of an assembly of famous lawyers the artist depicts the giving of ecclesiastical and political law. On the right Gregory XI (really a portrait of Julius II) gives to a Papal attorney the ecclesiastical lawbook; in the train of the Pope we can see few save contemporary portraits. At the left of the window the Emperor Justinian, whose most enduring work was the codi-

Fig. 608. Plato and Aristotle. From Raphael's "School of Athens," Vatican

fication of the laws, hands a copy of the code to his minister Tribonian.

As we said, the four sciences represented on the ceiling are symbolized by female figures; "Holy Science," a magnificent virgin, is enthroned on clouds; she wears a white veil, a green cloak, and a red garment, the colors being those of faith, hope, and charity. "Poetry" is one of Raphael's most beautiful female figures. The laurel wreath which adorns her head indicates the fame of art; the wings, the star-covered shoulder-band, and the sky-blue garment typify the flight of imaginative power; even more beautifully is this expressed in the enthusiastic, frank eyes. The tablets of the angels on her right and left bear the appropriate words: *Numine afflatur.*

## THE STANZA D'ELIODORO

In the *Stanza d'Eliodoro* (Stanza of Heliodorus) the artist portrays how God protects and guards His Church, how He is visibly present with it. The historical incidents from times long past are linked with incidents from recent times, and thus past and present are joined. During the reign of Julius II the Papal States were deeply involved in the political and military confusion of those times; the Pope took a most active interest in the so-called Sacred League, which purposed the expulsion of the French from Italy. It is certain that had the artist been free to follow his own inclination he would have limited the allegories and allusions.

This Stanza receives its name from the mural picture which shows the plundering of the temple as related in the Second Book of Machabees. Heliodorus, on an order from the Syrian king Seleucus, was to take away the treasure preserved in the temple of Jerusalem. The high priest Onias asserted in vain that the treasure consisted of the money deposited by poor widows and orphans. "But the spirit of the almighty God gave a great evidence of His presence, so that all that had presumed to obey him, falling down by the power of God, were struck with fainting and dread. For there appeared to them a horse with a terrible rider upon him adorned with a very rich covering: and he ran fiercely and struck Heliodorus with his forefeet; and he that sat upon him seemed to have armor of gold. Moreover, there appeared two other young men, beautiful and strong, bright and glorious, and in comely apparel: who stood by him, on either side, and scourged him without ceasing with many stripes. And Heliodorus suddenly fell to the ground" (*2 Mach.* iii. 24–27). Raphael painted the incident strictly as it is recorded in Scripture. In the background the high priest, assisted by aged priests, implores the assistance of Heaven. In the foreground on the right the heavenly horseman with the two youths—who seem to fly rather than to walk—rushes against the plunderers of the temple: a beautiful, wonderfully animated picture! On the left, in the foreground, Pope Julius II is carried through the excited populace; with quiet, earnest majesty he looks at the Scriptural incident and sees in it, as if in a picture, the expulsion of the French from Italy.

The second large mural painting shows St. Leo the Great before Attila, the king of the Huns. Attila, "the scourge of God," as he called himself, had already marched through the north and west of Europe, plundering and devastating, when in the year 452 he advanced from Hungary into Italy toward Rome. Smoking ruins marked his way. In order to preserve their city from plunder and devastation the Romans sent an embassy under the leadership of St. Leo the Great to the Huns, who were met near Mantua. While they were negotiating, according to tradition, there appeared a venerable figure beside Leo, or, as another legend tells us, two threatening figures, SS. Peter and Paul, and so frightened the Hun that he granted peace and retreated. Raphael's picture shows the incident more beautifully than the best description. Terrified, Attila sees the

Fig. 609. Parnassus. Mural Decoration by Raphael in the Vatican

heavenly apparition, and turns aside, the reins dropping from his hands; his warriors, however, see nothing, but they feel the effect of the threats of the Princes of the apostles; there is wild confusion; even the horses rear and kick as if they felt the nearness of invisible spirits; a storm rushes through the banners of the Huns, the sky above the crowded host darkens, while the apparition throws a bright light of glory over the Pope and his train. The battle of Novara freed Italy of the French (1513). In order to establish a correlation to this incident Leo X ordered Raphael to paint his (the Pope's) own face in the picture instead of his predecessor's and those attending him are contemporaries of the Pope; the garments, too, especially those of the cardinals, emphasize this fact. The quiet confidence of the unarmed Pope and his companions forms a very effective contrast to the savage and cruel Huns.

Fig. 610. Gregory XI Announcing the Laws of the Church. Painting by Raphael in the Vatican

In the year 1263, under Urban IV, a German priest, who doubted the change of bread and wine into the body and blood of the Lord at Holy Mass, while at the altar of *S. Cristina* in Bolsena saw that drops of blood fell from the consecrated host upon the corporal. The "Miracle of Bolsena" adorns one of the small sides of the room. Besides the coloring, which in this picture is even more beautiful than in all the oth-

ers, sharp contrasts again achieve a most picturesque effect. Struck with awe, the priest sees the miraculous traces of the blood; filled with wonder and veneration the people surge forward; there is only one who quietly and silently attends the Holy Sacrifice—it is the Pope, whose features are those of Julius II. He needs to see no miracle, so firmly and imperturbably does he believe.

The last picture in the Stanza shows the liberation of St. Peter from prison in Jerusalem. The unfavorable space has been most happily filled and the Scriptural story is represented in three scenes. In the central picture St. Peter is in a deep sleep, shackled hand and foot and chained to two guards who rest in sleep against the pillars of the wall and upon the shafts of their spears. It is night; an angel of God, surrounded by a heavenly light, enters to awaken the apostle and—as a picture on the right shows us—to lead him out of prison. Peter has opened his eyes but they are still heavy with sleep; and he does not know what is happening. Stolidly and morosely he looks forward like one who, against his will, has been aroused from his first hours of refreshing sleep. The angel looks at him questioningly and seems to be about to give him further information. So true to nature is his expression that the effect is almost humorous. While the guards on the right are still quietly sleeping, those on the left are frightened by the news that the prisoner has disappeared. Full of confusion one hears the message from the soldier bearing the torch; another seizes his shield and spear; and a third is hastening forward, but the dazzling light of the torch blinds him. All this has been represented with inimitable truth to nature and with great artistic beauty. In addition to that the light effects are magnificent. In the first and second pictures the angel of God diffuses a heavenly white light, beyond which everything is in semi-darkness. In the third picture the dazzling light of the torch meets gentle moonlight in the background. Of all the paintings in the Stanza none appeals so quickly to one's heart, none is so easily understood or pleases so much as this night-picture's chiaroscuro effects.

Figs. 611–612. Theology and Poetry. Paintings by Raphael in the Vatican

## THE STANZA OF THE BORGO FIRE (STANZA DELL'INCENDIO)

This room is dedicated to the glorification of Leo III and Leo IV, the namesakes and predecessors of Leo X, under whom the paintings were made. Raphael undoubtedly furnished the drawings at least for the "Fire in the Borgo," but the other

sketches are not worthy of him. Perhaps not one was painted by his own hand, not even the most important picture of the Stanza, the "Fire in the Borgo," though in the central group Raphael's color scheme is clearly recognized.

A great fire in the Anglo-Saxon quarter of the Borgo (847) occurred during Leo IV's reign.[1] It destroyed their northern wooden structures and for a time threatened to reach the Church of St. Peter, when, according to tradition, the blessing of the Pope stopped the fire. The miraculous power of the Papal blessing over the raging element could not be the chief subject of this pictorial representation, because the sudden arrest of the fire and the power of the blessing could not be visually represented. The artist, therefore, judiciously placed the Pontiff in the background and in the foreground depicted the terrors of a nocturnal conflagration. The flames make night as light as day. The poor inhabitants have been suddenly aroused from their sleep; many are content to save nothing but their lives. Here a mother hands her baby over the wall to her husband standing below, fearing only for the child and careless of her own life. There a youth prepares to drop from the wall, looking around in terror, for he is just about to let go. In the center of the picture a mother, fearing for her young one, draws him toward her, one hand raised as if to ward off the danger, a position that is as beautiful as it is true and expressive. On the other side a stalwart son carries his aged father out of the flames; the old man looks around with terror, while the son, thinking only of his dear burden and oppressed by its weight, walks with downcast eyes. Similarly elo-

[1] Since the seventh century numerous strangers had settled near the Church of St. Peter and formed national guilds; among these were Anglo-Saxons, Frieslanders, Franks, Lombards. Their veneration for the Prince of the apostles brought them to the vicinity of his grave. The societies of Greeks and Jews had existed long before this, but they did not owe their existence to religious motives.

Fig. 613. The Stanza D'Eliodoro, Vatican

FIGS. 614–615. LEO I BEFORE ATTILA, THE KING OF THE HUNS; THE MIRACLE OF BOLSENA. MURAL DECORATIONS BY RAPHAEL IN THE STANZA D'ELIODORO, VATICAN

quent and picturesque are the groups in the center and on the right; a woman with disheveled hair who impotently stretches out her arms; a mother who teaches her little daughter to raise her innocent hands to the Pope and to the Father of all; and another mother who leads her children away from the region of the fire. Of unsurpassed beauty and truth is the final scene; two men try in vain to quench the fire with water brought to them by women, for the wind fans the flames from the side, as the fluttering garments and hair of the women indicate. All this is the imagination of the artist, and though he shows us only a small part of the conflagration he indicates by a few instances the most touching helplessness and terror. The source of help is, however, clearly expressed; for the waiting crowd in the background confidently appeals to the Holy Father for assistance.

The second picture, which refers to Leo IV, describes the victory which the Pope, in 849, gained over the Saracens near Ostia. There are soldiers on one side, all figures of gigantic size, reminding us of ancient heroic times; on the other side the Pope and his train, mostly portraits of contemporaries of Leo X, a striking contrast which at once arrests attention.

The two remaining frescoes of the Stanza show the Oath of Purification of Leo III, which he made against false accusations, before Charlemagne, and the Coronation of Charlemagne as Roman Emperor, two ceremonial pictures without any special signification.

## THE SALA DI COSTANTINO

The last Stanza, a large hall, is adorned with pictures of the life of the first Christian emperor; hence its name *Sala di Costantino* (Hall of Constantine). The artist intended to represent the victory of Christianity over polytheism and the elevation of Rome as the city of the Popes. Raphael determined upon the division of the space and the general arrangement of the room; he furthermore made the sketches for the battle of Constantine and in part, perhaps, also those for the other paintings. But his early, untimely death prevented him from completing the work. Since Leo X also died soon afterward and as under his successor Hadrian VI art and artists received less encouragement, the paintings were not finished until the time of Clement VII (1523–1534). Raphael's most talented pupil, Giulio Romano, directed the work, assisted by Francesco Penni and Raffaello dal Colle, his fellow-pupils.

In historical sequence the pictures represent the following scenes.

The Apparition of the Holy Cross.—From a slight elevation before his tent Constantine is about to address his soldiers, who are grouped around the standards, when the sign of the cross, in promise of victory, appears in the heavens. All sorts of irrelevant additions, as pages in medieval costumes, ugly dwarfs, etc., are certainly not by Raphael, but by Giulio Romano.

The Battle of Constantine.—When the Emperor Diocletian, the cruel persecutor of Christians, had resigned the crown, (305), six emperors arose in the Roman world-empire and fought for the inheritance of the Cæsars. In the Occident the emperors Maxentius and Constantine were opposed to each other; the former ruled in Italy, the latter in Spain, Britain, and Gaul. A conflict could not be avoided, especially since Maxentius, who pretended to be a defender of Paganism, had become obnoxious because of his tyrannical reign; while Constantine, although at that time not a Christian, gained the esteem and love of the nations by gentleness and leniency, and made no denial of his inclination toward Christianity.

On October 28, 312, a decisive battle was fought between the two western emperors near the Milvian Bridge, about five miles from Rome, after Constantine had seen a heavenly apparition above the set-

ting sun, a glowing cross over which were the words, "In this sign thou shalt conquer." On the day of battle the cross shone on his standards and he won the victory under that sign. Maxentius, losing control of himself, did not select a favorable position. Instead of preventing his opponent from crossing the Tiber, he decided to attack him on the opposite side. There being but one bridge over the Tiber

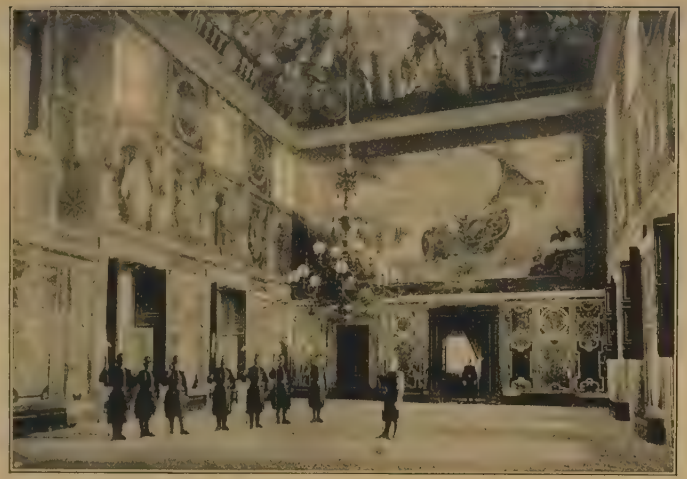
Fig. 616. The Fire in the Borgo. Mural Decoration by Raphael in the Vatican

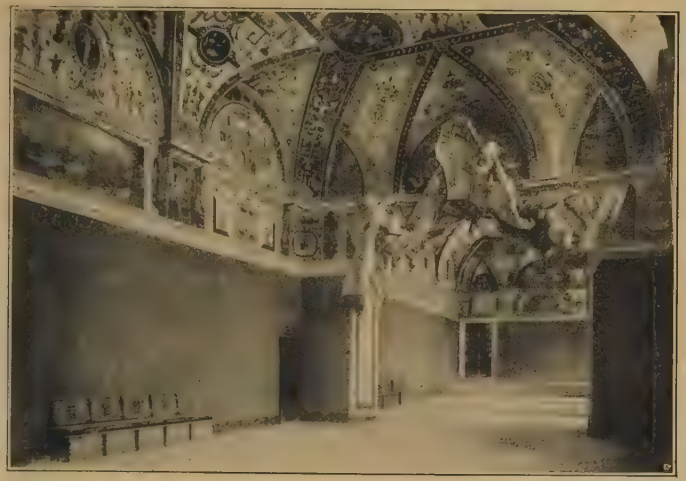
Maxentius caused a pontoon bridge to be constructed. In the first attack the Gallic cavalry of Constantine defeated the squadrons of the enemy, and afterward the battle raged along the whole line of the river bank. Everywhere the enemy retreated, save the emperor's body-guard. When Maxentius saw the uselessness of further combat he ordered the retreat. The pontoon bridge broke down under the fleeing army. The Milvian Bridge was so crowded that horses and men fell over the broken railing into the river and despairingly struggled in the turgid waters until the rapid eddies overwhelmed them. Maxentius was swept from his horse, and his heavy armor dragged him beneath the water. It was a scene such as Moses describes in his song of victory: "The horse and his rider He hath thrown into the sea, the depths have covered them, they are sunk to the bottom like a stone. Who is like unto Thee, O Lord!"

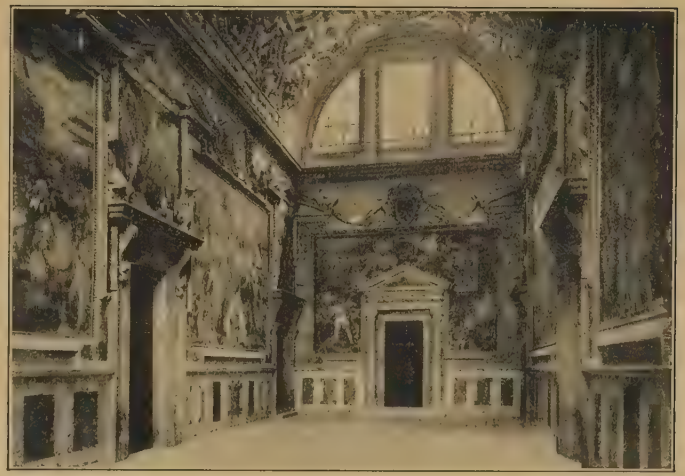
With Constantine the cross and Christianity won the victory at the Milvian Bridge.

Raphael chose the moment wherein victory was decided. On a magnificent horse Constantine advances over the slain soldiers of the enemy and hurls his spear at Maxentius, who with his horse is drowning in the river; it is the masterpiece of all battle pictures.

Modern pictures of battles are usually effective from their unity of action; the eye of the spectator must take in everything at one time in order that the picture may have the intended effect. The picture of the battle of Constantine, regarded as a whole, is a portrayal of the most terrible uproar of battle, at the very moment when the issue is decided; but it must be considered also in detail. Like a carpet interwoven with pictures (the master chose as a frame the lines of a large curtain) the representation of the battle is to be slowly developed and present the scenes in sequence. The army of Constantine is







Sala Clementina, Hall of the Consistory, Sala Ducale, and Sala Regia—Vatican

victorious not only as a whole, but each individual warrior overcomes his opponent; it is a fight of man against man, of spear against spear, of sword against sword. But only he who has recognized the meaning of the details will be able to understand the greatness of the whole. The individual scenes are really of the highest artistic beauty. On the left an old warrior is just about to pick up the body of a young standard-bearer; beside him at the right is the death struggle of two combatants; in the center is Constantine, calm and sure of victory; in the background the approaching horsemen who, rejoicing, carry aloft the severed heads of their foes; near the edge a boat sinks and the defenders of Paganism drown; above, are the angels who with drawn swords assist in the battle of God. The execution is less satisfactory than the conception; Giulio Romano loved reddish colors without any intermediate tints.

The Baptism of Constantine and His Son.—The place where this religious rite takes place is the baptismal chapel near St. John Lateran; Pope Sylvester is represented by a portrait of Clement VII.

The Gift of Rome.—The Pope seated on a high platform in the old St. Peter's receives from Constantine, kneeling before him, the golden representation of the City of Rome as a sign that henceforth it is the residence and property of the Popes. While the chief action takes place in the center, the populace assembled in stirring groups in the foreground represent Rome's festive rejoicing; in the rear is a church, in front are street scenes; in the rear ancient times, in the front the sixteenth century—unexplained contrasts.

In addition to the large mural frescoes there are pictures of eight saints and great princes of Papal Rome; each is between two symbolical figures: St. Peter, between the Church and Eternity; Sylvester, between Faith and Religion; and Damasus between Prudence and Peace. The pictures are made by pupils of Raphael, but in composition and outline they recall the master.

## THE LOGGIE OF RAPHAEL

THE anterior portions of the Vatican consist of three straight wings which intersect at right angles and enclose a rectangular courtyard, the open side of which is turned toward St. Peter's. On the exterior these three-story wings are surrounded by a triple crown of open halls, the Loggie. The beautiful plan adds to the fame of Bramante; the decoration of the central row of halls of the northern wing enhances Raphael's renown. They are sometimes called the Loggie of Bramante, sometimes the Loggie of Raphael, for they belong to architect as well as to painter.

Thirteen halls open lengthwise; on the exterior they are supported by pillars and round arches; in the interior they are covered by small domelike vaults. Every dome is adorned with four frescoes, and together they form the famous "Bible of Raphael." There are forty-eight pictures illustrating stories from the Old Testament in historical order. The first three halls illustrate the story of the creation, the fall of Adam and Eve and their punishment, the building of the ark, the destruction of the sinful race of men in the deluge, and the saving of Noe and his family. The following arcades portray the story of the patriarchs and leaders of Israel: Abraham, Isaac, Jacob, Joseph, Moses, Josue, David, and Solomon. The Building of the Temple in Jerusalem closes the series of pictures from the Old Testament. In the last, the thirteenth, vault four incidents from the life of Christ are represented:—the Nativity, the Adoration of the Magi, the Baptism of Christ, and the Last Supper.

Raphael made only hasty sketches for the pictures and left their execution to his pupils Gianfrancesco Penni, Pellegrino of Modena, Bagnacavallo, Polidoro of Cara-

Fig. 617. The Battle of Constantine. Mural Decoration by Raphael in the Vatican

Fig. 618. Wisdom. Sala di Costantino, Vatican

Fig. 619. Religion. Sala di Costantino, Vatican

vaggio, and Perino del Vaga; they worked under the direction of his most able pupil, Giulio Romano, who is said to have painted the first hall as a model. It is impossible to decide the share and the work of the individual artists; hence there is an endless contradiction in the opinions even of those most capable of judging.

The paintings are not, however, artistic creations of the first rank. But even in their hasty and mediocre execution we can not fail to recognize an echo of Raphael's talent. The beautiful arrangement and grouping, the proportions, the movement and repose, the clearly and nobly drawn figures in simple but dignified drapery, the serenity and mirth, the vigor of life and grace which are diffused in these pictures, the truly human and yet glorified conception of sacred history—all this is Raphael's own work. At times the grand sublimity of Michael Angelo's art is reached. The Almighty, in purple drapery, moves in lofty majesty to divide light and darkness. Where His outstretched arms split the dark masses of clouds, bright, golden rays of light and flames break through and the separation is complete. When Michael Angelo first saw this powerful figure of Jehovah he cried out that Raphael had seen his God the Father in the Sistine. Michael Angelo, as we know, locked himself in the chapel while he was painting and would allow nobody to see his works until they were completed. But he had guessed correctly. Raphael had seen his God the Father and had borrowed some of His features. Other pictures show a gentler, more tender, quieter conception, as Isaac, to whom God appears. Isaac goes with Rebecca to Egypt, because there is a famine in his country; before the gates of Gerara God appears to him and admonishes him to stay there, promising him a blessed country, which the Eternal seems to hold in His arms, also promising him offspring as numerous as the stars in heaven. Rebecca does not see the apparition; she rests meditatively in the shade of a tree. Isaac, clad in pale blue, the shadows in the drapery being reddish brown, questioningly points toward Gerara. Rebecca's garment is yellow with whitish stripes. The strong contrasts of the same colors in the light and in the shade attract attention. Indeed, the pictures which Raphael himself painted often show such different tones of the same color

in light and shade that, to a Northerner, they appear almost unreal. But it is certain that he had studied well the stronger effects of light under the Italian sun.

The beautiful picture which represents the first meeting between Jacob and Rachel near the well is very widely known. The manly beauty of Jacob, the tender womanliness of his future bride and her sister Lia, with the lakes, meadows, rocks, and groups of houses of an incomparably beautiful landscape are the characteristics of this fresco.

The Loggie contain only a part of the paintings. All other surfaces are covered over and over with larger and smaller pictures, with colors and gold and stucco. While Raphael was working in Rome a part of the Baths of the Emperor Titus was excavated and made accessible. In the subterranean chambers and grottoes were found mural paintings of a very peculiar kind; no large pictures, but small ones in frames of fine stucco, forming festoons of fruit, vines, and wreaths of foliage amid fantastic architecture, little columns and temples, ribbons and bows, and large and small animals of every kind, all in a motley confusion which, nevertheless, was beautiful. In other places were most peculiar fanciful creatures, half man, half animal, half plant, half—it is hard to

Fig. 620. The Loggie of Raphael, Vatican

Fig. 621. God Appears to Isaac. Fresco in the Loggie of Raphael, Vatican

say what! Since no current name fitted these pictures they were called Grotesques (grotto-esques) after the place where they were found. This term still denotes ornamental combinations of various beings and objects. Raphael, too, with his pupils visited these grottoes, and was pleased with this kind of decorative painting, while one pupil, Giovanni da Udine, could not gaze enough upon these graceful, fresh, and bold little pictures. Raphael soon conceived a plan for decorating the interior walls of the Loggie with similar rich grotesques. He made the sketches and Giovanni da Udine, who became an incomparable master in this work, undertook their execution in color and stucco. One constantly relieves another, graceful ornaments in the former contrasting with charming pictures in the latter. Who can describe the thousands of objects that cover a single narrow strip of wall? There, for instance, the socle picture represents two grotesque inhabitants of the water—boys with pretty little faces, their bodies ending in dragons' tails. Above, in the second panel, a winged angel, or genius, bears a basket of flowers from which hang rich festoons. His head supports the globe, with its lands and waters; above this is another gigantic figure, supporting the dome of the heavens, on which are inscribed the mysterious signs of the constellations; above this hovers a genius in fluttering garments, holding two trumpets, typical of glory and on his diadem are two lovely angels with a basket of flowers. On the sides are two ribbons, each containing seven little pictures in stucco representing all sorts of subjects: struggles between dragons and griffins, beautiful women and meditative old men, heathen gods and Christian saints, and Adam and Eve leaving paradise. On another strip of wall, on a socle, is a mermaid with blond locks, rosy cheeks, and a dragon's tail; above are three graceful dancing girls, then griffins and genii; in a medallion is an excellent landscape; in a rectangle a maddened steer and a frightened little boy; in an oval a stork and satyrs; in the extended rectangle children, above whom are lions

with their cubs, and horses; at the top two lovely angels embrace. Between the little pictures are many scrolls, fluttering ribbons, and festoons of fruit. The strips at the sides are each decorated with thirteen medallions: peacocks, skulls of cattle, dogs, genii; there a boy mounted on an elephant and here armed horsemen copied from ancient Roman designs. In a window recess in the first hall a medallion on the left side shows Raphael drawing; below him is an assistant mixing paint; still lower are pupils executing the master's sketches; on center Hope raises eyes and hands toward heaven, and below Charity—motherly love—holds children on her lap. In another place the four seasons have been similarly represented: Winter shivering with cold, merry Spring, Summer, and Autumn with golden grain and sparkling grapes gathered and pressed by joyous genii. Next to these wonderfully decorated pilasters hang light garlands in which play birds of gay plumage and butterflies, and little mice and squirrels run up and down. What has not been depicted? All that one

Fig. 622. Meeting of Jacob and Rachel. Fresco in the Loggie of Raphael, Vatican

the right side is an old mason at his work. Evidently these are all portraits. On top, Fame, the goddess of glory, proclaims the beauty of the work. On another strip are the three Pagan fates, one above the other, the uppermost holding a distaff spinning the thread of human life, the center one with a spindle weaving the strands which the shears of the lower one cut apart. The other pilaster of the wall is a beautiful Christian contrast: again three women are painted, beautiful, gentle figures; above, Faith holds the cross and chalice; in the sees, feels, hears, wishes for in dreams. Yes, but all these dream-pictures, these little creations of imagination are subject to laws and bound by them—the laws of art, of beauty, and of good taste.

Even in his combination of colors Raphael imitated the ancients; but he surpassed them in his fine feeling for effect—gray or brown drawings on a black background, festoons on a clear sky-blue, brown pictures in a whitish stucco frame, yellow medallions in a brown panel, grotesques on a dark blue background, and

brightest colored designs on a white strip of wall or a ribbon—all united in most beautiful harmonizing color! What a favorable impression the domes of the two arcades make! The vault is divided into rhomboids and in the openings the figures of angels are depicted on a brown, green, yellow, or white background. It seems as if they are surrounded by a rainbow of color.

Everything beautiful is liable to destruction. The Loggie have lost much of their splendor. The breath of time and weather has blown destructively on the walls of these open halls; the colors have faded and much is defaced. The arcade was not enclosed in glass until 1813 to protect the master-painter's work and impair that of the architect. The row of arcades beneath the Loggie of Raphael was beautifully and tastefully decorated by Giovanni da Udine with vines and fanciful ornaments. The arcades of the other wings were adorned with paintings and stucco during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries; but not a trace of Raphael and his pupils can be found in these halls. Under Pius IX Mantovani and Consoni restored and renovated some of the Loggie and entirely redecorated others—a monument of taste and talent, replete with splendid color. How beautiful must have been Raphael's Loggie when their colors were still fresh!

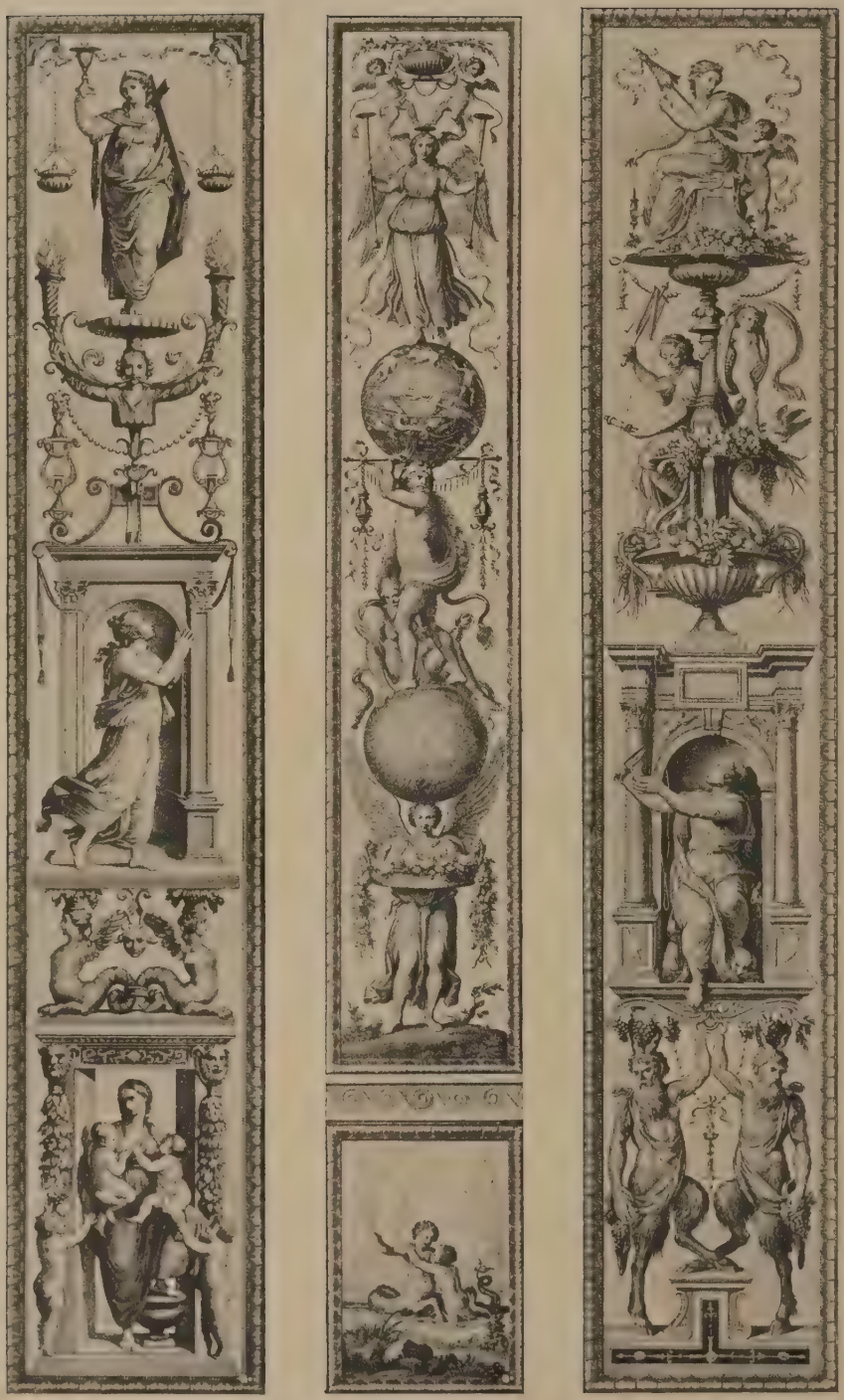
## THE TAPESTRIES OF RAPHAEL (RAPHAEL'S CARTOONS)

LEO X intended to have the socle panels and strips of wall in the Sistine covered with woven tapestries. Raphael made drawings for these and during the years 1515 and 1516, in which he also designed the "Borgo Fire" in the Stanza, he made ten water-color sketches, for which he received—according to a bill still existing—434 ducats.

These sketches were sent to Arras in Flanders, famous for its tapestries, which reproduced designs and drawings of every kind in any desired colors. Under the direction of his pupil, Bernard of Orley, Raphael's sketches were transferred into wool, silk, and gold threads on the loom; and these tapestries of Raphael are still called "Arrazzi," after the old Flemish town.

In 1518 the first of the tapestries came to Rome and were placed in the Sistine. "Every one in the chapel," says De Grassis, master of ceremonies to the Pope, "was astonished when he saw them and every one said to himself, 'There is nothing more beautiful in the world!' " The same authority adds that each tapestry cost two thousand ducats of gold, though the price is given differently by others. The weavers in the Netherlands followed the sketches of the master; but in a few of the heads and several landscapes they made some arbitrary changes, being unable to represent the outlines in as soft and fluent a manner as they had been drawn by Raphael. The return of the sketches, it seems, was not demanded—an oversight hard to understand. Seven of them are known to be in existence, however; they came into the possession of the English king Charles II, and are still in England.

What do these tapestry drawings of Raphael represent? Not richly colored ornamental flower designs, but animated groups—ten are scenes from the history of the apostles: the Death of Ananias; Peter Receiving the Keys of Heaven from Our Lord; the Miraculous Draught of Fishes; Peter Healing the Lame Man at the Gate of the Temple; the Conversion of St. Paul; Paul and Barnabas Preaching in Lystra, where the people regarded them as gods; St. Paul depriving the Magician Elymas of sight; the Sermon of St. Paul in Athens and his Captivity in Philippi. These are all sublime subjects, and represent, for the most part, incidents from the life of the early Church. The pictures, therefore, fit completely into the circle of ideas which Michael Angelo's powerful brush represented in the Sistine. In conception and



Figs. 623–625. Grotesques in the Loggie of Raphael, Vatican

THE SCHOOL OF ATHENS. MURAL PAINTING BY RAPHAEL IN THE STANZA DELLA SEGNATURA, VATICAN

composition, too, Raphael is so great and so bold that he need not fear proximity to Michael Angelo. Speaking in general, the tapestries of Raphael are his greatest production and give even a more general, more complete satisfaction than his Stanze.

Fig. 626. Grotesque in the Loggie of Raphael, Vatican

In the tapestries we find no allegories or symbolical representations, no portraits of contemporaries, no figures in medieval drapery placed in the midst of Scriptural scenes and disturbing the harmonious impression; Raphael was free, and he used his liberty to exercise his greatest powers. An incident in the Holy Scripture does not degenerate into a contemporary occurrence, as, for instance, in the Stanza of Heliodorus. Nothing impeded the artist; no imitation, no unjustified wishes and claims; unhampered, he could sketch the Gospel characters and episodes that lived in his artist mind. Everything is great and noble, conceived in a deep and lofty manner, so united as to produce a magnificent effect. The groups are animated, the outlines significant, and the faces full of vivid expression, while the backgrounds with their landscapes or buildings are equally praiseworthy. The tapestries, therefore, belong among the most beautiful historical pictures of all time. Each is conceived in its own individual manner, just as the Scriptural incident suggested.

Here we see the "Miraculous Draught of Fishes." In a boat at some distance the fishermen are shown busily emptying the contents of their overflowing nets. In a little boat in the foreground Peter, humble and astonished, hastily and excitedly kneels before Christ and cries: "Depart from me; for I am a sinful man, O Lord!" Gently explaining the meaning of the miracle our Saviour replies: "Fear not; from henceforth thou shalt catch men." A charming landscape with rocks, meadows, and castellated cities, animated with beautiful groups, completes the picture.

The "Sermon of St. Paul in Athens" takes us to the principal city of Greece, which was distinguished as no other city of the world by the fame of its citizens in all branches of art and science. On his walk through the city the Apostle of the Gentiles found an altar with the inscription: *"To the Unknown God."* He made use of the occasion to proclaim the one true God to the heathen lost in polytheism. Once especially he did so solemnly, when the inquisitive Greeks led him up to the hill which rises above the beautiful city and where the highest court of law, the Areopagus, had its seat. Not all of them, it is true, understood his profound speech about one God and one Judge, about repentance and a future resurrection, but the Gospel took root in many hearts.

Among the believers the Acts of the Apostles mentions Dionysius the Areopagite and a woman named Damaris. Raphael conceived the story of the Gospel in his broadest style. How sublime is the figure of the Apostle of the Gentiles, clad in a long robe and with arms outstretched! In the faces of his hearers we read the sentiments of their hearts. Eager for salvation, Dionysius extends his arms, attracted by the divine words as if by an invisible power, as is also Damaris at his side. Some are meditating on the new doctrine, others resist the word of God that does not fit their formulæ; and those are easily distinguished who in lazy self-complacency "employed themselves in nothing else, but either in telling or in hearing some new thing."

Once Paul and his pupil Barnabas came to Lystra in Asia Minor. "There sat a certain man, impotent in his feet, a cripple from his mother's womb, who never had walked." He listened to the teachings of the Apostle and gained confidence in Paul's divine mission. Turning to the cripple, Paul said in a loud voice: "Stand upright on thy feet. And he leaped up and walked." The miracle caused such extraordinary excitement that the people thought Jupiter, the highest of their gods, and Mercury, the divine messenger, had appeared in human form. Near the temple before the city a sacrificial feast was prepared in honor of the supposed gods. "Which, when the apostles Barnabas and Paul had heard, rending their clothes, they leaped out among the people, crying, and saying: Ye men, why do ye these things? We also are mortals, men like unto you. . . ." This is the moment the artist chose for his picture; everything is ready for the festivity; on the altar glows the sacrificial flame; the crowned victims are led forward; the crowd of people waits expectantly; the lame man, too, has come out; an old man curiously examines his legs made sound by the miracle. Every detail is made so expressive that it needs no explanation. For the actual sacrificial rite Raphael used an old pagan picture for his model. In both the above-mentioned tapestries he employs temples and other edifices, statues and landscapes, to frame Scriptural incidents effectively.

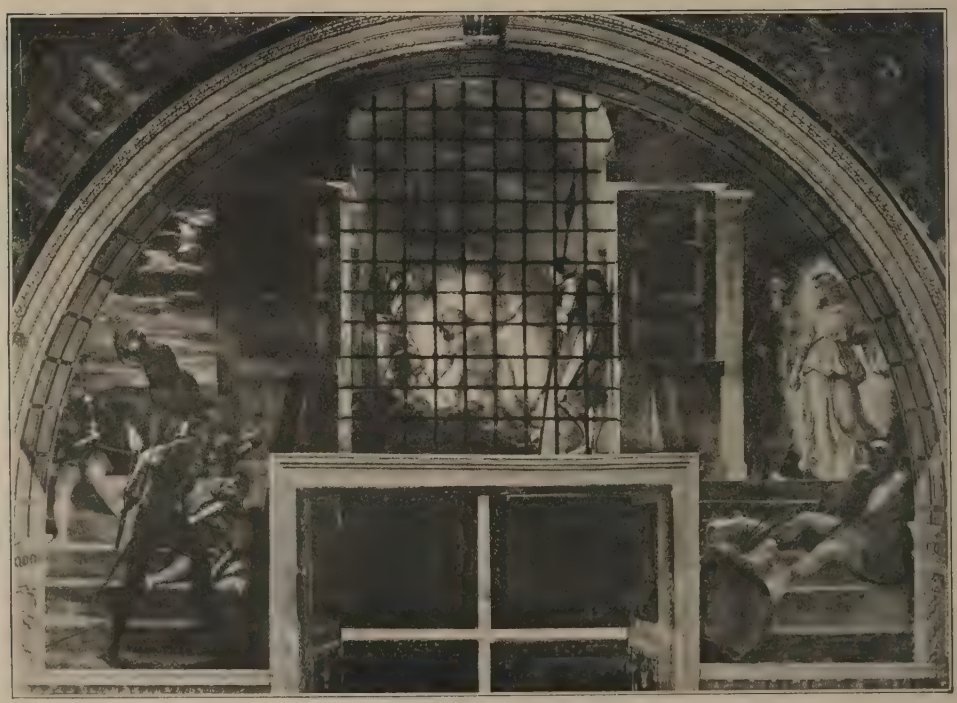
These Arrazzi (or Arras) tapestries of Raphael are so called to distinguish them from those of the new school. For the Vatican possesses others depicting episodes from the life of Christ. In several of the Arrazzi, as the Adoration of the Shepherds and the Kings, the Murder of the Innocents in Bethlehem, and the Resurrection, we find many a figure and group that betoken the hand of Raphael; whereas this is not so in the later tapestries. This second series was made in Flanders, probably not on a specific order but for general sale; even the weaving betrays less skill and care. The drawings for these seem to have been made by artists of the Netherlands who either finished or expanded small sketches by Raphael, or worked independently. These tapestries were afterward brought to Rome, probably as a gift of Francis I of France, on the occasion of the canonization of the Blessed Francis of Paula.

The tapestries have their own remarkable history. Not long did they adorn the walls of the Papal private chapel; for during the capture of Rome in 1527—traces of which we meet in almost all the older works of art—they became the booty of the rough Franco-German conquerors and were taken away. A French nobleman obtained them, had them mended, and (1553) returned them to Pope Julius III. The lower half of one of the tapestries was missing. It probably had been burned in order to extract the gold woven into it. From several others the beautiful lateral friezes with arabesque designs (by Penni and Da Udine, like those on the pilasters of the Loggie) were absent, also the lower border that showed incidents from the life of Leo X. Since then they have not been in the Sistine; but on Corpus Christi they adorn the halls in front of St. Peter's. During the French Revolution, whose disturbance so quickly and destructively af-

fected Rome, the tapestries were again stolen and came into the hands of a Jew. Art, of course, found no mercy where gold thread gleamed enticingly; a piece was burned, but the result did not fulfil expectations and the tapestries were taken to Genoa, where they were re-purchased for Pius VII. Now they adorn one of the long halls of the Vatican. What they were in former days may be imagined but not seen. Colors have faded and vanished, the delicate flesh tints are stained a dirty yellow and the gold is tarnished, though it nevertheless produces a fine and harmonious effect. How it must have gleamed and glittered in the long draperies of the great Biblical heroes! They must have seemed as though wrapped in the splendor of heaven. But even though the glow of the colors is gone, the spirit of the immortal artist lives to-day in these woven pictures.

The Hall of Tapestries leads to another corridor, 150 meters long, called the Geographical Gallery, because the walls are covered with painted maps of the provinces of Italy and with plans of cities. Gregory XIII had these made by the Dominican Danti, a famous mathematician, astronomer, and geographer. On the barrel-vault between the lavish decoration of arabesques and stucco are inserted paintings of a Scriptural, religious, and historical character, and landscapes with which stucco, color, and gold, and a most varied and delicate division into panels, produce a charming and harmonious effect. Seventy ancient Roman busts placed upon *hermae* form a silent guard of honor and lead us through the hall shining with gold.

Fig. 627. The Miraculous Draught of Fishes. Tapestry. In the Vatican



FIGS. 627 A, B. EXPULSION OF HELIODORUS FROM THE TEMPLE AND THE DELIVERANCE OF ST. PETER FROM PRISON. MURAL PAINTINGS BY RAPHAEL IN THE STANZA D'ELIODORO, VATICAN

FIGS. 627 C, D. PAUL AND BARNABAS AT LYSTRA; PAUL PREACHING IN ATHENS. TAPESTRIES AFTER RAPHAEL'S DESIGNS, VATICAN

## THE VATICAN COLLECTION OF PAINTINGS

THE Vatican *Pinacoteca* or Picture Gallery is not old. Pius VII began it with the masterpieces which had been taken to Paris during the Revolution, some of which had been returned after the Peace of 1815. This collection, increased by Pius IX and especially by Pius X, is one of the most famous galleries in the world. Not a piece in it lacks value either as art or in the history of art; many of the paintings are genuine masterpieces. Some of the greatest names are represented: Fra Angelico, da Vinci, Perugino, Raphael, Domenichino, Titian, and Murillo. Pius IX had this collection of paintings removed from the interior of the Vatican Palace and set up in the western wing of the *Galleria della Biblioteca,* which was once the *Floreria* (hothouse) and the carriage-house. This was the work of Ludwig Seitz, who died before the change was completed. Pius X brought many pictures to the new *Pinacoteca,* chiefly smaller ones which had previously been kept elsewhere; 56 came from the Museum of the Lateran, 181 from the Vatican Library and its adjoining Christian Museum. These new additions are a valuable contribution to the knowledge of older Italian painting. Among the other notable pictures are: The "Denial of St. Peter," a masterpiece by Caravaggio; The "Holy Family," by Carlo Maratta; a "Pietà," by the elder Lucas Cranach; The "Holy Family Resting in Egypt," by Federigo Baroccio, which was painted for Simonetto Anastagi in Perugia, but found its way into the Jesuit church in that town, and, later, into the Lateran. It is one of the finest works of this master. The former collection contained 55 pictures, the present has 277; it was formally opened by the Pope on March 28, 1909. It consists of seven rooms, four to the right of the entrance and three to the left. The first contains the artists of the fourteenth century, among them a charming example of Fra Angelico—"The Birth, Sermon, and Miracle of St. Nicholas of Bari." In the second room are the artists of the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries. In the noteworthy fresco by Melozzo da Forli (1438–1494), which in bright, clear coloring and the firm, austere Paduan style shows the appointment of Platina as the first librarian, by Sixtus IV. The figures are not properly grouped, but seem disconnected and "spotty." The third room contains the sentimental pictures of the schools of Umbria and the Marches. The greatest master here is Pietro Vanucci (1446–1524), called Perugino for the principal place of his activity, Perugia. His chief picture, "The Madonna Enthroned," is in the fourth room, which is named for his great pupil, Raphael. In the year 1496 Perugino received an order to paint, for the town hall in Perugia, a Madonna, with the patrons of the town. To the left of the Blessed Virgin he placed SS. Herculanus and Constantine, to the right SS. Laurence and Louis. The picture was done in the artist's best period. Following earlier painters and a custom still prevailing in art, the Blessed Virgin is seated upon a high throne, as befits the Queen of heaven. She has the features of the Virgin Mother, simple, true, and full of grace. The figures of the four saints are so beautifully painted that they do not seem to be flat, but stand out in full relief. The tints are wonderful, the shadows brilliant and illuminated by light; the flesh colors are delicately and softly laid on. Here Perugino surpassed artists who, in other respects, were greater than he. Others of his excellent qualities are in this picture: bright, glowing colors in the garments, painted with an astonishing clarity; but especially good is the sincere, animated expression in his faces, for which he had a kind of formula. "There must have been a divine moment in his life, when for the first time he endowed the sweetest form with an expression of greatest enthusiasm, of longing, and of deepest devotion" (Buckhardt). The French conquerors

Fig. 628. The Geographical Gallery. Vatican

who bore the painting to Paris estimated its value at $12,000.

This room chiefly contains works by Raphael, among them one of his most precious youthful pictures, whose charm is incomparable—"The Coronation of the Blessed Virgin"—which in his twentieth year he painted for the chapel of the *Maddalena degli Oddi* in the Church of St. Francis in Perugia (1503). Below, at a grave filled with lilies, are the apostles, youthful figures full of noble charm and tender grace. They look eagerly and blissfully upward and behold (in a wreath of angels resting on clouds) the Blessed Virgin, crowned by her divine Son. Raphael was then under the influence of the Umbrian school; but the Umbrian lack of freedom, charm, and grace are yet replete with deep, pure feeling and genuine emotion; and this picture painted with youthful naïve enthusiasm is inexpressibly attractive. The predella (step for candlesticks) for this picture is also in this room. The "Annunciation," the notably beautiful "Adoration of the Kings," and the "Presentation in the Temple" were painted with the same devotional feeling. Raphael produced the "Madonna di Foligno" in 1512, after he had passed through the Florentine school, when he was a complete, but not yet a finished artist, for he never rested and continually strove to rise higher and higher. About this time Sigismondo Conti, the last male descendant of a noble family of Foligno, who was confidential secretary to Pope Julius II, ordered from Raphael a votive picture to adorn the chief altar of Our Lady on the Capitol, or *Ara Coeli*. In 1565 it came to the monastic Church of St. Anna in Foligno, in 1788 to Paris, and thence into the Vatican collection. The wooden panel on which the picture had originally been painted became so impaired by that time that in Paris the picture was transferred to canvas, whereby it was necessarily damaged in some places and had to be restored.

In a circle of dazzling light the Blessed Mother and Divine Child are enthroned. Below, on the right, St. Jerome affectionately recommends the donor, Sigismondo Conti; on the left St. Francis kneels beside St. John the Baptist, both absorbed in blissful contemplation. In the center an angel of wondrous beauty lifts toward heaven a tablet for the votive inscription. In the background in a beautiful landscape

are the roofs and towers of Foligno; on the right a glowing bomb falls curving into the city, reminding us of a danger which once threatened the donor of the picture. But now a rainbow in peace and promise arches over the city and landscape. The picture possesses one incomparable beauty: the Blessed Virgin appears, it is said, rather as the Mother of the Son of man than as the Mother of God. She certainly appears ineffably beautiful and gentle, exciting love and confidence, and yet full of tender majesty as the mother of Him who was pleased to call Himself the Son of man. For her eyes and mouth the master found no models here on earth. The Divine Child seems about to climb down from the mother's lap to the adoring old man. As the prayer rises, God's grace, God Himself, descends —how could the fruit of confident prayer be better expressed? Who would not heartily wish the fulfilment of his wishes to the old man who prays so simply, so truly, so fervently, so piously? And especially when St. Jerome with affection and faith pleads for him! No eye can see enough of this figure of the saint with its incomparably gentle expression, its paternal protection in placing a hand on Conti's head, as if about to say to the Blessed Mother: "Accept him as your protégé; listen to my prayer; he deserves it." The motion of his other hand fully proves that such words are hovering on his lips. St. John forms an effective contrast; a figure of rough, holy earnestness and of profound, deep feeling. The whole picture is a most beautiful illustration to the words which a German poet sang to the Blessed Virgin:

"On the bow of the eternal covenant, thou, full of earnestness and surrounded by halos, standest above land and billows. And a heavenly longing draws all life toward heaven, toward thy great Mother's heart." (Eichendorff.)

The picture is as beautiful in color and as fresh as on its first day. The garment of the Madonna never was more lovely

Fig. 629. Third Hall of the New Pinacoteca. Vatican

THE TRANSFIGURATION OF CHRIST. BY RAPHAEL. PINACOTHECA, VATICAN

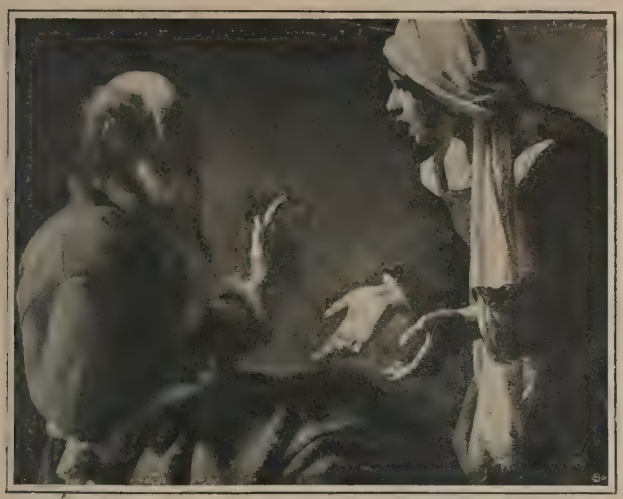


Fig. 630. The Denial of Peter. By Caravaggio. In the Pinacoteca. Vatican

than this of deep warm red and bright sky-blue. The purple cloak of a Papal confidential secretary certainly was never more magnificent and dignified. The angels are airy creatures, painted in a deep greenish blue, the color of the clouds.

Raphael's last votive picture was the "Transfiguration." He completed only the upper part; the lower was made after his sketches by his pupils Francesco Penni and Giulio Romano. When, in the first days of April, the body of the artist, who died far too young, lay in the death-house, this picture was set up behind it. Cardinal Julian de Medici, who later became Pope Clement VII, had it painted for his cathedral in Narbonne. But since the result had been so wonderful and the memories connected with it had given it more than a mere artistic value, he preserved it for Rome by presenting it to the Church of *S. Pietro in Montorio.* In 1779 it, too, went to the city on the Seine, valued at $300,000. Raphael probably received an order for only one "Transfiguration," perhaps only for a picture of the two Levites Stephen and Laurence, whom we see near the margin on the left, but he gave more.

After St. Luke tells of the transfiguration of Christ on Mt. Thabor he adds that on the following day a man brought to the Saviour his demoniac son, saying: "Master, I beseech Thee, look upon my son; because he is my only one. . . . I desired Thy disciples to cast him (the evil spirit) out; and they could not." Raphael in depicting the transfiguration on the mountain at the same time represents—at the foot of the mountain—this latter Scrip-

Fig. 631. The Birth, Sermon, and Miracle of St. Nicholas of Bari. By Fra Angelico. In the Pinacoteca. Vatican

tural incident. On the right is the father with his afflicted son; at their right and left we see the boy's mother and sister kneeling. The disciples of Christ, embarrassed, stand on the left side. The powerful effect of this picture on every thoughtful spectator is due to the combination of the two episodes. Below are impotence and poverty, above omnipotence and majesty; on earth misery and need, in heaven

Fig. 632. Madonna. By Perugino. In the Pinacoteca. Vatican

bliss and enjoyment; here below darkness, above contemplation and certainty. What contrasts! They are as far apart as heaven and earth, as humanity and divinity. But Christ bridges these two worlds; so says the apostle as he points to the summit of Mt. Thabor: "Above, on the mountain, there, is Christ; in Him we find redemption and salvation. That which we attempt in vain is easy for His omnipotence." Such is the meaning of the magnificent picture. The figure of Christ hovers among light clouds, His eyes and arms raised toward heaven, where God dwells in eternal glory. Transfiguration is especially evident in the indescribable gentleness of His features. The snow-white garment, the face shining like the sun, had no earthly model. As if uplifted by the Saviour, Moses and Elias also rise, gazing blissfully at Him. Their eyes beam with divine light, while the three chosen disciples turn aside their dazzled eyes. James fulfils the word of the Gospel, "They threw themselves upon the ground and suffered great fear"; Peter fulfils that other word, "Their eyes were heavy with sleep"; the bright glow of light and the deep shadow are shown with especial beauty in the figure of John, who protects his downcast eyes with his hand. This upper part of the picture is most effective because Raphael employed a higher, ideal canon—three different bodily proportions, the largest for Christ, the second for Moses and Elias, and the smallest for the three apostles. The ancient classical art and especially the earlier Christian ecclesiastical art furnish examples of this.

Every face of the group in the lower part of the picture is characteristic. What reproaches against the powerful disciples of Christ do we read in the eyes of the father who has been deceived in his firm hope, what accusations in the features of the man standing behind him, who stretches out his right arm as if to say to the apostles: "Why do you pretend to be workers of miracles if you can not heal this possessed one?" Not so the bystanders and the mother and sister of the sick boy; they continue to pray and point to the misery of the poor, tortured one, who expresses by unnatural contortions his terrible condition, which though pitiful—and in this restraint we recognize the true artist—is not repulsive. The beautiful heads of the apostles denote their high calling, even though their wonder-working powers have this time been insufficient. St. Andrew, sitting in the foreground, has been disturbed in his

Fig. 633. Holy Family. By Maratta. In the Pinacoteca. Vatican

reading and contemplation, and the face of another disciple still glows with the flower of youth. He bends forward and gazes fixedly at the possessed one, while Judas looks askance over his curly head. Judas is not repulsive, though his features, expressive of cold contempt, betray his ignoble nature and a heart steeled against sympathy.

The color in this lower part of the picture is less harmonious; one misses the master and sees the hands of his less skilled pupils. The lights are almost dazzling, the shadows extremely deep and dark, and there is an absence of blending and soft transitions.

This picture was formerly regarded by many artists and connoisseurs as Raphael's best. Without denying its excellence one must, nevertheless, admit that it lacks the pure tone, the lofty and sublime feeling of his tapestry pictures (cartoons). The artist displays his mastery in beautiful features and lines, in the shoulder drawn with unerring skill, in the forced position of the arms; but neither the subject nor the exigencies of art required him to place the demoniac boy in such a conspicuous position, and thereby disturb the whole effect. Art should ever strive for effect.

In the same room is another picture which Raphael designed, but which was not finished until 1525, by Giulio Romano and Francesco Penni. It is the "Coronation of the Blessed Virgin," ordered in 1505 by the nuns of Monte Luce in Perugia. The picture is rich in color, but is a little loud and does not show the fine harmony and tonality of a genuine Raphael.

The fifth room is reserved for masters of the Venetian school. The great Titian is represented by two excellent pictures. One, an altar-piece from the Church of the Frari in Venice, came to Rome in 1770 under Clement XIV. In a halo filled with bright rays of light Mary appears between two angels; they bring to the divine Child on His mother's lap crowns which He prepares for the saints waiting below, in the dim light of earth: Sebastian, Francis with the cross, Anthony with the lily, Peter, Ambrose in richly embroidered garments shining with gold, and Catherine. The conception, composition, and grouping of

Fig. 634. Rest During the Flight into Egypt. In the Pinacoteca. Vatican

the artists of the *Cinquecento* in Venice always show a certain freedom; such is the case here and the heads are magnificent, the painting wonderfully soft and delicate. The other is a portrait of the Doge Niccolò Marcello, admirable in its golden warmth of color tints, its delicacy of modeling, clear outline, and free treatment.

The masters of the later period of perfection in the seventeenth century are grouped in the seventh room. First of all we are drawn to the large picture by Domenichino, "The Last Communion of St. Jerome." The saint, eighty years of age, half kneeling, half lying on the steps of the altar and supported with difficulty by his friends, receives from the hands of St. Ephraim as viaticum the body of Our Lord; the deacon with the chalice offers him the blood. The pupil of the great Father of the Church, St. Paulina, kisses his tired hand, and once more the light of life flickers in the saint; then all is over; already the angels of his soul are waiting to conduct it to God.

Contemporaries gave an extremely favorable opinion of this picture. It is unhesitatingly counted among the five most beautiful paintings in Rome; from the point of view of art during the last two centuries these are, besides the Domenichino, the "Transfiguration," by Raphael; the "Descent from the Cross," by Volterra; "St. Romuald," by Sacchi; and "St. Petronilla," by Guercino; we give reproductions of them all. Two thorough artists, Poussin and Andrea Sacchi, declare the Domenichino to be the absolute equal of Raphael's "Transfiguration"; yes, the Frenchman even proclaims it the highest attainment in painting. What was considered unsurpassable is the faithful, masterly representation of the old man from whose withered body the earthly life ebbs away, while in his ecstasy and longing for the life of heaven his eye kindles for the last time. Everything is manifest in a soul whose life is independent of the weak members that fetter it; the muscles have become feeble and withered, and the arms no longer obey the will that would raise them toward heaven; the body is consumed with labor and penitence; the hard, stringy veins are visible; the bony framework is falling apart in decay, all its parts announce the ruin of a great structure. What admirers thus emphasize has been represented by the artist with absolute truth to nature; but they mistake a masterly technique for genuine art. This body from which the snows of eighty winters have taken away all color, youthful beauty, and manly vigor, no longer shows any noble traits; it is, on the contrary, ill suited to produce esthetic pleasure, since too much stress is laid on the motive. The red garment makes the body of the saint seem even paler and more withered, and a more complete drapery would have been essential, inasmuch as the holy event transpires on the steps of the church altar. Other things have been beautifully thought out and represented—the fiery eye of the saint; his lips parted in longing; his broad knees hardened by prayer and penitence; the man with a splendid head who looks down on his dying friend; St. Ephraim, whose face has a blessed repose and a rapt devotion to Christ; the young Levite, who with astonishment and admiration looks down upon Jerome; the lovely group of angels about which bright rays of light play—all are indeed beautiful.

In the picture by Andrea Sacchi St. Romuald directs his disciples and pupils to the steps of heaven, upon which the departed members of the Order ascend on high. It is a simple picture breathing quiet peace. The figures have been taken directly from life; but it is not a painting of empty realism (with which true art can never be satisfied), for the inner bliss of the soul—which glorifies everything—raises this picture into a higher sphere. The faces show little variety; and this has been excused by the fact that as the rule of the Order requires its members to dress in similar garments, so their features express the same harmony of soul. This excuse may satisfy ascetics, but it does not justify the artist. The way he tries to remove the monotony of white garments by means of richly colored landscape and clumps of green trees is masterly. Even

Figs. 635–636. The Coronation of Our Lady and the Madonna of Foligno. Paintings by Raphael in the Pinacoteca. Vatican

if one be disinclined to consider the painting among the highest productions of art, as was formerly done, it still deserves a place among beautiful pictures.

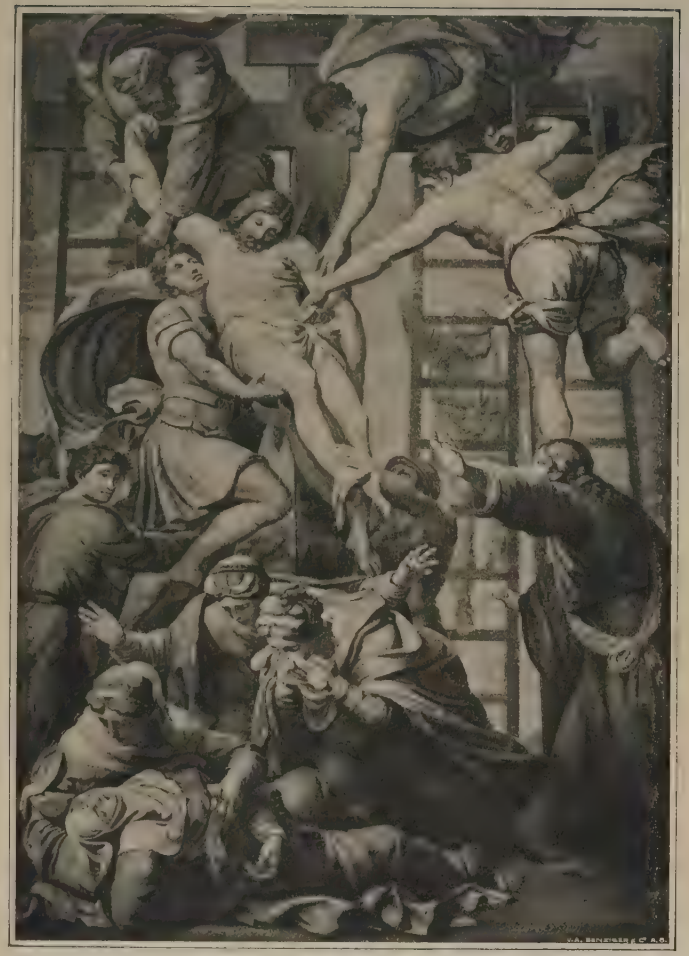
Caravaggio (Michelangelo Amerighi) strikes quite a different chord in his "Entombment." A poor man is lowered into the grave; friends show him the last honor and respect; a few relatives shed tears for him. If we take this view of the picture, it is true to nature and the subject is felt and represented truly and very deeply. The features and expression, clothing and bearing are all in harmony. But the dead person is Christ, the two men are noble Israelites, Joseph of Arimathea and Nicodemus; in the weeping women we are to recognize the Blessed Mother of Our Lord, Mary Magdalen, and Salome. The picture now becomes excessively realistic and the vigorous color tints and genuine pain in the faces appear to us almost an aberration. When the artist thus shows gamblers and soldiers, robbers and guards,

FIG. 637. ST. ROMUALD. BY SACCHI. IN THE PINACOTECA. VATICAN

FIG. 638. PORTRAIT OF A DOGE. BY TITIAN. IN THE PINACOTECA. VATICAN

he is in his own element and his masterly powers have taken possession of their own.

In the last room we find an agglomeration of pictures by non-Italian artists: a beautiful "Marriage of St. Catherine and the Christ-Child" by Murillo, bloody pictures of martyrs by the Frenchmen Nicholas Poussin and Valentin, and a masterly large portrait of the English King George IV, by Lawrence. A small collection of modern pictures, which were painted chiefly for canonizations, is in two rooms of the Vatican. The impression of them is not very favorable, for despite their generous patronage the late Popes have not been successful in attracting great talent. The Roman artists of recent times have produced few good and no very excellent works. Under two of the best paintings is the name of the talented Fracassini of Orvieto, who died too early. One represents the blessed Peter Canisius before Emperor Ferdinand, the other the martyrs of Gorkum. In them Fracassini reveals himself as a thorough painter; bright and glowing, yet harmonious color, surprising effects of light and a beautiful and simple arrangement are his chief characteristics. In the "Martyrs of Gorkum" he closely approaches the limits of the permissible;



FIGS. 639–640. DESCENT FROM THE CROSS. BY VOLTERRA. IN SS. TRINITÀ DEI MONTI. LAST COMMUNION OF ST. JEROME. BY DOMENICHINO. IN THE PINACOTECA. VATICAN

the terrible is represented so faithfully and so truly as to destroy the enjoyment of the picture's beautiful parts and of its masterly technique.

The two halls of modern paintings, together with the *Sala dell' Immacolata*, form the so-called *Galleria Pia*—an ante-room to the Stanze of Raphael. This hall is named from the mural oil paintings by Podesti: The "Proclamation of the Dogma of the Immaculate Conception" (1854); the "Papal High Mass for the Festivities"; the "Allegory of Eternal Christian Rome"; and the "Holy Women" (on the ceiling). Much of the work is composed and grouped with great skill, yet the artistic value of the Camera of Podesti is not more important than that of ceremonial pictures—and then the dangerous proximity to Raphael! As far as their technical execution is concerned Podesti's joyless colors are offensive, especially the yellow ochre. Ludwig Seitz's paintings in the *Galleria dei Candelabri*, done by order of Leo XIII, are, however, noble and pleasing in drawing, composition, and color. Seitz was born in Rome (1843) and began his first art training under his father, Alexander Maximilian, with whom he painted in the cathedral in Diakovar. The chief works of Seitz are the excellent mural paintings in the chapel of the castle of Heiligenberg, in the German chapel of the cathedral of Loreto—a decorative production of great magnificence—and these pictures on the ceiling of the Gallery of the Candelabra. In two of them St. Thomas Aquinas is glorified in the wisdom by which he destroys false doctrines and victoriously defends divine truth. Two other pictures refer to the merits of Leo XIII—the exposition of the Social Question and the propagation of the Rosary. The former represents the higher divine science versus profane human knowledge, and the latter shows Christian art versus ancient art. Both are pictures of charming purity and beauty.

Fig. 642. Betrothal of St. Catherine. By Murillo. In the Pinacoteca. Vatican

Fig. 641. Burial of Christ. By Caravaggio. In the Pinacoteca. Vatican

Divine and Human Science; Ancient and Christian Art
L. Seitz—Gallery of the Candelabra. Vatican

Fig. 643. Hall of the Immaculate Conception. Vatican

## THE BORGIAN APARTMENT. THE VATICAN LIBRARY

THIS apartment comprises six rooms which Alexander VI (1492-1503), of the Spanish house of Borgia, equipped for his private residence. These rooms were damaged in the Sack of Rome. Five of them were later used as halls for the library. As the private life of the Pope was by no means free from reproach, the opponents of the Papacy whispered that it was wise to conceal the walls, for behind the bookstands and tapestries were hidden paintings of an offensive character. It is an old experience that the best defense of the Popes is a knowledge of their works and deeds. From 1889 to 1897 Leo XIII had the Borgian Apartment restored under the direction of Ludwig Seitz. The artists he employed worked in sympathy with his desire to preserve as far as possible the old, to change nothing and to repaint nothing. The rooms represent that period of the Renaissance which is of intense interest. All the joy of color, all the desire for decoration, the youthful naïveté of the Early Renaissance, dominate these halls. Giovanni da Udine and Perino del Vaga ornamented the ceilings and walls with most delicate, graceful, and abundant designs in color, stucco, and gold.

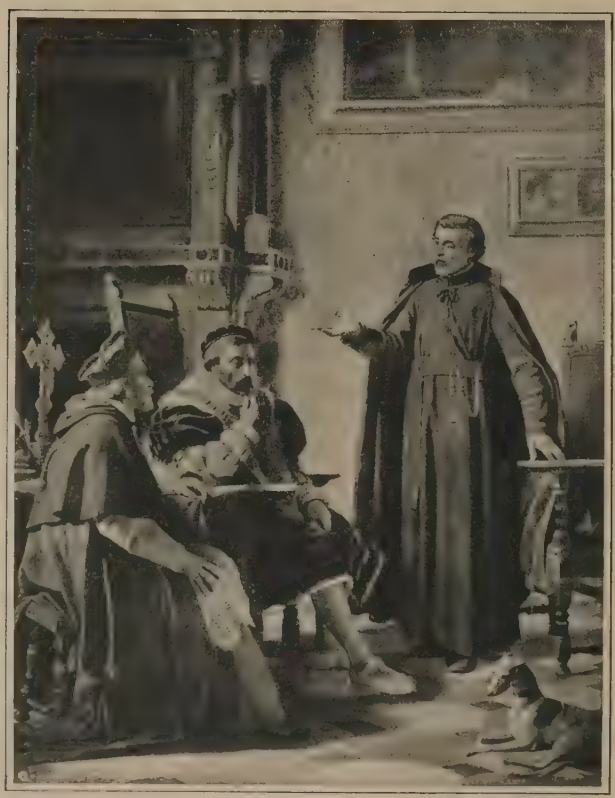


FIG. 644. ST. CANISIUS BEFORE EMPEROR FERDINAND. BY FRACASSINI. IN THE PINACOTECA. VATICAN

The best of the mural paintings were done by Pinturicchio and his pupils. The master's own works are extremely charming. They have not the intuitively rich ideas of a genius, but those of a master to whom painting and drawing are a pleasure, and in whose imagination one picture soon displaces another. In the second hall, the *Sala della Madonna,* he portrays the Annunciation, the Adoration of the Magi (among them Alexander VI in all his robes of state), Pentecost, the Ascension of Christ, and the Assumption of the Blessed Virgin. In the third hall, the *Sala dei Santi,* we find scenes from the life and death of SS. Barbara and Catherine, St. Sebastian, and also the visit of St. Anthony to the hermit Paul. The fourth room, the *Sala della Arti Liberali,* shows allegories of the liberal arts and incidents from profane history.

The Catholic Church has ever been a protector of science and hence had to preserve the means for scientific research, such as collections of books and his-

Fig. 645. Escape of St. Barbara. By Pinturicchio. In the Borgian Apartment. Vatican

torical documents, libraries, and archives. A papal archive existed in the Lateran Palace as early as the fourth century, and individual churches and monasteries also began collecting books. During the last four centuries the Popes have been less eager to collect books than to accumulate valuable manuscripts. Martin V (1417-1431) and Eugene IV (1431-1447) made precious, rich collections. Nicholas V (1447-1455), even before he was raised to the dignity of the Papacy, had been active in founding public libraries in Florence, Pesaro, Venice, Urbino, and Fiesole, and began, as Pope, to establish such a library for Rome. For this purpose he sought and bought manuscripts in Italy, Germany, England, Sweden, Denmark, and Greece. His collections included 9,000 pieces, when death prevented the completion of his plan. The real founder of the Vatican library is Sixtus IV (1471-1484). In the basement of the palace, under the Sistine Chapel, that was built by and named for him, he prepared a suitable home for the books—a hall with a triple division. In 1475 this valuable collection was placed and arranged in this hall; at the same time a fund was established, with which to pay the salaries of the library assistants. The learned Mantuan, Bartholomew Platina, a historian of the Popes, was the first librarian of the Vatican. In the Papal collection of paintings a beautiful fresco by Melozzo da Forli (1438-1494) recalls this foundation: Platina, the newly appointed librarian, kneels before Sixtus IV, beside whom are two nephews, Cardinal della Rovere, later Julius II, and Cardinal Riario; two other young relatives of the Pope are in the background—all are clear-cut, serious portraits.

The Vatican library was regarded, as early as the sixteenth century, as one of the most famous of the world; nearly all the Popes strove to increase its treasures. Later, indeed, it suffered losses—as in the Sack of Rome. Soon there was not enough room in the old quarters, which were also dark and damp; and Sixtus V caused Fontana to build the magnificent structure which now contains the library. The Popes, with lavish generosity, ex-

pended great sums for the purchase of rare manuscripts in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, during which time the greatest additions were made to the collection. The French Revolution proved disastrous to the Vatican library as well as to Rome's art treasures. After the Peace of Tolentino (1797) Bonaparte demanded 500 of the most important manuscripts; 343 were later brought to Paris. Most of these came back to Rome in 1814, but during the French rule and when all relations with Rome were on a tottering basis, many a precious page and rare coin was lost or stolen. The libraries of the secularized monasteries, which Bonaparte gave as a partial indemnity for the stolen Vaticana, were returned to their former owners by Pope Pius VII.

The Vatican is justly reckoned among the most famous libraries of the world. It contains, according to older lists, about 50,000 manuscripts, among them 25,000 in Latin; about 4,000 Greek; and about 2,200 Oriental, Arabic, Persian, Syrian, Turkish, and Hebrew; 609 Ethiopian, Coptic, Armenian, Iberian, Indian, and Chinese. The number of printed books (about 350,000) is comparatively small.

Fig. 646. The Founding of the Vatican Library. By Melozzo da Forli. In the Pinacoteca, Vatican

The entrance into the great hall of the library built by Fontana is a surprise. The brightly illuminated room is seventy meters long, fifteen wide, and nine high; six pillars divide it into beautiful halls with groined vaults. The walls have been covered with nondescript paintings by artists of the latter half of the six-

Fig. 647. Hall of the Library. Vatican

teenth century, pictures representing great councils, men of scientific prominence, and the structures erected by Sixtus V. Their artistic value is small; but the last-named are interesting because they give us views of Rome in the sixteenth century. The ceiling is lavishly decorated with stucco and gold.

Where are the precious manuscripts? In forty-six large cabinets, which stand against the side walls and enclose the socles of the pillars. In color, proportion, and form they harmonize so well with the architecture that the visitor is hardly aware of the fact that he is standing before the most famous collection of manuscripts in the world. A few books and leaves in glass cases are shown to every stranger and give him an idea of the hidden treasures. There he sees an open Bible written in the fifth century A.D., or a work of the Roman poet Virgil, with fifty remarkable pictures; letters from the English King Henry VIII to his second wife, Anne Boleyn—whom, later on, he handed over to the executioner; manuscripts of St. Charles Borromeo, Petrarch, Tasso; and the breviary of the heroic Hungarian King Matthias Corvinus, with magnificent pictures of saints. Just as remarkable are the palimpsests, ancient manuscripts on parchment, containing two texts, from which in early times the first writing was erased, in order to inscribe the pages a second time. In modern times means have been found to make the first writing again legible, which has led to rare discoveries. The hall is also rich in other precious objects. Between the pillars are exhibited elaborate gifts from emperors and kings to the later Popes: among the most beautiful are two large candelabra of Sèvres porcelain, a gift of Napoleon I to Pius VII; a vase of malachite and a cross with malachite foot from the Russian Emperor Alexander; two magnificent vases of Berlin porcelain, a gift of Frederick William IV of Prussia to Pius IX; and the baptismal font of the French Prince Imperial, Napoleon III, given to his godfather, Pius IX.

When leaving the hall, on the side opposite the entrance, we see another hall, 306 meters long, which opens to the right and left, and which is cut up into many chambers, that also contain valuable manuscripts and rare and interesting art treasures; ancient Christian objects from ecclesiastical and private life, religious objects of many centuries, the discoveries in the chapel *Sancta Sanctorum*, and many Greek paintings. One room is decorated with mural paintings from ancient Rome; and, in spite of their age, many of the colors are well preserved and fresh, especially the bright red and dark brown background. Pius VII paid $10,000 for a single one of these paintings—a picture representing the preparations for the famous Aldobrandinian Wedding. Another of these frescoes shows an ancient Pagan procession of children. An adjoining room holds a large collection of early Roman brick-stamps. It is not improbable that in ancient Rome the making of bricks was under the supervision and administration of the imperial government, and according to the stamp that the bricks of many ancient Roman structures show we can almost exactly compute their age. These marks upon the clay are, therefore, as valuable as manuscripts. At the end of the wing, and kept in tall cabinets distributed through several rooms, is another remarkable collection: the numerous messages which Pius IX received from the whole Catholic world during his extraordinary sufferings; and also those received during the jubilees, which he celebrated with greater splendor than any of his predecessors. The purpose of this collection is not to clear up secrets of the past, but to prove to future generations how much a Pope was loved and venerated by the Catholic world despite the ridicule and mockery of enemies.

In the right wing of the corridor are collections of equal interest: manuscripts, smaller objects of art, ancient Roman curiosities, inscriptions on metal, and textiles of incombustible asbestos, in which noble Romans burned the bodies of their relatives to keep their ashes pure and uncontaminated.

Fig. 648. Procession of Children. Fresco from Ostia. Vatican

## 2. THE GALLERIES OF THE CAPITOL AND OF THE VILLA BORGHESE.

### THE GALLERY OF THE CAPITOL

THE Capitoline Hill, or the Capitol, was the religious and political center of ancient Rome. During the early centuries of the Christian era its temples and palaces became ruins; time and foreign conquerors destroyed them. In the later Middle Ages a castle with five towers stood on the central slope, less as a decoration for the summit than as a warning against revolutionists and those professing the fantastic red republican notions of liberty which flourished in Rome in the fourteenth century and which were nourished by ancient Roman memories.

Paul III (1534-1549) ordered Michael Angelo to give the Capitol an appearance in keeping with its history. The great master made plans which with a few changes were executed by his pupils after his death. In ancient Rome the principal structure faced the southeast; due to the position of modern Rome the main approach has been made on the north. A gently ascending balustrade with broad steps leads to the top. Below, two beautiful ancient Egyptian lions of basalt guard the entrance and spout abundant streams of water; while above stand colossal statues of the demigods Castor and Pollux with their war-horses. Besides these are other monuments of ancient Roman art of which we have spoken. The top of the hill, bounded on three sides by palaces, forms a free rectangular space, and in the centre of this is an equestrian statue of the Emperor Marcus Aurelius. The senatorial palace, in the background, has beautiful double steps built by Michael Angelo and is occupied by several departments of the city administration. In former days the bell of its tower had the unique function of announcing the death of the Pope and, during the carnival, the beginning of the mad, festive joys. On the right and left it is flanked by the palace of the Conservatory and by the museum, both structures almost exclusively for objects of art. In them the Capitoline gallery of paintings has also been placed.

Benedict XIV founded it for a higher school of drawing and for the use of art students. The collection is numerous but of little value; it possesses no picture of first rank and but few of second, even though many artists and some famous names are among them.

Guercino is more splendidly represented than any other artist. His "Persian Sibyl" is a much praised picture. Most artists represent each of the Fates as an old woman, because prophecy is not associated with youth. Guercino gives his Sibyl youthful beauty, but withholds from her everything characteristically sibylline. Nothing proclaims her calling, not even physical power, as in Michael Angelo's Sibyls. Her brick-red cloak fails to please the eye. Guercino's best picture, "St. Petronilla," is also the most prominent in the whole collection. According to the legend, Petronilla was extraordinarily beautiful, so that one of the noblest sons of Rome, Flaccus, asked for her hand. While he deludes himself with fond hopes, the maiden prays God that He take her away before she loses the crown of her virginity. Flaccus, impatiently awaiting the marriage feast, looks for Petronilla, only to find her grave. In his grief he can not credit the news of her death and causes the grave to be opened and the dead girl disclosed; it is indeed the body of the beautiful maiden. This scene fills the lower part of the large painting, while the upper part shows the heavenly contrast: the saint, with modest bearing, is received in paradise by Christ surrounded by a host of angels. Thus, within the same frame, we see the same figure twice: the young girl, beautiful in death, and the maiden in her glorious resurrection; below is the body, motionless on the callous arms of the servants, while above is the soul in the same physical form, newly animated by the vision of God. Would that the figure

Fig. 649. The Capitol. Rome

Sala della Madonna, dei Santi; Sala delle Arti and del Credo
Borgian Apartments, Vatican

Fig. 650. The Persian Sibyl. By Guercino. In the Capitol

of Christ were conceived and drawn in worthier fashion! In Guercino's time artists were little concerned with fidelity to antiquity and hence the figures of ancient Rome were draped in seventeenth-century costumes. Guercino's object is less the representation of a deeply conceived thought than a triumph of his brush and palette. From a distance the picture looks like a brown mass, with white spots here and there; but on closer inspection these details become clearer and more definite. The execution is so astonishing that the spectator has no time to ask whether such lights and shadows, which seem possible only in a sepulchral vault, are true and unadulterated effects of daylight. This picture was honored by being copied in mosaic for the Vatican. It also was taken to Paris by Napoleon I. On both sides of the painting are medium-sized tablets, each of which represents St. Sebastian; the one on the left is by Annibale Caracci and that on the right by Guido Reni. The Roman warrior and martyr, however, serves both these masters merely as an excuse for depicting charming scenes. The Sebastian of Caracci is slightly warm in color, and the flesh is golden and luminous; Guido's is colder, whiter, and more chalky. The small painting called "The Lesson in Flute-Playing" shows us two Venetian figures clad in dark garments, emerging nobly from a dark background. The picture is attributed to Morone of Brescia. The freshness and fidelity of expression and the firm brush-work are not unworthy of him.

Among the best things in the gallery are: a portrait of Michael Angelo, probably by Marcello Venusti—the best portrait of the great sculptor; the portrait—not quite finished—of the great Spaniard, Velasquez, by himself (1630), and half-length portraits of the poets Thomas Killigrew and Henry Carew—on the same canvas—by the great Flemish master, Anthony Van Dyck.

Fig. 651. St. Petronilla. By Guercino. In the Gallery of the Capitol

## THE GALLERY OF THE VILLA BORGHESE

AS almost everything great and beautiful among the monuments of modern Rome owes its origin and foundation to some dignitary of the Papal court, so also do the private galleries. Among the cardinals nearest the Papal throne have ever been men who used their high position for scientific and artistic purposes. Certain it is that at no other princely court in the world were there so many men who wore the purple so as to exercise their influence over centuries, or so many princes who expended their income for art. Thus the private galleries in Rome came into existence. So many of the great, old, and famous princely Roman families have reached modern days and modern decadence, that to get money they disposed of their valuable works of art to foreign countries, until the State forbade their sale, whereupon some sold their entire galleries to the State. This was the fate of the beautiful collection of the Villa Borghese. The gallery of paintings brought $720,000—half its estimated value. The Italian government, its purchaser, changed the name to Villa Umberto I, and the property rights were given to Rome.

The founder of this collection—of the museum of ancient art as well as of the gallery of paintings—was Cardinal Borghese, nephew of Paul V. The Pope had given him a large income and the cardinal used it to buy works of art, as well as for the support of the poor. Scipio Borghese built the pretty *Palazzina*, or Villa, with its wonderful park, in front of the Porta del Popolo. The architect he chose was Van Zans from the Netherlands, called by the Italians Vasanzio; but the genial Bernini stood even higher in the cardinal's favor. The lower story of the Villa contains ancient works of art, the upper stories the picture-gallery.

The collection of paintings is very remarkable, although it no longer contains all the treasures it once possessed. During the Roman republic, toward the end

FIGS. 652–653. ST. SEBASTIAN. PAINTINGS BY ANNIBALE CARACCI AND GUIDO RENI. IN THE CAPITOL

of the eighteenth century, the owner was obliged to sell several of the best pictures to pay his war tax. When Camillo Borghese (1800) married Napoleon's favorite sister Maria Paulina, the most beautiful of the pictures went to Paris to adorn the residence of the princely pair; in 1816 they were brought back to Rome.

The pearl of the Borghese collection is the "Burial of Christ" by Raphael. During the years of his apprenticeship Raphael worked with Vanucci in Perugia. In all Italian cities some noble family assumed the supreme power; in Perugia it was the Baglioni, who by fighting usurped power and in bloody wars maintained it. Finally there arose fierce discord and conspiracy among the Baglioni themselves; a marriage feast ended in terrible slaughter, in which the noblest of the family were killed, among them Grifone, the chief conspirator. His mother, Atalanta, seeing him wounded, rushed to him, admonished him to repent and be reconciled, and received his last sigh. Tortured by inexpressible grief, Atalanta sent for Raphael and ordered him to paint for the chapel of the Baglioni in *S. Francesco* the "Burial of Christ," in order to lay her own misery at the feet of Mary in her greatest and holiest mother's grief. This was about the year 1500. Raphael made

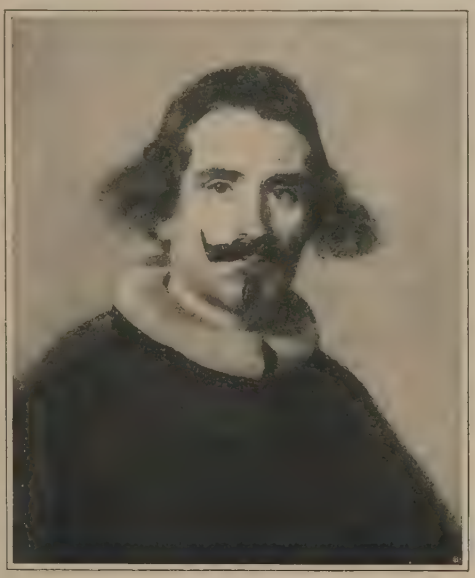


Fig. 654. Velasquez. Portrait by Himself. In the Capitol

Figs. 655–656. Portraits of Killigrew and Carew. By Van Dyck. Instruction on the Flute. By Morone (?). In the Gallery of the Capitol

sketches for the picture, but delayed its execution on account of a journey to Florence to study the works of the great masters. This journey forms an important turning-point in his life. From painting in the limited and narrow, but tender, animated, and deeply religious fashion of the Umbrians, he gained his grand and lofty style of later years, when he worked in Rome. On returning to Perugia he completed the picture. According to an inscription, he finished it in 1507, when he was twenty-five years old. The magnificent picture, therefore, is of the period when the young artist emerged from the earlier to the later style of his art. Hence, it possesses all the excellent qualities of the Umbrian school: the truly religious, pious, and sincere conception of the holy incident; the deep, animated, sympathetic expression in the beautiful faces; the magnificent landscape in the background; the loving, careful, almost anxious execution of the whole, and of all the details, as well as the brilliant, glowing coloring. The Roman style, however, is seen in greater variety of personal expression, in arrangement and in the animation—the latter restrained as befitted the feeling of holy peace, the gravity of the occasion remaining undisturbed. One need not be a connoisseur to feel this and the other beauties of the picture. The contrast between the features and their expression in the individual characters is finely marked. In the two carriers—the older man at the head of the body and the youth on the right, clad in bright red and blue—physical exertion has checked the expression of grief in their faces. But what emotion lies in the features of Mary Magdalen, Joseph of Arimathea, and St. John!—this last being truly a "Raphaelesque" figure. In the background holy women comfort the Blessed Virgin, while she, losing consciousness and pale as death, collapses like

Fig. 657. Burial of Christ. By Raphael. In the Borghese Collection

Fig. 658. Holy Family. By Perino del Vaga. In the Borghese Collection

her Son. This grief of the Blessed Mother is too human, too earthly. Was Raphael thinking too much of Atalanta's grief? Artists, however, and especially painters, instead of representing the Blessed Virgin's quiet sorrow, always preferred to portray a stronger physical and spiritual emotion. This picture of Raphael's must surely have had a soothing and comforting effect upon the mother of the Baglioni. The master depicted a mother's deep grief; but the picture is pervaded by a holy peace and restfulness, and over all is a gentle evening glow as soothing as the gentle rays of the departing sun, which give rest and peace to the weary. The beauty of Raphael's picture is estimated justly only when it is compared with similar pictures by other artists, as for instance, with the "Entombment" by Perugino in the Pitti Palace. Both have the same arrangement and many similarities; indeed, the pupil borrowed from his master, but while in the master we notice peace without motion, feeling without depth, and quiet without emotion, the pupil translates all into life and truth.

With Raphael's "Burial of Christ" is associated another picture by one of his pupils—the "Holy Family," by Perino del Vaga (Fig. 658). Perino (whose real name was Buonaccorsi) painted under Raphael's direction in the *Loggie* and halls of the Vatican, and later in churches and palaces. During the Sack of Rome he was taken prisoner and lived for some years in Genoa, where he left excellent examples of his skill. He often approached the beautiful forms of his master, but he painted too quickly and especially so in his later years, when he made art a means of livelihood. This "Holy Family," in spite of a certain stiffness and pale color, belongs to the better class of his pictures. The arrangement of the group is beautiful and the Madonna's expression is pure and serene.

Still another Sibyl! How the artists loved to depict these female seers! For after Michael Angelo and Raphael almost all the masters tried them. Of course, with later painters art was satisfied in presenting beautiful female figures who were animated and glorified by a ray of Divine

Fig. 659. The Cumæan Sibyl. By Domenichino. In the Borghese Collection

FIG. 660. ADORATION OF THE CHRIST-CHILD. SCHOOL OF LORENZO DI CREDI. IN THE BORGHESE COLLECTION

inspiration. Even this is too often missing, although not in Domenichino's "Cumæan Sibyl" (Fig. 659). Not without reason has this picture been called a St. Cecilia; the musical instrument, the sheet of music, and the attitude of listening to higher harmonies fit this conception very well. Grace and somewhat of grandeur are the qualities which Domenichino bestowed upon many of his pictures as a paternal gift and inheritance.

The collection has a few fine examples of the Early Renaissance, among them the "Madonna with the Infant Christ-Child and St. John," by Lorenzo di Credi (1459-1537), whose naïve conception of the subject in a wide landscape gives the picture its highest charm. The "Adoration of the Christ-Child," by one of Di Credi's pupils, is even purer and more fervent. The schools of Germany and the Netherlands are also represented. From the Netherlands is Gerhard Honthorst (1592-1660), called by the Italians Gerardo della Notte, because most of his pictures have artificial illumination from a covered light. Thus, in his "Concert" the illumination is from a light whose bright rays fall upon the scene from the left side.

The Borghese Gallery possesses several pictures by Titian, which, unfortunately, are not suited for reproduction in this book—among them is the best-executed painting in the world: the so-called "Sacred and Profane Love," the meaning of which title has never been satisfactorily explained. In a wonderfully beautiful landscape are two lovely women sitting together upon a sarcophagus.

FIG. 661. CONCERT (MUSIC). BY HONTHORST. IN THE BORGHESE COLLECTION

## 3. THE CORSINI GALLERY

THE smaller part of Rome is Trastevere, the district which lies across the Tiber. This is an out-of-the-way quarter, nearly completely intersected by the Via Lungara (Long Street), amid whose humble and squalid houses a few old palaces still stand. Surpassing them all is the Corsini Palace, great in size and massive in construction. The Riari, nephews of Pius IV, were its original owners; but today a little alley named after them is all that preserves their memory.

FIG. 662. THE PALAZZO CORSINI

The Swedish queen Christine, after resigning her crown and embracing the Catholic Faith, was the next resident of this palace, and from 1630 to 1689 its halls witnessed magnificent feasts and assemblies where the most famous scholars, poets, and artists gathered, to receive patronage and stimulation from the "Sibyl of the North." Under Clement XII, his nephew Cardinal Neri-Corsini purchased it, greatly enlarged it, and installed a magnificent double staircase, the halls and salons glittering with the gold that prevailed in the decorative style of the eighteenth century.

In 1884 the palace, with its art collections, was bought by the State and turned over to the Academy of Science (Accademia Reale dei Lincei), since when it has been known by its official title, "Palazzo delle Scienze."

The collection of paintings is one of the largest in Rome; and pictures of saints, historical events, portraits, and landscapes alternate in the galleries. Almost all the Italian and other schools are represented. The majority of the pictures are small cabinet pieces and only a few are of the first order. Many, however, make a "comfortable," a pleasing, and "pretty" impression upon the observer and therefore are widely known and popular. Among these is Carlo Dolci's masterpiece, a "Madonna" (Fig. 664). Dolci's brush never depicts the profound, vigorous, strong, or sublime, but the kind and the gentle, the tender and the modest. Occasionally he becomes sweetish, sentimental, and even sickly. If the gentler emo-

tions have a rightful place in Christianity and the human heart, then Carlo Dolci may justly claim a place among painters. Italians are prone to call him by the diminutive Carlino—"little Charlie,"—to characterize by a familiar name his artistic tendencies. The picture portrays the Blessed Virgin lifting the veil to gaze upon her sleeping Child with happy, motherly calm and pure exaltation. The quiet harmony of the delicately toned colors corresponds to the gentle and tender facial expression. The beautiful picture rarely hangs in its allotted place, because it is constantly taken down to be copied. Dolci painted for religious societies and for patrons who wanted pictures for their home or private devotion; this explains his tendency to overembellish all his work.

Many others of the religious pictures justly attract us, notably the three "Ecce Homo" pictures, one by Guido Reni, one by Guercino, and one by Dolci. All these represent the same suffering, but each artist treats it in his own characteristic manner: Reni depicts resigned confidence, Guercino expiating love (Fig. 665), and Dolci the humiliation of the God-Man.

Fig. 663. The Daughter of Herodias. By Guido Reni. In the Corsini Gallery

Fig. 664. Madonna. By Carlo Dolci. In the Corsini Gallery

Among historical paintings the "Daughter of Herodias" (Fig. 663) by Guido Reni interests us because of its brilliant coloring and gracefulness. The picture has been much praised, but is, nevertheless, cold and repellent. The dancer calmly carries the head of St. John in a basin, and her naïve indifference is accentuated by the coquettish pose of her head, so that one might think she were bringing some precious and rare fruit to her amorous mother and the horrified guests. The most objectionable feature of the picture is that the venal, heartless, and emotionless dancer holds in her hands the head of the newly slain saint whom her father hated, but whom he also esteemed and feared.

Near this canvas is a row of eleven pictures painted on copper, representing the "Miseries of War," or the "Soldier's Life," which are ascribed to Callot of Lorraine. If anybody ever was predestined to be an artist, it was Jacques Callot. His parents, of the nobility, destined him for a high career; but he fled from his home in Nancy, when hardly twelve years

old, to go to Rome. Without money and companionless, he joined a band of gypsies and rope-dancers and roamed with them through field and forest as far as Florence, where a thorough artist—a painter, etcher, and engraver—took an interest in the boy and even gave him an opportunity to visit Rome. Hardly had he arrived there when he was seen and recognized by merchants from Nancy, and taken back to his parents. In his fifteenth year he tried for the second time to escape and got as far as Turin, whence a brother sent him home. At last his father yielded and for the third time Callot crossed the mountains, going straight to Rome, where he developed into a thorough and superlatively ingenious artist. Drawing, engraving, and etching are his specialties; with the brush he was less skilful. Beggars and gypsies, minstrels and singers, soldiers and warriors, battles and sieges, popular feasts and scenes at great annual fairs have never been portrayed by any other artist with so much spirit and humor, wit and intellect. It is doubtful whether the eleven Corsini copperplate paintings are by Callot, but the ideas are his, beyond question; for the subjects have been borrowed from his "Miseries of War" (Fig. 666), of which there are eighteen *etched* copperplates. Jolly soldiers with broad-brimmed hats and waving plumes, and laced into stiff and many-colored doublets strut about;

Fig. 665. Ecce Homo. By Guercino. In the Corsini Gallery

and the earth resounds under the heavy tread of the soldiers with their clanking spurs and rattling sabres. The recruiting officer's drum, which beguiled those who were weary of the dreary everyday homelife to join the army, now summons them to the table, where bright earnest-money is paid; battalions of men with arquebuses and bristling lances march forward; and under a shady tree stands a

Fig. 666. The Soldier's Life. Reproduction of an Etching. By Jacques Callot.

gambling-table where dice promise possible fortune. Is not all this very enticing for the young warrior? But there is another aspect of a soldier's life, wild and terrible: war degrades and demoralizes when the nobler inspirations are lacking, and this is told in the succeeding pictures. Here rages the battle where Death reaps

Fig. 667. Madonna. By Murillo. In the Corsini Gallery

his harvest. Here monasteries and churches are burning, and, unsatisfied with his booty, a reckless soldier ill-treats monks and nuns and scoffs at the Holy of Holies. Even the hovel of the poor is sacked, while herdsmen and cattle are driven away—to resist is to be stabbed or slain. Once in a while, however, justice overtakes the criminal: with the whole army as spectators, here is a malefactor tied to a stake while his comrades, resting their heavy arquebuses on supports, prepare to fire. Another, who maliciously committed arson, is himself devoured by flames in front of his battalion; and as the reckless committed their crimes in crowds, so must they suffer punishment in crowds. Yonder the wicked dangle from the gallows like bitter fruit. Some find expiation and absolution in the Symbol of Salvation, others seek consolation in throwing the dice that brought about their ruin. Once more they will rattle on the drumhead, thrown this time by the hangman whose stakes are human lives! Whatever Callot pictures he has seen and experienced in real life, for his native district witnessed the horrors of the Thirty Years' War and those of the French civil and religious wars.

The last picture we shall describe in the Corsini collection is a famous "Madonna" by Murillo, one of the most famous masters of the Spanish School. The artists of the Iberian Peninsula are so national in their creations, they are so completely Spanish, that they are easily recognized; and Murillo, especially in his early productions, is perhaps the most national, the most Spanish of them all. Who does not at once recognize his hand in the wonderfully clear color that marks the best period of his career, in the full, swarthy faces crowned by black curly locks and in the large, lustrous eyes whose pupils have such a peculiar gleam? In his technique he wavered between two opposite styles: at first he painted even religious pictures with rough and natural truth without bestowing upon them a higher, ideal beauty, which he afterward attained in his best—his mature—years. Toward the end of his life his work is sweetish, nebulous, and indistinct; "smoky," the Spaniards call it. The accompanying picture (Fig. 667) belongs to his youthful period: the coloring is bright and gay, the expression of the Mother natural and open, and the eyes of the Child betray that naïve surprise so often seen in children's eyes. But is this face of a woman of Seville that of the Mother of Christ? Is this child the Divine Child Jesus? We do not like to think so, but the Spaniards have a different opinion.

After we have seen the picture-gallery, the custodian takes us to the old princely living-apartments, especially the throne-

room. The great halls and chambers are desolate. The rich yellow of the silken tapestries, upholstery, and curtains has faded; the crystal baroque lamps no longer light up any feast, and the general impression is one of rich desolation and splendid solitude, all that is left of a day that is dead.

The beautiful park of the Corsini Palace extends to the summit of the Janiculum, is full of luxuriant foliage and abounds in flowers.

## 4. THE NATIONAL GALLERY OF MODERN ART
### (GALLERIA NAZIONALE D'ARTE MODERNA)

WHEN the United Kingdom of Italy determined to have its own art-gallery, the Roman architect Pio Piacentini, born in 1846, was chosen from among the competitors to erect the new structure. The building was dedicated and opened in 1883; and while it is not lacking in beauty, it is dry and cold because of its neo-classical style (Fig. 668).

Modern and especially very recent Italian art is at its best markedly inferior to the work done in Italy in the period called the Renaissance, which still furnishes models and examples to the civilized world. From the fifteenth to the seventeenth century Italy's art was noble and inspiring, but her recent productions lack thought, vigor, and independence. In company with the Germans and the French, the Italian artists went through all the variations of modern art; it is only very recently they have turned to the beauties of their own country and the characteristics and peculiarities of their own people.

A walk through the twenty-two halls and salons of the gallery is not very interesting, and we shall describe very few of the paintings.

One of the most important is a busy scene on the Piazza of San Marco, Venice, in front of the Loggetta, showing life in the days of the *rococo*. The picture was painted by Giacomo Favretto (1848-1887), who worked first in his father's carpenter-shop until his talent became known, when means for his artistic education were obtained. Favretto took Tiepolo, the last great Venetian artist, for his model and became a painter of the City of Lagoons in its decaying splendor. He

Fig. 668. National Gallery of Modern Art

Fig. 669. The Piazza of San Marco, Venice. By Favretto. National Gallery of Modern Art

has a rich imagination, keen and correct power of observation, and fine color effects that are delicate and harmonious. Favretto occupies an honorable place among the more recent Italian painters.

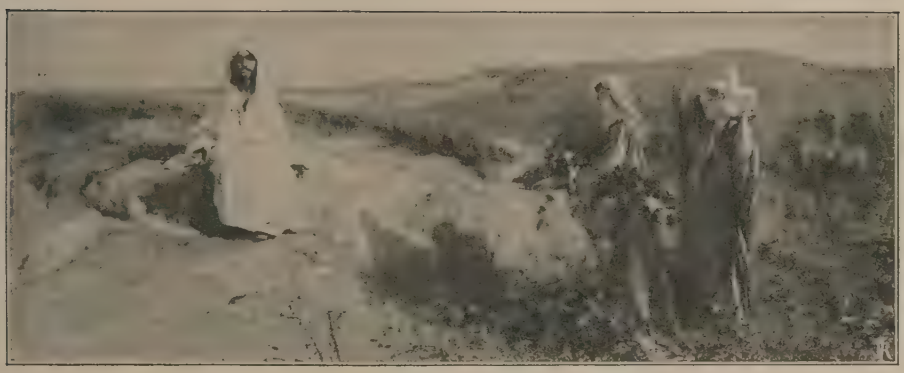
Another famous picture is the "Ecce Homo" by Antonio Ciseri (1821-1891).

Fig. 670. Shepherdess. By Michetti. National Gallery of Modern Art

The artist is an Italian-Swiss from Ronco in Tessin. His pictures are chiefly religious, and deficient both in animation and the compelling power of truth. The large "Ecce Homo" is modern in its conception. Pilate, on a high balcony, shows the suffering Saviour to the blood-thirsty crowd. The light effect is too conspicuous and much too bright. Of all the group the figure of Christ is the least attractive. In the foreground, at the right, is Pilate's wife, Claudia Procula, who is frightened by evil forebodings and begs her husband to have naught to do with the Nazarene. As in other works of Ciseri, this picture is overcrowded; the drapery, moreover, is treated peculiarly.

Pio Joris of Rome (born 1843) is admired for his highly colored genre pictures: "Sunday Morning before the Porta del Popolo," the "Curio Seller," and the "Baptism." In 1889 he tried a historical subject, the "Flight of Pope Eugene IV," but without great success. He then reverted to depicting the manners and customs of the people.

Francesco Michetti, born 1851 in Tocco Casauria, is also a genre painter and one of the most famous among modern Italians. The splendor of his coloring and the power of his characterization are inseparably connected with his name. In his landscapes the French impressionistic



FIGS. 670 A. B. C. CHRIST IN THE DESERT, BY D. MORELLI; ECCE HOMO, BY A. CISERI; BURIAL OF ST. FRANCIS OF ASSISI, BY P. BARTOLINI, NATIONAL GALLERY OF MODERN ART, ROME

tendency is unmistakable. One of the most charming, indeed, the most famous, of his pictures is the "Pastorella" (the Young Shepherdess). (Fig. 670.)

The Neapolitan Domenico Morelli (1826-1901) revived Italian painting. An Italian art connoisseur says of his picture "Christ in the Desert" that it "appeared like a great and noble revelation of truth, full of a deep mysticism and possessing inexpressible enigmas and an irresistible charm." We can not agree with such fulsome praise. On the contrary, the Arab brooding in solitude can not represent to us Christ who was tempted in the desert by the Devil—*not* by two women—no matter how masterful the mere technique of the work may be. (See Fig. 670 A.)

The last picture from the National Gallery which we reproduce shows us the burial of St. Francis of Assisi (see Fig. 670 C). The corpse on its bier has just been put down in front of the Convent of St. Clara as the saint and her nuns step out through the gateway. The mourners and the landscape fill by far the largest part of the canvas, thus transforming a religious historical painting into a great genre picture. The painter, Paolo Bartolini, has gained a high reputation as a sculptor.

## 5. PRIVATE GALLERIES

### THE GALLERY DORIA-PAMFILI

THE Pamfili were formerly one of the most famous noble families of Rome. Become extinct, their rich inheritance reverted to the Dorias, from whom the Pamfili were descended. The Dorias were the great noble family of Genoa who, in the transitional period from the Middle Ages to modern times, possessed almost unlimited power in the mighty republic. In return this noble race gave great naval heroes, victorious generals, and famous statesmen to the nation. Andrea Doria, statesman and at the same time leader of an army, won the greatest respect for his native city and the highest distinction for himself. His is the most splendid name among the Dorias. His grand-nephew and adopted son, Giovanni Andrea, became the sire of the Pamfili, princes of Melfi, who took up their residence in Rome. But they did not build the palace named for them. This was begun by the Italian cardinal-archbishop Acciapecci of Capua and completed by the Hungarian cardinal Zech. After twice changing owners, the palace came into the possession of the Pamfili, who added splendid façades in the baroque style. The palace, consisting of a mass of great buildings, spreads over a large area. Two inner courtyards are enclosed by long lines of buildings; and in the upper

FIG. 671. THE PALAZZO DORIA-PAMFILI

stories of one of these are open galleries, supported by columns, so beautiful and so tasteful that Bramante, who gave the Vatican its *loggie,* is believed to have designed them.

The paintings, in number more than eight hundred, include some of the richest and finest in Rome. Their arrangement is not always good and their condition is poor, for they have not been well preserved. We gain a wrong impression of this gallery because the pictures are so numerous; if two-thirds of them were removed we could view the remainder with greater pleasure, whereas now there are too many mediocre productions.

In one of the small rooms hangs one of the finest portraits in the world, that of Pope Innocent X (1644-1655), by one of the best portrait-painters of all time—Velasquez, the Spaniard. Pope Innocent X was one of the Pamfili. He is seated in an armchair, his left hand holding a piece of paper, while his right hand rests gently on the arm of the chair. The head is wonderfully rendered: the keen, observing eyes, the compressed lips, the high, pure forehead—it is his whole character, his full personality! And the clear, pure color of it all! (Fig. 672.) In the same little room hangs a double portrait—that of two Venetian poets who were occasionally sent on diplomatic missions: Andrea Novagero (at the left) and Beazzano. With equal skill and fidelity the painter sets forth their very personalities, so that we can scarcely believe that these faces are merely flat colors laid upon canvas, and not the men themselves. Velasquez never beautified or idealized the faces of his sitters, nor are his colors so strong, his light and shade so opposed, as to make his portraits "start from their frames"; yet, so marvelously lifelike are they that we feel their ability to come dignifiedly forth, as if they were living.

Among the most precious paintings of this gallery are three landscapes by Claude Gelée, who is better known as Claude Lorrain. For the greater part of his long life (1600-1682) he lived in Rome, where he found admirers and friends in the highest quarters, especially Pope Urban VIII and the Cardinal Bentivoglio. But of opponents and enemies he had many; for envy, like fame, followed him as it never followed man before. So many forged paintings were offered for sale under his name that the master had to compile a special book, the *Liber Veritatis* (Book of Truth), made up of sketches of all his pictures, in order that he might prove their genuineness and determine the forgery of the spurious pictures. But not even this sufficed to prevent fraud.

Fig. 672. Pope Innocent X. Portrait by Valasquez. In the Doria Gallery

Claude Lorrain is one of the most famous of all landscape painters. He depicts God-created nature, brightened by God's

FIGS. 673–674. REST DURING THE FLIGHT INTO EGYPT AND THE MILL. BOTH BY CLAUDE LORRAIN. IN THE DORIA GALLERY

Fig. 675. Madonna. By Sassoferrato. Colonna Gallery

sun—adorned like a bride by His fatherly hand, speaking to man words of joy and bliss which soothe yet animate him. In his paintings "we meet the inner life and phenomena of nature in their atmospheric effects, in the vivifying splendor and play of light, in the modeling of trees, in the pure breeze of morning and the gentle haze of evening, and in the glittering of the dew on the grass. All these, by their immediate presence, proclaim the joy of life." (Fr. Müller.) What can a reproduction of such a painting be other than a resemblance to a musical notation which names the instruments and indicates their purpose, but which itself is mute? We can give only the outline: while light, air, and atmosphere, the voice and hymn of nature are lacking. But even the colorless reproduction of a "Rest During the Flight to Egypt" is beautiful despite the fact that it gives us but a general idea (Fig. 673). In the foreground stand magnificent groups of trees with dreamy, transparent shade and cooled by the breeze; then the sky becomes purer, clearer, full of gold and fragrance; the gradations of light are so wonderful that the eye roams into the endless distance and, returning, rests in the warmth of the foreground, the bright semidarkness of the forest. It was a favorite practice of Claude's to place some large trees in the foreground, like side scenes in a theatre, and then to diminish their size in order to make the distance seem as remote as possible. A sultry haze lies on the open landscape, for the sun is glowing in the zenith. It is not difficult to determine the season and even the hour of the day, so marvel-

Fig. 676. Landscape By G. Poussin. In the Colonna Gallery

ously true to nature are the light effects in his pictures.

Still more beautiful is one of the other pictures, known as "The Mill" (Fig. 674) —a canvas filled with quiet, blessed peace. The sun has passed the zenith, its rays no longer burn, but they still give light and warmth, still disseminate pleasure and enjoyment. The play of delicate color, the quietly babbling water, the golden distance which, with its little clouds woven of light and mist, seems illimitable—all this produces a feeling of intense pleasure, even more than the herds, or the dancers in the bright light of the foreground, or the merrymaking groups in the forest shade.

The Doria Gallery also possesses a rich collection of portraits by the great masters Van Dyck, Titian, Rembrandt, and Rubens. Religious painting is not so well represented.

## THE GALLERY COLONNA

A FEW miles from Rome is the village of Colonna, where the famous family of the same name originated. Their coat of arms, the crowned column, symbolizes a house of eminent nobility. On every page of the medieval history of the Eternal City appears the name Colonna. The family exercised a controlling influence in many Papal elections and formed a party in all the feuds between noble families. In the wars waged by German emperors against the Popes, the Colonna championed the latter. They gave to the Church Pope Martin V, who was chosen in the Council of Constance, also a great number of famous cardinals and bishops. Others won laurels in battle, notably the Papal general Prospero Colonna, "the father of the Italian people," who, in the beginning of the sixteenth century, drove out of the country the French, who were striving for conquests everywhere; and Marc Antonio Colonna, the general of Pius V, who fought gloriously for Christianity and the freedom of the Occident in

Fig. 677. The Grand Hall of the Colonna Gallery

Fig. 678. The Peasant's Repast. By Caravaggio. In the Colonna Gallery

the Battle of Lepanto. The most famous poetess of Italy is a Colonna. The family still flourishes, one branch in Rome and one in Naples.

The collection of paintings in the palace on the slope of the Quirinal was once a great one, but owing to losses occasioned by bequests and sales during the French Revolution it is greatly diminished. The collection is very rich in portraits—a portrait of a monk by Titian is magnificent—and in landscapes. Among the landscapes ten views of the environs of Rome (Fig. 676), done in distemper by Gaspar Poussin (1613-1675), demand first place. The artist uses the simplest means in drawing, composition, and technique; he does not care for absolute fidelity to nature, but endeavors to reproduce the soul of the landscape as it exists in form, line, and atmosphere. Among other good paintings is a "Madonna" by Sassoferrato. The master's technique can be easily recognized: the coloring as well as the expression is soft, but the naïve, childlike, pious conception makes us well-nigh forget the lack of vigor. Power and expression, light and shade belong, however, to Caravaggio's "Peasant's Repast" (Fig. 678). This master is in his true element whenever he paints uncouth realism, as in this picture. The peasant has poured the last glass from a stone jug happily, yet with a certain melancholy. The well-filled table, the bread, cheese, and a ham—everything, even the man's dirty, greasy complexion, is absolute realism.

The Gallery Colonna forms a surprising and pleasing contrast to other collections. Elsewhere picture follows picture in long succession often without regard to the subjects represented, or the pictures' artistic treatment, or their technique. Many a valuable work of art thus loses much because of its surroundings. In the Colonna Palace the pictures have, to a large extent, been distributed among the chambers of state and the magnificent halls. The throne-room and the Grand Hall (Fig. 677) offer the most favorable spaces for large paintings, while little cabinet pieces are hung in the smaller rooms. The interior of the palace is a noteworthy example of the magnificence with which buildings of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries were decorated in the prevailing baroque style.

## THE GALLERY BARBERINI

THE family of the Barberini (Barberini Colonna di Sciarra) rose to eminence through its connection with the Colonna. They attained princely rank and their highest splendor under Urban VIII, who bore their name. We find Pope Urban's arms, with the bees, on a great many monuments, palaces, and churches, for during his reign artists were kept busy. But the golden days of Raphael were gone; Bernini, Borromini, and Maderna now ruled the public taste. Bernini's bronze baldachin over the grave of the Prince of the apostles in St. Peter's—on the twisted columns and curving gables of which the Barberini bees are creeping—begins the period of the picturesque baroque. The Pope's nephew, the Cardinal Francesco, built the Barberini Palace (Fig. 679) in a beautiful situation on the summit of the Pincio. All three of the above-named artists were engaged in the erection of this massive structure, which, with its main and lateral façades, its high staircases and wide halls, impresses us as grand and magnificent. Cardinal Francesco also founded the large Barberini Library and started a collection of paintings in the palace. But this latter collection does not rank with Rome's best and largest. Bequests and sales have diminished it, but the remaining pictures fill three rooms. Among them Raphael, Albert Dürer of Nüremberg ("Christ Among the Doctors," Fig. 731), and Claude Lorrain are represented. Few pictures are so well known or so popular in Rome as the one by Guido Reni which hangs here. Before the stranger enters the Barberini Gallery he has seen in all the show windows copies of the so-called "Beatrice Cenci," in all sizes and shapes (Fig. 680). At the age of sixteen, the legend tells us, this beautiful, graceful, and intellectual girl was executed in front of the Castle of St. Angelo in 1599, during the reign of Clement VIII. What more was needed, even in modern

FIG. 679. THE PALAZZO BARBERINI

times and without positive proof, to cause men to mourn her as a victim of arbitrary violence and to call up her spirit as a witness of wrong-doing! The Cenci were one of the most prominent noble families in Rome, whose head and leader at that time was a cruel beast, who wronged even his own children. A son and a daughter, with their stepmother Lucrezia, determined to kill him. He was slain while asleep, by two hired assassins, in the lonesome mountain castle of Rocca Petrella. Those were cruel and savage days and Rome saw many bloody feuds and terrible crimes. Clement VIII thought he ought to be severe, so he condemned the wife, son, and daughter of Cenci to death; for they confessed to the deed. Cardinals, bishops, all Rome pleaded for mercy, and the Pope was half won over when a young Roman, for the sake of gold, thrust a dagger into the heart of his own mother. Then Clement VIII signed the death warrant, and Beatrice had to mount the scaffold. When her executioner tied her arms she cried: "Sweet bonds that tie this body as a punishment and castigation, but liberate the soul for eternal glory!" Rather than permit the executioner to touch her, she placed her head upon the block. After a pause the report of a cannon was heard and the axe fell. The story goes that the Pope had commanded the cannon shot as a signal for bestowing upon the unfortunate girl his last blessing, his absolution. A tradition says that Guido Reni made a sketch of Beatrice Cenci as she walked to her execution; but this is no more than legend or "back-stairs" gossip. For the picture can not have been

Fig. 680. The (So-called) Beatrice Cenci. By Guido Reni (?). In the Barberini Gallery

painted by Reni; at that time he was too young, and had not yet begun to work in Rome. Furthermore, the picture does not represent Beatrice Cenci, but probably a sibyl. Nevertheless it is a very touching picture—blonde tresses escape from under the white head-cloth and fall upon the folds of her garment in luxurious abundance; the poise of the head is simple and graceful, the lines of the face are noble, pure, and clear, and a gentle sadness lurks in the eyes and mouth. If the painter had not made this picture so beautiful and appealing, the sad death of Beatrice Cenci would not have been so universally known.

## THE GALLERY ROSPIGLIOSI AND THE CASINO DELL' AURORA

ON the plateau of the Quirinal Hill stood Emperor Constantine's large public baths, but along with ancient Rome they fell to ruin. In the beginning of the seventeenth century Cardinal Scipio Borghese, a nephew of Paul V (1605-1621), built a palace out of the fragments. After this palace had changed owners several times it came into the possession of the Rospigliosi, nephews of Clement IX (1667-1669), in whose hands it remained.

The gallery holds some very important pictures, but the one that makes the name of Rospigliosi famous is not an "easel" picture, but the fresco adorning the ceiling of the little summer-house in the palace gardens—the "Aurora," or the "Dawn," by Guido Reni. (See page 519.) According to the ancient Greeks and Romans, day and night, dawn and twilight, the sun and the moon, were divine beings. At the first breath of morn Aurora, beautiful goddess of the dawn, with splendid tresses and saffron robe, rises in the East; mounting the heavens she sends out, as the heralds of advancing day, beams of light to arouse sleeping nature to new life. She is followed by Phosphoros, the light-bearer, with a torch—the morning star in the form of a young god. Then Titan, the radiant sun-god, arises and his golden chariot is drawn across the heavens by swift steeds, who climb laboriously to their midday zenith and then hasten downward toward evening. The chariot of the sun is accompanied by the Horae—goddesses of the hours, of the swiftly passing time, of the changes in nature, of the seasons and of the measures of time in general. From these ancient conceptions Guido Reni painted sunrise, the coming of the new day from out the dark of night. Aurora is already hovering in the dawn-tinted sky, scattering light and flowers on the awaking world; Phosphoros swings his torch and Titan guides his snorting steeds; the high-girdled, fleeting Horae hover about in a graceful dance—and all is flooded with an abundance of golden, rosy, morning light. The rapid course, the haste, of restless time is expressed with extreme beauty in the fluttering of the garments streaming backward, for flight is fast. For some of the figures the artist copied, perhaps, old Roman models; but the *ensemble,* the poetic conception, the beautiful contrasts of motion and repose, the pure, clear, morning-like serenity which permeates the picture—all this is the achievement of Guido Reni alone.

A counterpart of Reni's "Aurora" is the "Aurora" of Guercino (see page 519), painted as a fresco on the ceiling of the former Villa Ludovisi, now called the Casino dell' Aurora. While Reni painted his picture on a flat surface and intended it to be viewed as though parallel to the observer, Guercino chose for his fresco the full perspective of a view from below, with all the foreshortenings and changes necessitated thereby. His drawing consequently becomes more artificial and much more difficult. Projected on a horizontal or vertical (flat) surface this picture loses a great deal. Black and white dappled steeds (Night and Day) are harnessed to the chariot of Aurora, who drives through the ether, scattering blossoms and dispelling the night. Behind her we see Titan rising from his couch while before her hover the Horae. The colors are fresh and vivid, the composition is well thought out and graceful, but the picture is inferior to the beautiful forms and the fine rhythm in Guido's "Aurora."

Fig. 681. The Farnesina

FIGS. 681 A, B. "AURORA," BY GUIDO RENI, ROSPIGLIOSI GALLERY; "AURORA," BY GUERCINO, IN THE FORMER VILLA LUDOVISI

## THE FARNESINA

THE princely family Chigi originated in Siena, where it was highly esteemed and held the most prominent offices. In the second half of the fifteenth century one of this family came to Rome and founded a flourishing bank; one of the founder's sons, Agostino Chigi, became head of the bank in the beginning of the sixteenth century. This is the same Agostino Chigi whom we knew as the friend and patron of Raphael. For him the Prince of Painters painted the Sibyls in *S. Maria della Pace,* made the plans for the family chapel of the Chigi in *S. Maria del Popolo,* and adorned their villa, the Farnesina, with its magnificent pictures.

The Farnesina is a small palace in Trastevere, on the Tiber, opposite the Corsini Palace and surrounded by gardens. The Renaissance architecture is most beautiful and graceful and is one of the highest achievements of Peruzzi. In the hall on the ground floor Raphael painted the "Sea-Journey of Galatea." The daughter of the Old Man of the Sea glides over the gently rippling surface of the water, standing in a huge sea-shell, which is drawn by dolphins and surrounded by nymphs, tritons, and cupids. The lines of this picture are indescribably beautiful. Raphael made twelve sketches for the ceiling of the adjoining hall, portraying the story of Cupid and Psyche after the tale by Apuleius. Giulio Romano painted from these sketches; unfortunately, however, in that reddish flesh tone peculiar to him. Raphael's conception is a wonderful translation of classic thought into the artistic forms of the Renaissance; these are pictures full of never-ending charm. You must not go back of these and other paintings and sketches of Raphael's later years to their first historical and artistic reasons and motives, unless you wish to spoil your enjoyment of them; for, in the first place, they are not the artist's fault but the fault of the times. The Renaissance not only was enthusiastic about ancient art, but endeavored to introduce the gods of antiquity into modern life. The beautiful festoons of fruit, which serve as a framework for these pictures and so much enhance their beauty, came from Giovanni da Udine's brush. In the upper story of the Farnesina are two excellent frescoes by the Sienese Bazzi (Sodoma): "The Marriage of Alexander the Great with Roxana" and "The Family of Darius before Alexander the Great."

Splendid festivals were held in the Farnesina and, when Agostino Chigi was married, Pope Leo X and fourteen cardinals attended the ceremony. During the banquet the guests were seated in a loggia erected near the Tiber; "the profusion of choicest viands, brought from East and West, rivaled the splendor of the gold and silver vessels. Once used, these vessels were thrown into the adjoining river; but nets were spread to catch them." (Reumont.) During the Sack of Rome the Chigi suffered great losses and were obliged to sell their villa; later they recovered to some extent their position and property.

With all his love for art and science Agostino was a good business man. His banking house had a European reputation; kings and princes, powerful states and cities were indebted to him. How high he stood in the favor of Julius can be seen from the fact that the Pope bestowed upon the Chigi as a sign of his special good will the arms of the della Rovere—his own noble family—in addition to their own. The diploma of gift is dated 1509. In 1655 a Chigi, Alexander VII, ascended the Papal chair and quite recently a member of the family wore the purple and sat in the college of cardinals.

The family palace of the Chigi on the Corso contains a remarkable collection of ancient and modern works of art. Recently the paintings have been distributed among several of the private apartments; since then the public has not been admitted.

Fig. 682. The Seven Years of Plenty. Fresco in the Casa Zuccari

## 6. THE CASA ZUCCARI AND THE VILLA MASSIMO

THE new impulse given to art, especially to modern painting, was twice started in Rome and each time with German masters. From the middle of the eighteenth century J. J. Winckelmann, of Stendal, lived in Rome, opposed the decaying baroque and the dry, pedantic, classic styles, and substituted ancient Greek and Roman works of art as models. He himself was deeply learned in ancient art, and hence made its comprehension and acceptance possible by word and pen. He was prominent in the foundation and establishment of the Museo Pio-Clementino under Clement XIV; and was the wisest mentor for his illustrious patrons, the Cardinal Allessandro Albani and Prince Marc Antonio Borghese, in the arrangement and increase of their collections of antiques. A new art did not, of course, arise at once; and the German painter, Raphael Mengs (born in Aussig, Bohemia, 1728; died 1779), and the Roman, Vincenzo Camuccini (1773-1844), were still too much under the restraints of academic rules and pseudo-classic imitation. But a start for the study and comprehension of ancient art had been made, and younger artists began to learn from the classical Greeks and Romans, using what they learned in Christian German art.

During the transition from the eighteenth to the nineteenth century the style which took ancient classical Greco-Roman art as a model had died out. In artistic

Fig. 683. The Casa Zuccari

circles the feeling prevailed that something new was to come, *had* to come. Ambitious disciples of art, enthusiastic about the beautiful, assembled in Vienna. They were instructed with the academic instruction which was given in a hard and fast manner and which, to a large extent, had degenerated into mere routine and drill. The young artists founded a society, the Brotherhood of St. Luke, to cultivate and develop their ideas and exchange opinions. The first members were Friedrich Overbeck of Lübeck, the leader of the society (1789-1869), Franz Pforr of Frankfort (1788-1812), Joseph Wintergerst of Wallerstein (1783-1867), Ludwig Vogel of Zürich (1788-1879), Johann Konrad Hottinger, also of Zürich (born 1788), and Joseph Sutter of Linz (1781-1866). Their goal and aim was a new and dignified Christian style of painting. Overbeck, accompanied by Pforr, Vogel, and Hottinger, went to Rome in 1810. Other friends followed and later many painters and sculptors came to join the society in Rome; among them the great Peter Cornelius of Düsseldorf (1783-1867), the two Veits of Berlin—Johannes (1790-1854) and the more capable Philipp (1793-1877)—Wilhelm Schadow, also of Berlin (1789-1856), Julius Schnorr von Karolsfeld of Leipsic (1794-1872), Joseph Fürich of Kratzau in Bohemia (1800-1876), Edward Steinle of Vienna (1810-1886), and the Swiss, Paul von Deschwanden. The oldest Brethren of St. Luke were Protestants, but in their earnest work and study of early Christian art they found their way back to the Catholic Church: Overbeck, the two Veits, the sons of the sculptor Schadow—Rudolph the sculptor and Wilhelm the painter—Chr. Heller, W. Fr. von Olivier, J. D. Passavant, J. A. Ramboux, Fr. Wasmann and Karl Hoffmann.

In Rome Overbeck and his associates at first made their home in the Villa Malta, and then for two years in the monastery of *S. Isidoro,* which belonged to the Irish Franciscans, but was then unoccupied. Each Brother of St. Luke inhabited a cell, and on this account and because of their artistic convictions—partly also through the envy and jealousy they bestirred in other schools—they were nicknamed the "monks" or the "Nazarenes" and this name stuck to them. They were also called "Pre-Raphaelites," because, in the beginning, they so highly esteemed the work of Raphael's precursors. One can hardly imagine a more beautiful sight than these highly talented, ambitious, enthusiastic disciples of art, with their pure ideals. They won for themselves the eternal glory of being the fathers and founders of modern German painting, both sacred and profane.

A strong bond of friendship and of common lofty aspirations united the Nazarenes and their friends. But this solidarity was, of course, weakened when the individual artists left Rome to plant the seeds of the new art in Germany. The Brethren of St. Luke left, however, important works in Rome. The Prussian Consul-General, J. Salomon Bartholdy, planned to decorate a room in the Casa Zuccari with pictures by the young German painters, and these pioneers were filled with exaltation and joy at this, their first opportunity to give proof of their aims and ability. Their subjects were chosen from the Biblical story of Joseph, and, intending that a striking technique should correspond with their lofty conception, they painted in fresco, although they had to invent its technique anew. Overbeck painted the "Sale of Joseph" and the allegory of the "Seven Years of Famine"; Cornelius chose "Joseph Interpreting the Dream of Pharao" and "Joseph Making Himself Known to his Brethren"; Philipp Veit depicted "Joseph's Temptation by Potiphar's Wife" and the lunette, the "Seven Years of Plenty" (Fig. 682); and Schadow illustrated how "Joseph's Bloody Coat is Shown to Jacob" and "Joseph's Interpretation of Dreams in the Prison." These pictures were begun in 1815 and are of great importance as types of the new style. In 1886 they were bought by the Prussian government, were sawed out of the walls, and transferred to the National Gallery in Berlin.

Bartholdy urged Prince Massimi to give a commission similar to that of the Casa Zuccari, and the prince had three rooms in the casino of his villa adorned with paintings. The middle room contains scenes from Ariosto's "Orlando Furioso," by J. Schnorr von Karolsfeld; in the room to the left Overbeck and Fürich depicted scenes from Tasso's "Gerusalemme Liberata"; and in the room to the right A. Koch (1768-1839), of Obergiebeln in Tyrol, and Philipp Veit chose subjects from Dante's "Divina Commedia." These remarkable frescoes are still in their place and are the most precious bequest of the Nazarenes to Rome.

Two art schools possess remarkable collections; the Roman Academy of San Luca, founded by Gregory XIII (1577) and situated on the Roman Forum, and the French Academy (Fig. 684) on the Pincio. An institution with free scholarships for young French painters was founded later by King Louis XIV. In 1560 Cardinal Ricci built, in a most beautiful situation on the Pincio, a villa whose façade with its two big towers can be seen from every part of Rome and the far-away Campagna.

This magnificent seat later became the property of Cardinal Alessandro de Medici (afterwards Leo XI) and for this reason received the name of Villa Medici. In 1801 the French art school began its occupancy. Here everything is offered that an art student can wish: free quarters, free instruction, rich collections, magnificent gardens, and wonderful views.

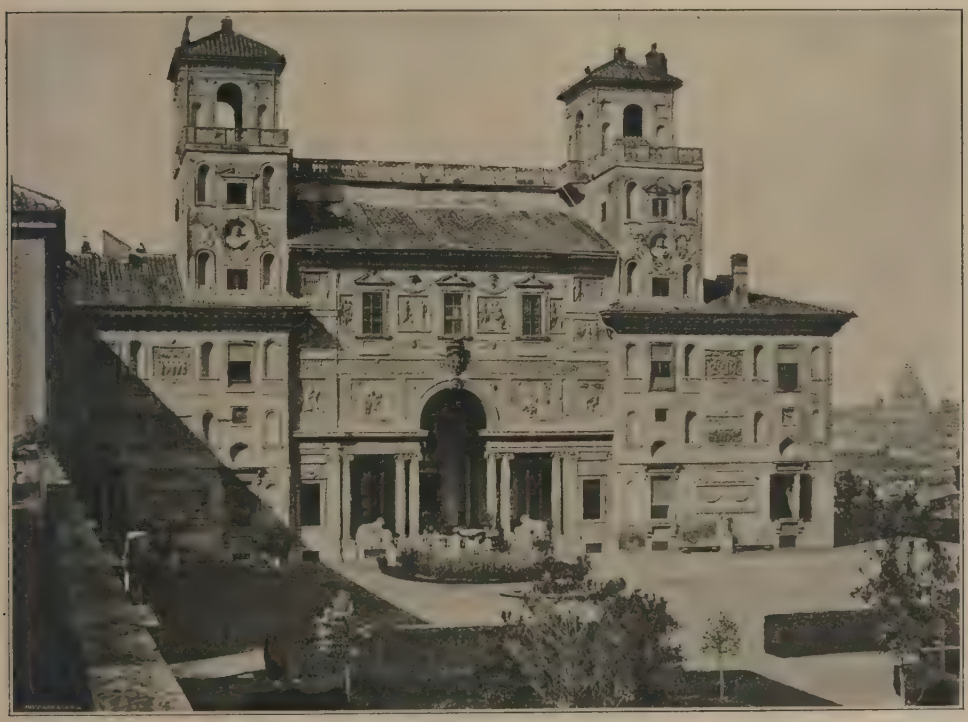
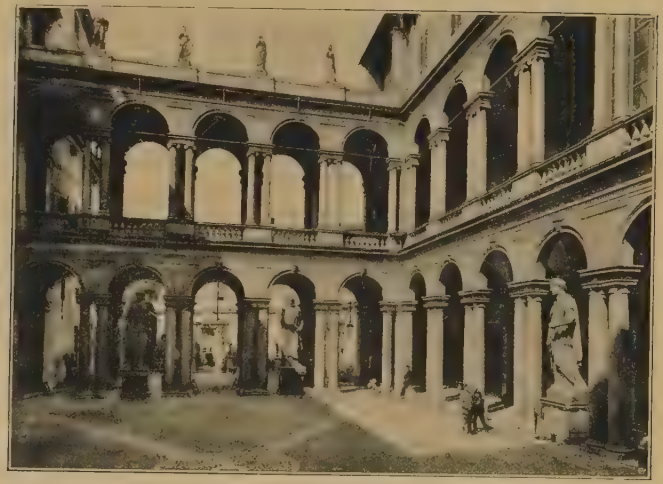


Fig. 684. The Villa Medici

FIGS. 685–686. PIAZZA DEL POPOLO AND PIAZZA NAVONA



PALAZZO FARNESE, PALAZZO SPADA; EXTERIOR AND COURTYARD OF THE PALAZZO BORGHESE

Fig. 687. The Villa Mondragone in Frascati

# IV. Palaces, Institutions, Public Squares

## I. PALACES

ITALY is the land of huts and palaces. Perhaps in no other civilized country is there more wealth and magnificence found than among some of the people or such distressful poverty among others. In the north—in Germany, France, and England—even in the largest and most populous cities there are not nearly so many nor such beautiful palaces—buildings that are justly reckoned among monuments of art—as are found in Rome, Venice, Milan, Genoa, Siena, and Bologna—cities of the first, second, or third rank in Italy.

During the last centuries of the Middle Ages the Gothic style reigned supreme. Italy built some Gothic cathedrals, churches, palaces, and monuments. But the serious style transplanted by German architects to southern soil never won the love of the southern people. In a Gothic structure every part of the building rises heavenward; whether as a little tower or pinnacle, as a finial or crocket, it mounts up and climbs, and seems as if it fain would touch the sky. But the view of the southerner is directed less vertically and more horizontally. It is as if his beautiful, fertile plains and the dreamy surface of the water on which his eye rests had woven from his early childhood days a special spell, directing his gaze into the horizontal, the level, the large, bright distance. For this reason the Italian loves buildings with large, broad spaces, extensive in length and breadth, which freely admit the light. He likes high, open halls which keep out the rain but give easy entrance to the southern air, so that while in his house he lives partly in the open.

Shortly after the first quarter of the fifteenth century a new style, the Renaissance, became predominant. We have seen that this was a time when in every walk of life there was a restless eagerness, a desire for something new, an impulse to do away with the old and to change everything. First in science and then in art, ancient Rome became a special study and men looked to her for artistic forms in language, architecture, and sculpture. The most famous architects went to Rome to measure the fragments and ruins of ancient Roman monuments and buildings, to investigate and study their individual forms and divisions, and to acquire the rules and principles that had governed their construction. In this manner the elements of the new style were assembled. The ancient fashion of building was not

called back to life, but architects found in the plans of ancient structures, their halls, arcades, columns, pillars, domes, vaults, sills, and cornices all the adorning and decorating factors with which to create something new and individual. This was necessary, because the supply of talent and taste was more than ample at this period. This style was freer than the old, and the restrictions of the interior arrangements were fewer. Renaissance structures are usually built in horizontal or level stories, and columns or pillars support, adorn, and divide the various stories. While the Gothic style is pre-eminently suitable for churches and for great, lofty spaces, the Renaissance is more appropriate for Italian palaces and churches, since it affords magnificent rooms flooded with light. In Rome the baroque style followed the Renaissance.

Almost all the palaces of Rome are built in the new style; the noblest and most beautiful belong to the Early, or best, period of the Renaissance (1450-1580), but the most magnificent and those which impress us mainly by their external decoration or by the highest development of spatial construction belong to the Late Renaissance and the baroque style (1580-1780). With very rare exceptions the recent productions are not of monumental grandeur.

Rome built its palaces for wealth and splendor, for art and science, and for poverty and misery. There are private palaces, monumental educational edifices, homes for artistic or scientific collections, hospitals or institutions of public charity. We could name a hundred such.

The ground-plan of the palaces is such that the buildings, three stories high, surround and enclose a rectangular space, and this is—almost without exception—a cloistered court. The first and second, often all three, stories have arcades whose arches and architraves are supported by pillars or columns. Graceful medallions between the arches and beautiful cornices and pilasters augment the impression of greatness, dignity, and noble magnificence. The Borghese palace is effectively arranged so that the garden (outer) façade forms an open arcade affording magnificent views. The façades are built and decorated differently, but they harmonize as a whole. In the first place, the three stories possess a characteristic outline. The ground floor, open to the busy street with its bustle and noise, rises as a simple and unadorned base, while a strongly accentuated cornice with prominent lines separates it from the upper stories, which contain the master's rooms and are richly decorated externally. The window-openings now become broader and higher, are surrounded by beautiful frames and supported by consoles. Between the windows are columns and pilasters which support the upper parts of the structure, sharply defining the stories, and lend a lordly appearance. The upper story rises in a simpler and lighter manner than the one beneath it; an elaborate cornice terminates the whole. Rich gateways, open galleries, balconies, and niches containing statues enhance the effect of magnificence and princely splendor. In the arrangement of the interior special attention was paid to creating large rooms flooded with light. There is no palace without its great hall, and where there is a reigning family this becomes the splendidly adorned throne-room.

No other architectural styles so readily combine with their two sister arts, sculpture and painting, as the Renaissance and baroque; and this is one of their chief merits. For this reason the interior of these palaces is splendid and gay with many colors. Statues fill the halls of the court, stand under the arcades and in the niches. The ceilings and walls are covered with frescoes, with pompous decorations and with mock-architecture in stucco and colors. But it was on the ceilings that artists loved to show the tricks and magic devices of perspective and simulate for untrained eyes the effect of distant backgrounds, airy halls, and vistas of blue sky. Indeed, the late baroque style uses any sort of adornment, even when it depends altogether upon "show," so long as it produces "effect." How far the baroque

FIGS. 688–691. EXTERIOR AND COURT OF THE PALAZZO DI VENEZIA; PALAZZO GIRAUD (TORLONIA) AND THE COURT OF THE PALAZZO DELLA CANCELLARIA

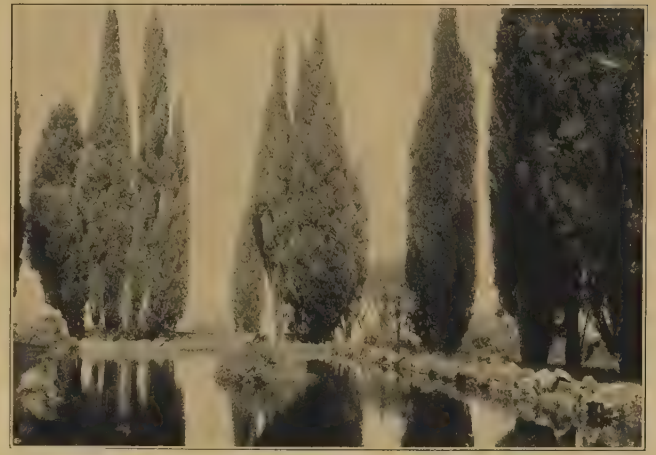
FIG. 692. THE QUIRINAL

artists succeeded in bestowing a kind of reality in this manner is recounted in many anecdotes. In the Farnesina, Peruzzi made the architectural divisions and pictorial decorations on the ceiling of the hall solely by means of color. The "stucco" ornaments are painted with such reality and the divisions—done in paint—have such a solid and perspectively correct appearance, that the great Venetian, Titian, gazing at it from the middle of the hall, "could by no means believe that all this was only painting," as an eye-witness, Vasari, records. The later period, of decadence, was intensely fond of such masterpieces. The main object of the baroque style, as we have said, consists in constructing large, bright rooms and getting picturesque effects, even at the expense of architectural expression. Such effects were attained in the stairways. Upon entering many a palace one is surprised to see how the double flights of steps, supported by columns and spanned by high, groined vaults, wind upward in bold forms and turns, now visible, now disappearing from view. The effect is often increased by means of certain artifices. Bernini, for instance, made the great steps of the Vatican grandly impressing, despite unfavorable architectural conditions, poor lighting, and perspective diminution. They may well be called the *Scala Regia* (royal steps).

At the beginning of modern times, in 1455, one of the most massive and remarkable palaces of Rome, the Palazzo di Venezia (Figs. 688 and 689) was built. The Venetian cardinal, Pietro Barbo, began the structure, but the name of the architect is unknown. The large ground floor, with its round-arched windows, the widely separated windows of the main story (unfortunately the mullions on one side were doubled, later, by "restorers"), the high cornice supported by consoles and joined by round arches with the crown of battlements above—all these contribute to its castle-like appearance. The inner court was planned on a large scale, but remained incomplete. Later the palace came into the possession of Venice, and when Venice was seized by Austria, the palace in Rome also became the property of the conquerors. To-day it is the residence of the Austrian ambassador to the Vatican.

There are two palaces, among the most beautiful in Rome, which combine the

Villa Madama, Casino of the Villa Doria Pamfili, Rome



Villa Aldobrandini and the Lake of the Villa Falconieri, Frascati

Renaissance feeling for grand size and narrow effects with the most exquisite harmony. The first of these is the Palazzo Giraud or Torlonia (Fig. 690), near the Vatican. The plans were made by the great Bramante himself. Cardinal Adriano di Corneto had the palace built in 1504; it then came into the possession of the king of England and still later into that of the Count Giraud of Marseilles. Recently it was acquired by Duke Torlonia, the youngest among the princes of Rome, who owns many a palace. Quite similar is the palace of the Papal chancery, Palazzo della Cancellaria. Its architect was Antonio Montecavallo, but it is certain that Bramante also had a hand in it. Again do we notice the façade of travertin, nobly divided by plinths and cornice. Two stories of the inner court (Fig. 691) are surrounded by colonnades, perfect in form and harmonious in arrangement.

Figs. 693–694. Courts of the Palazzo Massimi and of the Palazzo Spada

Much more magnificent is the Palazzo Farnese, one of the largest and most beautiful in Rome. In 1530 Cardinal Alessandro Farnese began to remodel his old palace from plans drawn by the younger Antonio da San Gallo. Four years later the cardinal ascended the Papal chair as Paul III, whereupon it was determined to build the palace on a more magnificent scale, and then a more competent architect became necessary. Michael Angelo was engaged, and first of all he designed the crowning cornice. He made a wooden model eleven feet long and fastened it to the wall in order to test its effect. All Rome declared it of unsurpassed beauty and it was thereupon executed in stone. The columned arcades of the two lower stories, each one supported by twenty arches, are also Michael Angelo's. The columns and the arrangement of arches were modeled after the ruins of the old Roman theater of Marcellus. It is the grandest and most beautiful palatial hall in Rome—74 meters long, 57 wide, and 31 high. A vestibule of three aisles, planned by Michael Angelo, prepares us for the sensation of awe which the huge hall inspires. While the other three façades of the immense square structure combine simplicity, beautiful form, and proportional symmetry, the side toward the Tiber is effectively enlivened by high, open halls.

Fig. 695. The New Palace of Justice

(See insert.) It was completed by Michael Angelo's pupil, Della Porta, in 1580. On the marriage of Elizabetha Farnese to the Spanish king Philip V the palace became an inheritance to the kings of Naples (1731), and then the magnificent old groups of statues of the columned court were transferred to the Museum of Naples. Within the palace is a *galleria* or hall of state, which, next to that of the Farnesina, is the grandest and most beautiful in Rome. The sketches for the paintings which adorn it, "The Power of Love," were made by Annibale Caracci, and are considered his most important productions. Other palaces with most charming details are the Palazzo Massimi alle Colonne with its columned court (Fig. 693), built in 1535 by Baldassare Peruzzi, and the Palazzo Spada, built in 1540 by Giulio Mazzoni and restored in 1632 by Borromini. The Spada is decorated with the richest ornamentation on the façade and columned court. (See Fig. 694 and insert.)

The Quirinal is a palace on a large scale (Fig. 692). The Quirinal Hill is one of the heights which lie to the northeast of Rome. The summit of this plateau affords an excellent site for a residence, for the air is pure and the view is beautiful beyond imagination. Directly opposite, but far away across the Tiber, the dome of St. Peter's rises from the plains. Alongside of it are the long rows of windows of the Papal palace; a little nearer the gloomy castle of St. Angelo, and then all about rolls a sea of houses surmounted by towers and gables and the high façades of churches and palaces. The hill has given its name to the Papal palace which stands on it. Its splendid façade, with the high balcony over the entrance and the richly colored picture of the Madonna in mosaic above the balcony, looks toward the Vatican. A wing of the palace, seemingly almost endless, runs along the Street of the Quirinal which leads out to the Porta Pia. But the street long ago changed its name, being now the Via del Venti Settembre. On September 20, 1870, the hordes of the Italian revolutionists broke through the fortifications near the Porta Pia, took the Pope's house and residence from him after having deprived him of his lands and subjects. The Italian king and his court now occupy the palace, which still bears over its gates the coat of arms of the founders. Near the Quirinal on the Pincio, the French Academy rises like a watch-tower, and in 1811 its artists received orders to decorate the halls and chambers of the Quirinal in princely fashion, for Napoleon had chosen the palace

for his imperial residence. But the great soldier-emperor never resided there, and the King of Rome, the recently born son of the French monarch, was destined never to enjoy his heritage, for he did not outlive his youth. Pius VII had been led, a captive, from the Quirinal by the French, but he returned triumphantly to his residence. Subsequently the artist Overbeck painted on the ceiling of the room from which Pius VII was taken prisoner the story of Christ led by his countrymen to a projecting rock, at whose edge, instead of plunging into the abyss, he turns and walks back fearlessly through the mass of raging people. Thus the stream of the world's history rushes on; it has large and small currents, but not a drop flows without the knowledge or will of God.

The Popes built the Quirinal for a residence in summer when the sun pours down its scorching rays and causes miasmatic vapors to rise in the lowlands. Gregory XIII (1572-1585) laid the foundations in order "to build for himself and his successors a residence which assures pure air." The work of building went on for scores of years during the reign of many Popes and under the direction of such famous architects as Ponzio, Mascherino, Fontana, and Maderna. The large reception-halls of the Quirinal have gilded wainscots, its chambers of state for illustrious guests are rich in colored decorations, and the chapel resembles in size and style the Sistine. In former times, when the Pope died, the conclave for the election of his successor was held in the Quirinal; the last conclave here was in 1846. As on former occasions the chambers of the Via Pia were then partitioned off into small cells for the cardinal-electors and their attendants; inside and outside, the partitions were covered with green and violet serge; all gates except one entrance were closed with masonry, and this one entrance was double-locked. Even the windows were partly sealed by masonry. Strictly watched turnstiles permitted only the most necessary communication with the outside world. All this was done in order to preserve the electors from outside influence, so that, faithful to their oath, they might choose him who they believed before God ought to be chosen. Such is the conclave, the closed place of election for the successor of St. Peter. The more minute regula-

Figs. 696–697. Interior View of the Villa Madama and Staircase in the Palazzo Braschi

tions for this were prescribed in the thirteenth century by Gregory X.

On the morning and evening of June 15, 1846, the first two ballots were taken, none of the candidates receiving two-thirds of the votes. The same result was reached in the forenoon of June 16. Whenever the people outside saw a light smoke rise over the palace, they knew it to be a sign that the ineffectual ballots had been burned. The fourth ballot, in the evening of the same day, raised the cardinal-bishop of Imola to the Papal chair. During this same evening the newly elected Pope wrote to his brothers Joseph and Cajetan:

"God, who lifts up and casts down, wanted to raise my wretchedness to the highest dignity on earth. Let His holy will be done at all times. In part I know the almost immeasurable weight of the burden and at the same time I know my wretchedness, not to say my spiritual nothingness. The conclave has lasted for forty-eight hours. . . . As far as you are concerned, dear brothers, I embrace you in Jesus Christ. Instead of rejoicing, pity your brother, who gives you his apostolic blessing.—Pius IX."

The Popes were thus formerly chosen in the Quirinal. The last three conclaves, which elected Leo XIII, Pius X, and Benedict XV, had to be held in the Vatican.

The baroque style of palace architecture is externally bare, almost insipid. But as

Fig. 698. Salon in the Palazzo Madama

if to compensate for this a correspondingly greater splendor develops in the interior—witness the staircase in the Palazzo Braschi (Fig. 697), which was built by Pius VI for his nephew, Cosimo Morelli. The Palazzo Madama, dating from 1490, rebuilt in 1642, was once in the possession of Margaret of Austria, the morganatic daughter of Charles V, but is now the meeting-place of the Senate. The large hall (Fig. 698) was decorated by Maccari with incidents from the lives of distinguished Romans: Appius Claudius, Regulus, Cicero, and the Catilinarians.

The proud Palazzo Borghese occupies a site in the very heart of Rome. (See in-

sert.) The Spanish Cardinal Dezza began the structure in 1590 and Martino Lunghi made the plans for the first form of the building. The palace afterward came into the possession of Cardinal Camillo Borghese who later, as Paul V, inscribed the names on the frieze of St. Peter's and left his former residence to his brothers. The escutcheon of this princely family—the crowned eagle and the lizard—to-day adorns the gates; but like other noble families the Borghese became bankrupt and decayed. The most glorious achievement of Lunghi is the columned courtyard. (See insert.) Ninety-four double columns boldly and easily support the rows of arcades that run along the ground floor and the first story of the palace. On the garden side in the second story is an open gallery which offers charming views.

The new Palace of Justice, Palazzo della Giustizia (Fig. 695), by Calderini, is one of the Italian government's gigantic monumental structures. In spite of its colossal dimensions, it makes a feeble impression because of the superabundance, luxuriance, and obtrusiveness of the ornamentation, which overcrowds and kills the architectural forms that are, at best, somewhat slight.

The immediate and more remote surroundings of Rome abound in villas, charming and sumptuous buildings in beautiful gardens and parks.

Two villas date back to the best period of the Renaissance. Giulio de Medici, who later became Pope Clement VII, built the first villa on the slope of Monte Mario, for which Raphael furnished the drawings, and Giulio Romano and Giovanni da Udine were among the artists who executed them. After Raphael's death, in 1520, building operations ceased and seven years later the uncompleted structure was devastated by bands of soldiers during the Sack of Rome. Since then it has remained a ruin; but even to-day it contains charming rooms and wonderful decorations in the most refined taste. (See insert.) The villa had several proprietors, among them Margaret of Parma, from whom the name "Villa Madama" originated. In the same neighborhood Cardinal Antonio Fabiano del Monte began to build a villa, which his nephew and heir, Julius III del Monte (1550-1555), named Villa di Papa Giulio and added to it elements that made it a nobler structure. But this villa also remained incomplete and has lost its splendor and beauty; to-day it is a national museum for objects discovered outside of Rome.

The two largest villas of Rome are the Villa Borghese and the Villa Doria-Pamfili. Of the former we have spoken. Its park covers two-fifths of a square mile and contains magnificent lawns, avenues of oaks, gardens, groves and a small, mirror-like lake.

The grounds of the Villa Doria-Pamfili, outside the Porta San Pancrazio, are a little over five miles in circumference and are even richer in unexpected beautiful landscape effects than those in the Villa Borghese. Fine groups of pines, sycamores, cypress, laurels, and palms afford vistas of St. Peter's, with Rome and her girdle of mountains in the background. The Casino (see insert) is built in the midst of flower-gardens, adorned with

Fig. 699. The Villa d'Este in Tivoli

Figs. 700–703. Casino and Lake of the Villa Borghese; Casino and Gardens of the Villa Albani

ancient and modern statues and reliefs; and the elaborate arrangement of steps is Algardi's work. The founder of this beautiful villa was Prince Camillo Pamfili, a nephew of Pope Innocent X.

We have repeatedly mentioned the Villa Albani, now called Torlonia, outside the Porta Salara. It is the ingenious conception of Cardinal Alessandro Albani, nephew of Clement XI. The extremely pretty Casino as well as the tasteful "Ninfeo," or well-house, and the surrounding park are the successful achievement of Carlo Marchionne (1704-1780).

Many villas with charming parks and views are found in the larger Roman suburbs. In Tivoli is the Villa d'Este. Advantage is cleverly taken of the uneven ground, and its avenues of trees and water system have been depicted a thousand times. In Frascati, Cardinal Aldobrandini, a nephew of Clement VIII, built a villa which was called the Villa Aldobrandini, after his family. (See insert.) This is the last work of that thorough architect, Giacomo della Porta; it stands on a high summit in front of dark woods and overlooks the Campagna and Rome. Below spread the gardens, descending in terraces with gurgling cascades. But the Villa Falconieri (see insert), with its dreamy lake surrounded by melancholy cypresses, is much more impressive. Both the dwelling and the avenues of cypresses of the Villa Mondragone are almost gigantic. (Fig. 687.)

## 2. COLLEGES, NATIONAL AND CHARITABLE INSTITUTIONS

SCIENTIFIC, national, and benevolent institutions and establishments are certainly noble monuments of the first order, but as esthetic monuments they can be praised only in so far as they have made their home in buildings which arouse the esthetic, the artistic interest. This happens to be the case with many of the institutions and establishments in Rome; some are most beautiful.

Fig. 704. The College of the Propaganda with the Column of the Immacolata

Fig. 705. The Roman College

## 1. COLLEGES AND NATIONAL ESTABLISHMENTS

THE College of the Propaganda is an institution of world-wide importance, just as the Church is catholic. It was founded by Pope Urban VIII (1623-1644). Its home is the large palace situated on the Piazza di Spagna and was built by Bernini. Borromini added the church of the college, which, under the name of Epiphany, has been consecrated in honor of the Three Wise Men. In front of the palace rises a large column surmounted by a beautiful statue of Our Lady. It was erected by Pius IX in 1854 to commemorate his promulgation of the doctrine of the Immaculate Conception. The college has become embodied in the Congregatio de Propaganda Fide (Congregation for the Propagation of the Faith), founded by Gregory XV (1621–1644) for the purpose of training priests for foreign missions and for the so-called "missionary countries." As a rule only pupils from foreign mission lands are received, and here room, board, and instruction are free until they have finished their philosophical and theological studies. The institution also confers academic degrees. The number of students runs from 120 to 150. The peculiarity of the college becomes markedly manifest during the Accademia Poliglotta, a scientific session on the Sunday after Epiphany, when the pupils of different nations utter the festive thoughts of the Epiphany in more than fifty languages. The college also possesses a printing establishment of world-wide fame. Bellarmine's small catechism was published not only in Italian, but also in Arabic, Ethiopian, Burmese, Bulgarian, Albanian, Georgian, Illyrian, Madagascan, and Mahrati. "The new Italian government has visited this college with violence —a college belonging to the whole Christian world—robbed it of all its property (real estate) and, in addition, taken that of the Congregation of the Propaganda, converting it into an Italian state obligation. In this manner an institution of so universal a character has been bound up with the fate of Italian finances, whose outlook is not exactly hopeful. No pro-

tests, not even the intercession of foreign powers, especially of Austria, were of any avail. They did not even wait for the outcome of the lawsuit which the Propaganda had begun."—GRISAR. (Fig. 704.)

The Roman College near the Church of St. Ignatius grew out of an institution founded by St. Ignatius Loyola (1551), with complete collegiate, philosophical, and theological courses. The second and greater founder of the institution was Gregory XIII (1572-1582). Commissioned by him Bartolommeo Ammanati (1582) erected the gigantic college building, with its wide façade and spacious, pilastered inner court. The cornerstone bore the inscription: "For the instruction of all nations in the best branches of knowledge." Even to-day the beautiful words: "To Religion and Knowledge" are inscribed on its façade. The institution became a university (*Universitas Gregoriana*), but at the same time remained the college and residence of the Jesuits, who established the large library and the remarkable artistic and ethnographic collections of the Kircherian Museum. This latter was named in honor of Father Athanasius Kircher, who was eminently active in securing its establishment. Ten Popes and a large number of ecclesiastical princes have come from this college. Under Father Angelo Secchi the observatory gained distinction throughout the world. In the year of the taking of Rome the number of students amounted to 1370: 700 in the college, 280 in the school of philosophy, and 390 in the theological school. In 1870 the Italian government laid hands upon the college. "In vain were the protests of the vicar-general and of the superiors of the Jesuits, who with one voice claimed that the institution had originated, not from the public domains of the unjustly annexed Ecclesiastical States, but from private donations to the Order, and furthermore, that the college did not serve particular pur-

FIGS. 706–707. THE COURT OF THE SAPIENZA AND THE SEMINARIO ROMANO AT S. APOLLINARE

Fig. 708. The German College

poses, but the general purposes of the whole Church. The foreign governments remained silent and thus the Piedmontese remained in undisturbed possession of the college and continued *to bring it up to modern standards!* A royal lyceum and a royal classical school were installed in the magnificent building. The library (at the moment much reduced by unseen hands) was made to give up the ground floor to the State Library of Victor Emmanuel, housed in the same building. This was composed of annexed libraries from monasteries. Together with the other scientific institutions, the observatory with its fine instruments was confiscated; and, as a matter of course, Father Secchi refused to remain connected with it 'by grace of government.' Despite all this, the Collegium Romanum, awaiting better times, still exists as the Universitas Gregoriana. The more advanced courses of study are taught by professors of the Society of Jesus, as of yore, but in other halls: since 1873 in the rooms of the Collegium Germanicum, which are much too small for this purpose."—Grisar. (Fig. 705.)

The Seminario Romano near *S. Apollinare* (Fig. 707) is the seminary proper for the priests from the diocese of Rome. The Seminario Pio, founded there by Pius IX, takes able students of theology from the sixty-eight dioceses of the former Papal States. The Accademia Ecclesiastica (Pontificia Accademia dei Nobili Ecclesiastici) on the Piazza della Minerva, is for noblemen who have finished their theological studies and who are here instructed in the work of the prelature and the management of important religious offices. The number of students never exceeds twenty.

Until 1870 the Sapienza was the real University of Rome; it was founded in 1303 by Boniface VIII (1294-1303), and possessed the then customary faculties and privileges. Under Alexander VI (1492-1503), a special patron of the university, the present building was erected. It was greatly enlarged by Leo X (1513-1521) and Alexander VII (1655-1667), when it assumed gigantic proportions. Giacomo della Porta built the main façade (1575) and also the Church of *S. Ivo* in honor of Pope Urban VIII (1623-1644), on whose escutcheon (Barberini family) is the bee; and the architect shaped the plan of *S. Ivo* after this insect. The tower, with its lantern, resembles a corkscrew. Adjoining the church is the impressive court, which has open arcades on two stories. (Fig. 706.) Leo XII (1823-1829) made a new curriculum for the university; it was to have not less than thirty-eight chairs of theology, philosophy, philology, and medicine. In the years just before 1870 the number of students averaged 850. The Italian government seized the Sapienza, whose theological faculty, as in other Italian universities, was discontinued. In the profane studies the old Papal professors were allowed to continue for a while, but they were soon eliminated, as a political oath which conflicted with their conscience was demanded of them. As the first State University of the Kingdom of Italy, the school had in 1877 twelve professors in the law faculty, twenty-four in medicine, sixteen in physics and mathematics, and twelve in philology and philosophy. The number of

students had dropped to 559. Only recently has the attendance increased.

Many national colleges maintain no schools of their own, their students, as a general thing, attending the lectures at the Propaganda or the Roman College. The oldest and most prominent of these national colleges is the German College.

The real founder of the German College (Fig. 708) was St. Ignatius. Upon his request in 1552 Pope Julius III (1550-1553) granted a charter to the institution, whose mission was to receive German youths, instruct them in philosophical and theological subjects, develop them into thorough, pious priests, and then to send them back home, there to be active in the zealous and beneficial care of souls. The college endured hard times and more than once was all but dissolved or converted to other purposes. Gregory XIII was the first to place the institution upon a firm foundation. According to his charter of 1573, the college was to receive at least one hundred pupils. In 1580 the German College was combined with the Hungarian College, which had been founded two years before, the Jesuits retaining supervision of the school. The college had to change its abode several times, until Pius IX assigned the Borromeo Palace for its permanent residence. The school looks back upon a very rich past: of its 5560 pupils one became a Pope (Gregory XV, 1621-1623), 27 cardinals, 6 electors, 47 archbishops, 280 bishops, 55 abbots, and a great many others became men of notable wisdom and reputation.

The two most eminent German pilgrim-houses, each combined with ecclesiastical colleges, the Anima and the Campo Santo near St. Peter's, are national-endowed institutions, and the only two of this class we can mention here. The Anima (Fig. 709) —its proper name is "Collegio Teutonico dell' Anima"—was created by the beneficent charity of a Dutch warrior of Dordrecht, Johann Peters, and his wife. In 1386 they bought three houses in Rome, converting the middle one into a chapel and using the other two for the reception of poor German pilgrims. At a very early period the Order of the Holy Virgin dell' Anima—the Mother of God, Comforter of Poor Souls—became connected with the institution, thereby bringing to it rich donations. The protectorate of the institution was at first in the hands of the German emperors, from whom it passed to the Austrian emperors, so that by and by the Anima was looked upon as a national Austrian institution. Pius IX made new rules and regulations for it in 1839 and to-day the Austrian emperor appoints its rector, but the rooms of the lodging-houses are open to all Catholic pilgrims from states of the German Empire and from the Netherlands. For three days they receive free room and board. The ecclesiastical college connected with the Anima is for young priests who wish to make further studies in ecclesiastical and theological science.

The Campo Santo is supposed to be a foundation of Charlemagne for German pilgrims. The name "Holy Field," or "Cemetery," reminds us of the old Christian burial-place in its neighborhood, in the center of which was the grave of St. Peter. In 1540 the German

Fig. 709. The Hospice of the Anima

Fig. 709a. The American College

confessor in St. Peter's, Johann Goldderer, later auxiliary bishop of Würtzburg, founded an Order, the purpose of which was to bury those of his compatriots who died in Rome in the cemetery near the institution and to have prayers said for their souls. After a period of adversity the affairs of the institution were put in strict order and regulated by Pius IX in 1846. The Campo Santo is a lodging-house for poor German pilgrims to Rome and has also four scholarships for young German priests who wish to pursue higher scientific studies.

The North American College is located in the building formerly known as the Convent of Santa Maria dell' Umiltà. The street on which the College is situated is still called by this name. The building itself is of the ordinary Roman style, simple and unadorned, but solid and substantial. In the corridor are placed the portraits of the American hierarchy, and a number of mural shrines; one of these is near the chapel and is a painting of the Madonna and Child, presented to the College by Pius IX. The College possesses several other valuable memorials of this Pontiff; among others, a portrait and a bust. The bust is by Milmore, taken from actual sittings and is considered one of the best likenesses of the Pope. Leo XIII also made gifts to the College, among them being a large oil painting bearing the Papal arms, which covers the greater part of the rear wall of the College hall. In this gift, Leo wished to express his zeal for the culture of scholastic philosophy and theology.

This College had for its founder Pius IX, who was ably assisted by Archbishop Hughes of New York and Archbishop Kenrick of Baltimore. In 1854, when a delegation of American bishops journeyed to Rome to attend the proclamation of the Immaculate Conception, they placed the matter of a college for the United States before the Pope. His Holiness took action in the case, and proposed its definite establishment. In 1857, three years after the suggestion had first been made, Pius IX bought the old Visitation Convent of the Umiltà mentioned above, which was then being used as a barracks by French soldiers stationed in Rome.

In order to obtain funds to put the College in good condition, Archbishop Hughes ordered a general collection to be taken up in all the churches of his diocese. The rest of the hierarchy also did their best to help the work, and within a few months about $50,000 was available.

The formal opening of the College was held on December 8, 1859, when thirteen students took up their residence within the walls.

On January 29, 1860, Pope Pius paid a visit to the College; and a tablet was

Fig. 709b. The English College

placed on the wall bearing an inscription commemorating the event.

The English College is located on the Via di Monserrato, nearly opposite the Church of *S. Girolamo della Carità*. Adjoining the building is a church dedicated to St. Thomas of Canterbury. The College, founded in 1362 by John Shepherd and his wife, Alice, was originally a hospice for pilgrims from England. After the English Church, under King Henry VIII, broke away from Rome, the number of pilgrims grew less and less, and finally under Elizabeth they ceased to come at all.

Fig. 709d. The Scots' College

It was not really founded as a college until April 23, 1579, when Father Alphonsus Agazzari was appointed the first permanent rector. The Bull of foundation, however, signed by Pope Gregory XIII, was not published until December 23, 1580.

Within the building are many relics of the Catholic Church in England, and in an old volume of engravings in the library, which contains the designs of the frescoes in the original Church, are to be found the names of the fifty-four English martyrs who were beatified by Leo XIII in 1886. The frescoes were by the same artist who executed those in *S. Stephano Rotondo.*

The College is directly subject to the Holy See, which is represented by a cardinal protector. The immediate superiors are the rector, appointed by the Pope on the recommendation of the English hierarchy, and the vice-rector, appointed by the rector.

The Irish College, on the Via Panisperna, was first established in 1628 through the generosity of Cardinal Ludovisi, who at his own expense rented a house opposite *S. Isidoro,* and six students took up their residence therein under the first rector, Eugene Callanan, archdeacon of Cashel, Father Luke Wadding, the famous Franciscan, acting in the capacity of supervisor.

When Cardinal Ludovisi died, in 1632, he provided for the College in his will. It was to have an income of one thousand crowns a year; a house was to be purchased for it, and he left a vineyard at Castel Gandolfo where the students might pass their vacations.

Fig. 709c. The Irish College

During the period from 1628 to 1798, when it was suppressed by the French, the College hardly ever had more than eight students within its walls. So brilliant were its graduates, however, and so nobly did they battle for the cause of Holy Mother Church, that it was then known as the *"Seminarium Episcoporum,"* or nursery of bishops.

The heart of the great Liberator, Daniel O'Connell, is preserved in a marble monument on the left aisle of the Church. This is in conformity with his last wish, which bequeathed "his soul to Heaven, his

body to Ireland, and his heart to Rome."

On the Via delle Quattro Fontane, close to the Piazza Barberini, is the Scots' College, which was founded in 1600 by Clement VIII, who, in establishing it, used the funds of the old Scotch hospice, to which the pilgrims had ceased to come.

In 1602 the first students came, and took up their residence in the Villa del Tritone, opposite the Church of *S. Maria dell' Idria;* but in 1604 they moved to the present site.

Cardinal Camillo Borghese, afterward Paul V, and Cardinal Barberini, who later became Urban VIII, were the first cardinal protectors of the College.

The chief relic in the Church is a finger of St. Margaret, Queen of Scotland.

Fig. 710. The Hospital of S. Spirito

## 2. CHARITABLE INSTITUTIONS

A GREAT number of Roman institutions owe their existence to Christian charity, but we can describe here only a few of the largest and most interesting of them.

The oldest and most important hospital in Rome is the Ospedale di Santo Spirito (Hospital of the Holy Spirit). In the eighth century Ina, the king of the Anglo-Saxons, founded in the Borgo on the Tiber, in the immediate neighborhood of St. Peter's, a pilgrims' lodging-house for his compatriots. During Pope Paschal's reign (817-824) the building was destroyed by fire, and no sooner was its restoration completed than the Saracens demolished it; it fell a third time during the war between the German emperor Henry IV and Gregory VII. In 1201 Innocent III established the new structure near the Church of *S. Maria in Sassia* and changed it into a hospital for the sick. The name *in Sassia* (in the quarter of the Saxons) and the spirit and memories of the Anglo-Saxon pilgrims' lodging-house were handed down to the Hospital of the Holy Spirit. The nurses, by the Pope's orders, were to be chosen from the Order of the Hospital Brethren founded in 1178 by Guido of Montpellier. Another founder of the hospital was Pope Sixtus

Fig. 711. SS. Trinità dei Pellegrini

IV (1471-1484), who, in the years 1473-1482, commissioned his architect, Baccio Pintelli, to erect the hospital as it stands to-day. Formerly the projecting part of the façade was joined on either side by thirty-six open arcades—now they are closed. In the center rises the beautiful hexagonal dome with high, round-arched windows. The largest ward in the hospital is 126 meters long, 12.36 wide and 13.56 high; it was reserved for those of noble birth whom misfortune compelled to accept public charity. Sixtus IV created anew the Religious Order connected with the hospital—the Confraternita di Santo Spirito—and he inscribed his name as follows: "I, Sixtus, Bishop of the Catholic Church, have inscribed the Order of our Hospital to the Holy Ghost on March 21, 1478." Among the later Popes, Pius IX especially devoted immense sums for restoration, new buildings, water supply, ventilation, and the introduction of the most modern improvements and most approved methods in medicine and nursing. The hospital covers a space of nearly 30,000 square meters.

When Pius IX was stripped of his sovereignty, he felt especially grieved that he was deprived of the care of the Santo Spirito and other institutions of public charity. His idea of founding a private Papal hospital was not realized until the days of his successor, Leo XIII. When in 1884 the cholera had carried off its many victims in Busca, Spezia, and Naples, and began to threaten Rome, Leo XIII gave a million lire ($200,000) for the erection of the Hospital of Santa Marta within the limits of the Vatican; it was thus possible for the Pope personally to visit and comfort his patients. The institution at once began its activities and exists to-day as a noble monument of Papal benevolence.

Alongside of the Hospital of the Holy Spirit is the beautiful Renaissance Church of *Santo Spirito in Sassia,* a work of the younger Antonio da San Gallo. The belfry is older and dates from the year 1471. It is a most graceful transition from a medieval Roman tower into the light and charming form of the early Renaissance.

The beginnings of the Ospedale S. Giacomo (Hospital of St. James) date back to the year 1338 (Fig. 712). As it stands near the sepulchral monument of Emperor Augustus, it bears the additional

Fig. 712. The Hospital of S. Giacomo

name "in Augusta." Another name for it is "Degli Incurabili," because it was established for incurables and for patients with chronic ulcers, who would not be received in other hospitals. This hospital is connected with two churches: one, *S. Giacomo al Corso,* was built in 1585 by Ricciarelli da Volterra. It is a charming example of central construction, its plan being a round central space, touched by four arms set at right angles. It has an oval dome. The façade, scarcely harmonizing with the structure, is by Maderna. The other church, *S. Maria della Porta del Paradiso* (St. Mary of the Gate of Paradise), on Ripetta Street, was founded in 1523 by a Spanish prelate as a place of refuge for those who had the plague.

Near the Square, Campo di Fiori, rises *SS. Trinità dei Pellegrini* (Pilgrims' Church of the Most Holy Trinity) (Fig. 711), built in 1614 by Paolo Maggi. On this site once stood a church built in honor of St. Benedict, which (1558) Paul IV gave to St. Philip Neri and his young Order of the Most Holy Trinity. Near this little church the Apostle of Rome founded a lodging-house for pilgrims and convalescents; to-day it has 448 beds, and 12,000 patients are received in it annually. In the Jubilee year, 1771, the hospital gave three days' lodging to each of the 400,000 pilgrims. Since 1870 the income of the endowed institution has been in the hands of the Italian government and pilgrims to Rome are no longer given lodging in the house.

Fig. 713. The Hospice dei Convertendi

Fig. 714. Orphanage of Tata Giovanni

The large orphan asylum, Tata Giovanni (Fig. 714), near the Church of *S. Anna dei Falegnami* (St. Anne of the Joiners), owes its origin to a poor mason, Giovanni Borgi. Filled with Christian charity, his desire was to assist the poor and unfortunate; but possessing nothing he went to the Hospital of the Holy Spirit every Sunday to nurse the sick and to serve them in every way. Here orphans and neglected boys aroused his sympathy, and he invited them to come to him that he might be their father, that he might feed and clothe them from alms he had collected, that he might bring them up and instruct them especially in religion, and that he might apprentice them to good artisans. Borgi soon found generous patrons, especially in Cardinal di Pietro and Pius VII. The latter bought a house for him and assisted him liberally, and

thus originated the orphan asylum which was managed by Borgi like a father and in which he was loved as a father—"Papa" or "Tata." Pius IX was fond of visiting this house, even before he became a priest. He celebrated his first Holy Mass in the Church of *S. Anna* and he worked for seven years as a teacher and educator, as a fellow-worker and successor of "Tata," Giovanni Borgi. There are over a hundred boys in the asylum and thirty trades are taught. When the inmates reach the age of twenty they are dismissed from this institution, to which are attached so many blessings. At present two priests share in the supervision. All his life Pius IX was the fatherly friend and patron of the house where he spent the first seven quiêt, yet happiest years of his priesthood.

The Home for the Aged near *S. Stefano Rotondo* is a recently established institution. In ancient Rome the palace of the Valerii stood on the site, and here in the old Christian days lived St. Melania and her husband Pinian. In the Middle Ages the convent and large hospital of St. Erasmus occupied the place. In this spot a community of English nuns, the Nursing Sisters of St. Mary, established a large house for receiving the poor, old men, and those provided with benefices. In the illustration (Fig. 715) our attention is at once riveted on the central structure between the two symmetrical wings. It is the church! Owing to a strange whim of the mother superior, the church was to be shaped, outside and inside, like a heart, the Heart of Jesus, in the conventional form in which we usually see it depicted. The altar was to rise from the point of the triangle. She was warned that to roof over such a building would be very difficult, despite which the foundations and the side walls were built. When they came to the roof the difficulties became even more apparent, and for years the edifice remained without a roof and threatened to fall in ruins. Finally, yielding to the inevitable, the middle and front portions were covered with a kind of barrel-vault and the western side of the church was closed by a wall. The two oval extensions remain as a monument of love's labor lost. It is surprising that such a thing was possible in Rome!

Fig. 715. Asylum of St. Mary's Nursing Sisters Adjoining S. Stefano Rotondo

There are numerous other endowed charitable institutions, both public and private, and some of these existed in Papal Rome long before similar institutions were established in other capitals of the world, as, for instance, maternity hospitals (Ospedale di S. Rocco), night lodging-houses (Ospizio di Santa Galla and Ospizio di San Luigi Gonzaga), and dispensaries for those having skin diseases (Ospizio di San Gallicano). Among the founders, or at least among the most liberal patrons and friends, of these charitable institutions we always find Popes and cardinals, and among those who give something that is even better and more precious than money—their own personal service for the benefit of the poor, sick, and needy—members of the Religious Orders always occupy the first place.

The Ospizio dei Convertendi (Fig. 713) is the last we shall describe. Here all persons who wish to abjure heresy and obtain admission to the Catholic Church may find food and shelter for a while. Many of these penitents are poor, or lose what they possess because of their intentions; others are not sufficiently instructed or examined before their arrival. A temporary stay in this House for Converts is, therefore, both beneficial and necessary. St. Philip Neri and his disciples paid special attention to converts, and upon their representations Pope Clement X in 1675 assigned a part of the hospital near the Church of *Madonna della Grazie* to converts. Seven years later Cardinal Girolamo Gastaldi acquired the Palazzo Spinola on the Piazza Scossacavalli, near St. Peter's, and gave it to the Convertendi. According to the register of the hospital 5525 persons were received between 1715 and 1884.

## 3. PIAZZAS, MONUMENTS, VIEWS

TO what extent a Roman piazza may possess the artistic elements that warrant our calling it "monumental" may best be judged by him who for the first time enters the columned ellipse of Bernini fronting St. Peter's, or even better when he looks down upon it from the Loggia of the Papal Benediction, from the railing where stand the statues of the apostles, or from the gallery surrounding the dome. Then the arcades appear in all their greatness; then the eye has a scale with which to measure the space that they enclose. The immense marble radii starting from the obelisk in the center are themselves gigantic measures of length and width. True, the Piazza of St. Peter's is the only one of its kind in Rome and in the whole world; but among the eighty or ninety public squares of Rome there are others which possess monumental grandeur and beauty. Among these is the Piazza del Popolo, the Square of the People (Fig. 685), named after the Church of St. Mary on the eastern side of the square. The importance it once had for pilgrims from the north is gone; the great Pilgrims' Road which led to Rome from the north led through the Porta del Popolo (Gate of the People) and ended in this piazza. Millions of people may have felt like Goethe, who said: "I hardly dared tell myself where I was going; even while on my way I was still afraid and it was only when I passed through the Porta del Popolo that I felt sure I had reached Rome." In the center of the immense ellipse which this place forms, Sixtus V erected one of the Egyptian obelisks of whose remarkable history ancient Rome tells us. Three straight main streets lead into the city from this gate. The Corso, in the center, passes through almost all of new Rome; the eastern one, the Via del Babuino, skirts the foot of the hills—the Pincio and its spurs; the northern highway, the Ripetta, runs along the bend of the Tiber and enters deeply into Rome's sea of houses. Two churches of Our Lady, crowned with domes, stand at the beginning of these roads. It was Leo X who opened these

chief arteries to traffic, and even to this day busy life surges along in them. It was Leo XII, however, who adorned the piazza, and the greatest praise is due him for it. At the foot of the obelisk he placed four marble lions, spouting water. At the two ends of the larger diameter Valadier built two grand fountains; the northern one adorned by the sea-god Neptune, surrounded by tritons and dolphins, the eastern one by a statue of Roma in armor and helmet, standing among the river gods of the Tiber and the Anio. Above and on both sides magnificent steps and broad drives lead past beautiful viewpoints to the green heights of the Pincio.

The public square next largest to the Piazza of St. Peter's is the Piazza Navona (Fig. 686), or the Circo Agonale. The rows of houses enclosing it rest on the foundations of the circus of the Emperor Domitian, hence the name "Circo." This circus foundation necessitated a semicircular ending on the northern side, while on the south the lines of the buildings are at right angles to each other. Gregory XIII built two other fountains and the large water-basin with tritons and masks spouting water—all out of rare marbles. The large fountain in the middle (see insert) was erected by Bernini under Innocent X. A granite obelisk surmounted by a dove bearing an olive branch—the escutcheon of the Pamfili—rises in the center of the basin over massive and rugged rocks. At the four corners the four largest rivers are represented by four gigantic white marble figures: the African Nile unveiling his head, the Asiatic Ganges, the European Danube, and the South American La Plata (this last a negro). Below, in the caves and chasms of the rock, figures of animals appear as corresponding symbols: a lion, a dragon, a monster, and a horse. It is all profoundly inspiring. Directly opposite the central fountain the towers and the dome of the Church of *S. Agnese* rise above the houses. Their picturesquely curved lines are easily recognized as of the gay baroque style. Popular humor, misdirected, however, in this case, linked Bernini's statues for the fountain with the church structure, saying that the Nile was veiling his head so he need not look upon the façade of *S. Agnese,* and that La Plata raised his hand and bent forward in an effort to keep tower and dome from falling! The whole plaza was splendidly restored in modern times. For centuries it has been the favorite place for popular frolics, and at night dancing is often indulged in on its smooth pavement. In August the drains of the fountains were

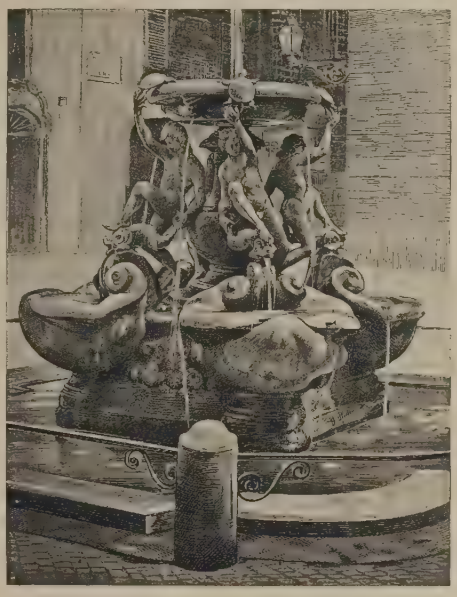


Fig. 716. The Fountain of the Turtles

often closed in bygone days, so as to flush the plaza with water in order to cool and refresh the heated air, incidentally affording entertainment for the people. The rich would ride through the water in their carriages, while the wild street gamins would give themselves up to unrestrained, mad pleasure, where formerly the imperial tyrants of Rome tried to make the enslaved people forget their humiliation by preparing games for them.

The Spanish Piazza (Piazza di Spagna) is one of the most crowded thoroughfares in Rome. Its perspective is extremely picturesque because of the high Spanish stairway (Fig. 730) with its platforms, landing, and railings; above is its obelisk,

Fig. 717. The Fontana Felice

standing in front of the Church of *SS. Trinità dei Monti*, with the two towers. The flower market is held on these steps, and about Eastertide the place is gay with the first blooms of spring, charming in color and fragrance. From the steps and the landing the eye enjoys an inexpressibly beautiful view of the Piazza del Popolo and the Vatican. The church above contains the "Descent from the Cross" (Fig. 639), by Daniele da Volterra, a composition distinguished by the excellent balance of its parts and by the beauty and harmony of its lines. The work is undoubtedly due to an inspiration that came from Michael Angelo. The picture contradicts the words of the Bible, for it represents the Blessed Mother fainting, being overcome by grief and pain, whereas the Bible says "she *stood* under the Cross"; but the artist needed this "motive" to express a deeper emotion.

The Spanish Piazza is less distinguished for monumental grandeur than for its picturesqueness, views, and the immense traffic carried on there. Looking southward we see the memorial column, the "Immacolata" (Fig. 704), the Immaculate Conception of the Blessed Virgin. Pius IX erected this monument in 1854 from voluntary contributions of the faithful in memory of the promulgation of the dogma of the Immaculate Conception. A massive base sustains four seated colossal statues: Moses (by Giacometti), David, Isaias, and Ezechiel, all expressive and dignified. Between the projecting parts of this base are four bas-reliefs: the "Dream of St. Joseph," the "Annunciation," the "Coronation of the Blessed Virgin," and the "Promulgation of the Dogma of the Immaculate Conception." A higher portion of the base bears inscriptions, and therefrom rises the ancient column of cipolin marble, veined with green. Above its capital—the terrestrial sphere bearing the symbols of the evangelists—rises the statue of the Madonna by Obici. It is to be regretted that this figure, of all the statues on this monument, is the least successful; it is hopelessly mediocre.

The most important public piazza that owes its origin to the Italian government

Fig. 718. The Fontana Paolina

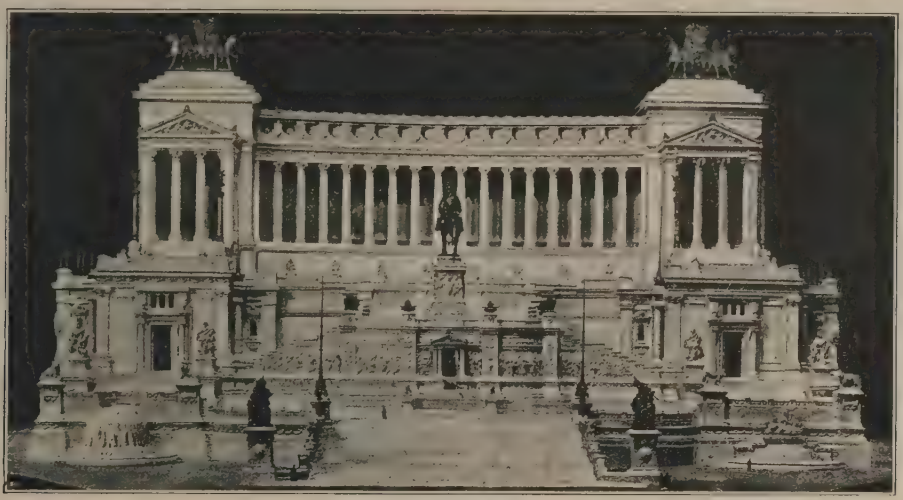


Fig. 719. Plaster Model of the Monument to Victor Emmanuel

is the Piazza delle Terme, near the railway station. It has a magnificent fountain (see insert) and beautiful waterworks; but its nude figures attracted much attention and caused much scandal, although Romans are far from prudish.

Almost all piazzas or squares in Rome are adorned with fountains throwing an abundance of water, for the city is rich in water, although situated in a dry plain. Rome probably has more fountains than any other capital, and many of them have real artistic value and great beauty. One of the most graceful and pleasing is the Fontana delle Tartarughe—the Fountain of the Turtles (Fig. 716). Four gigantic shells rise from the basin and four bronze dolphins spout water into them. Above these are four youths, who stand with one foot on the head of a dolphin and grasp its tail with one hand, while with the other they hold a turtle up to the edge of the marble basin. So much grace and delicacy is expressed in the modeling that people believed they could see the hand of the great Raphael in the work; but it was the Florentine, Taddeo Landini, who made the models for the statues (1585). Della Porta, the well known architect and sculptor, set up the entire fountain. Quite recently, one of the turtles was missing, whereat the whole city was aroused to excitement and indignation; but after a time the turtle appeared in its old place, as suddenly and surprisingly as it had vanished!

Three grand fountains form the splendid monumental *finale* to the aqueducts at the points where the water they carry to the Eternal City emerges, before entering

Fig. 720. Statue of Giordano Bruno

subterranean channels. The well-house of Sixtus V on the Viminal Hill, called the Fontana Felice, or "di Termini," belongs to such terminals (Fig. 717). It is the end of the aqueduct, twenty-one miles long, built by Sixtus V. The design, by Domenico Fontana, is not very successful, for the lower part is overpowered by the heavy architecture above it. Moses points with his magic wand to the free-flowing water in the central arch; on his left Aaron leads the thirsty to a spring; and on his right Gideon and his soldiers are drinking. The terminal of the Acqua Paolina (Fig. 718)—Trajan's aqueduct—which was restored by Paul V, is a much more successful piece of architecture. The beautiful structure stands in the lonesome street which leads to the Gate of St. Pancratius after crossing the Janiculum. The front somewhat resembles the façade of a baroque church. Ionic columns rise from a high base and enclose five niches with semicircular vaults. Above the architrave is a second story bearing a large tablet with an inscription and the escutcheon of the founder. From the three higher central niches roaring, turbulent, foaming masses of water pour into a large marble basin.

But surpassing all the other fountains in Rome is the Trevi (see insert), the well-house of the so-called Virginal Aqueduct, the Acqua Vergine. It was Clement XI's idea to erect a grand monument over the mouth of the canal, and the Roman, Nicola Salvi, designed it (1735) after a drawing by the ingenious Bernini, the great master of the baroque. It was almost thirty years building and three Popes inscribed their names on it. Clement XII placed his on the large tablet in the superstructure of the central part, his escutcheon above his name; Clement XIII in the frieze of the large niche; and Benedict XIV in the main frieze. The water poured down the rough stone steps for the first time in the year 1762; and he who enters the square suddenly from a neighboring street thinks he has come upon the rushing waters of a brawling mountain torrent. The monument is built against the façade of the beautiful Poli Palace and imitates the jagged bed which a wild stream ploughs in a mountain slope. Under a vaulted niche, the sea-god, in a commanding attitude, rides the waves in a conch-shell and his steeds are led and controlled by tritons. The water gushes from every crevice of the rugged stone, rushing and tumbling in countless small cascades over the rocks, to disappear in gentle ripples in a large basin from which emanates a refreshing coolness. At either side of the figure of Oceanus is a niche containing a statue, "Health" and "Fertility," while statues of the Four Seasons adorn the space in front of the higher part of the fountain. Two bas-reliefs represent the discovery of the spring and the first building of the aqueduct by Agrippa: in one a maiden shows the bubbling water to thirsty soldiers; in the other Agrippa examines the plans for the aqueduct.

Papal Rome was very poor in statues for her public squares; it was in the churches that monuments and tokens to the memory of great men were erected; and the churches were monuments in themselves. The present government has made efforts to improve things; and there are statues of Victor Emmanuel, Giordano Bruno, Cola di Rienzi, Terenzio Mamiani, Garibaldi, Minghetti, and Sella at important points in the city. These names clearly prove that there was a design, a reason for their selection. Cola di Rienzi was a dreamer who hoped to build up the ancient republican rule upon the ruins of the Papal government; in 1354 he was slain by the people. Giordano Bruno, an apostate Dominican, a professed pantheist, and an enemy and defamer of Christianity, was burned at the stake on the Campo de' Fiori in 1600. Garibaldi was a freebooter and leader of bandits; in a well-regulated state he would have been imprisoned. The others are heroes and defenders of "United Italy."

All "tendencies" in art are the death of it. Nevertheless some of the new monuments have some value. The Victor Emmanuel memorial is not yet completed (Fig. 719); it is being erected on a gigantic scale on the Capitoline Hill so as to be

visible even from the Piazza del Popolo, and it is to surpass all others of its kind in Rome. The pseudo-classical columned arcade forming its background has nothing original about it and jars on its surroundings. The statue of Giordano Bruno in the place where he was burned is a well-executed example of plastic art and evinces the ability of Ettore Ferrari. The figure of Bruno wears a monastic garb, but wrongly, for it is not the Dominican that is to be celebrated, but the religious rebel—"the scholarly martyr striving for the emancipation of thought and the philosophical genius of modern Italy." On a very beautiful spot in the Passeggiata Margherita on the Janiculum is the equestrian statue of Garibaldi (Fig. 721) by Emilio Gallory; it is a piece of work which technically deserves credit, but which otherwise leaves us cold. The views from it are lovely.

The palaces which surround any square, like the monuments which adorn it, are but stones and dead splendor. He who upon an August afternoon looks down upon the Piazza of St. Peter's, that empty broad space vibrating in the hot sunshine, beholds indeed a massive but lonely magnificence. Fortunately the playing fountains give a little life to the otherwise empty stillness. This piazza is rightly seen and appreciated only when its gigantic arms embrace thousands and thousands of people, when, as in better days—and they will come again—the Holy Father from the loggia of St. Peter's, on Easter Sunday or on the day of his coronation, raises his hands to bless the countless throngs of the faithful who are kneeling on the pavement; or when on the feast of Corpus Christi the procession moves along the colonnades and across the piazza, and crowds of pilgrims from all over the world fall in adoration upon their knees. Every public square needs its living decoration. Without it the stony splendor makes but a scene in a theater which is of no importance and does not fulfil its purpose until the actors appear. This is true of every large city; and in Italy it is truer the further south we go, because to the average Italian the house is nothing and the street everything. In the street he labors as tailor, or shoemaker, or storekeeper; here he cooks and eats his meals; here he plays, walks, and sleeps. And when he can not do

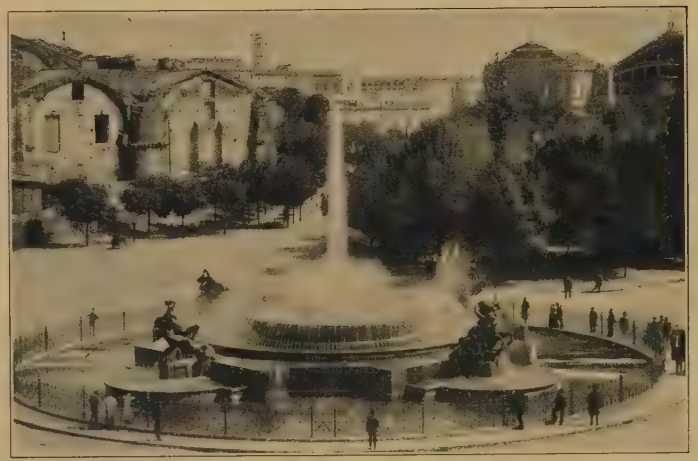
Fig. 721. Monument to Garibaldi on the Janiculum

this, he throws wide open gates and doors, windows and blinds, that he may enjoy the life of the street to the fullest. It is impossible to think of the Piazza Navona without hearing the loud and noisy hammering of the coppersmiths and tinsmiths, or to think of the Piazza Montanara (adjoining the old theater of Marcellus) without seeing the brown sons of the mountains, with rough sheepskins wrapped about their legs, or the herdsmen from the Campagna with their high leather boots, green-lined cloaks, and pointed felt hats, as they bask in the noonday sun talking or sleeping. In other streets and squares we meet late every afternoon long lines of boys walking two by two, the smallest in front, the tallest in the rear, all wearing the long cassock and a garment like a caftan with fluttering bows over it. They also wear the clerical broad-brimmed hat. These are pupils of the various religious institutions and have been taken from their close study-rooms to be refreshed in the open air and to be strengthened for to-morrow's work. Every institution has its specially cut garments and special color-scheme of students' clothing. Some wear black cassocks with a peculiar seam across the chest, and purple ribbons and girdles. These young

Fig. 722. Pifferari with Flute and Bagpipe

Fig. 723. A Medallion of the Madonna on the Ruthenian College

men speak all the languages of the world; their complexions show all the gradations from the white European to the deepest black of the African negro. They are the pupils of the Propaganda, the immense palace near the Spanish Piazza; they came here from every corner of the earth to be trained and educated, to be imbued with apostolic zeal and then to carry the Faith and the grace of Christ to the ends of the earth. Blond youths speaking German wear cassocks of a brick-red color; they are the pupils of the German College, which with the help of the Popes was founded by St. Ignatius Loyola, in order to secure for the young Teutons a thorough training for their priestly office. Thus almost every nation has a similar institution in Rome: France, England, Spain, Portugal, Scotland, America, Belgium, Ireland, Poland, etc. These pupils add life and color to the public squares of Rome. The Scots dress in violet and black, the Greeks in blue, and the members of the Vatican Seminary in violet.



Fontana Bernini, Fontana di Trevi; Fontana del Moro and the Fountain on the Piazzo delle Terme

What a sight for one who stands on the bridge of St. Angelo watching the stream of passers-by who hurry to St. Peter's! What is there that he does not see? Monks garbed in all colors, for every Order and every congregation has its representatives and its home in Rome; high prelates and bishops unconcernedly and without formality mingling with the crowd or driving by in light carriages, and pilgrims and strangers from all countries and continents, some dressed in the most remarkable costumes. If you are interested in the picturesque motley dress of Italian peasants, go up to the Piazza di Spagna or to the Via Sistina, for there every painter seeks his models when he wants to depict the brown children of the Apennines or the Abruzzi. In the neighborhood of the Piazza Montanara is a public scribe who, yawning lazily, sits at his table for many hours in the open air until some one who is unable to write comes to have a letter or a legal paper written.

Fig. 724. Vista from Monte Pincio

Rome changes with the seasons and festivals of the Church. At the beginning of the ecclesiastical year, during Advent, the shepherds come down from the Abruzzi to announce the feast of Christmas. They are peculiar figures, wearing laced leather sandals, short tight trousers, blue or brown cloaks with high collars, and pointed conical hats. The older ones have weather-beaten faces and grey hair; the younger have sparkling eyes and an almost melancholy cast of countenance. The former play the shrieking bagpipe, the latter a shrill flute—the *piffera,* from which comes the name given these Christmas singers: *"Pifferari"* (Fig. 722). They march through the streets playing and singing their half-melancholy, half-joyous tunes and melodies before the pictures and images of the Madonna which are on so many houses in Rome (Fig. 723).

> "Come, shepherds, from near and from far,
> Come ye to visit Our Lord;
> The holy time of Christmas praises
> The Father, Son, and Holy Ghost.
> This prayer that we have sung
> Is sung in honor of the Child Jesus."

Windows open and small gifts are dropped into the hats of the singers. On Christmas Day these shepherds attend services in St. Peter's and then they return to their mountains.

On January 6 the carnival begins, the once world-famous Roman carnival,

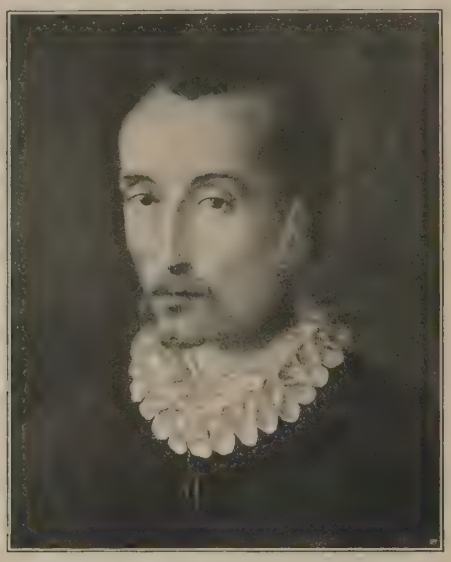


Fig. 725. Portrait of Tasso. By A. Allori. In the Uffizi Gallery, Florence

which reaches full splendor and maddest gayety in its last days. At one o'clock the bell on the Capitol Hill gives the signal for the beginning of the festivity. The scene of the carnival's chief activities is the Corso, which derives its name from the horse-races that close each day's joy and revelry. Besides these races, driving on the Corso, throwing confetti, and the *Moccoli* festival are characteristics quite peculiar to the Roman carnival. Countless coaches and carriages, and fantastically or comically decorated wagons, often holding gigantic figures as tall as some of the houses, or filled with musicians discoursing their melodies, move up and down the Corso with vast crowds of masqueraders. Throughout the surging multitudes a noisy and exuberant joy manifests itself in every way: sugared nuts and confetti whirr and buzz through the air, now up to windows and balconies, now down from them. The usual forms of ammunition are bean-like masses of gypsum which resemble confetti. During the days of the carnival basketfuls are on sale in the streets. Woe to him who appears in a black suit, or wears a tall silk or opera hat on the Corso! The confetti-throwers on the street or in the houses make him a target and quickly change him into a snowman. Bunches of violets fly up to the balconies or down to the carriages, with the little gypsum balls; if a bunch falls on the pavement the boys at once fight for it and the one who succeeds in getting it offers it for sale to him who first threw it! The last evening of the carnival is given up to the *Moccoli* festival. The crowd on the Corso is immense; every window is filled with sightseers; the elegant carriages that drive to and fro through this confusion are more and more numerous and among them move big massive trucks used as bright and beautiful or comic floats, made up of merrymakers masked and disguised. The bands of music are shrill and noisy. Countless bouquets of flowers fly up and down and the street boys do an excellent business. Every individual in this crowd on the street, every one at the windows and on the balconies, which are richly decorated with rugs and many-colored draperies, each person in the carriages—everybody, in fact, at the carnival carries a little wax-candle about a foot long

Fig. 726. Tasso's Oak near S. Onofrio

Fig. 727. The Aventine, from the Palatine Hill

(*Moccolo, i.e.* stump). And all the fun consists in blowing out the candles (making meanwhile as much noise as possible) with handkerchiefs or feather dusters, with hats or caps, with switches or sticks that are tipped with a piece of cloth. When one is successful in blowing out a candle, he mockingly cries: *"O, che vergogna, senza moccolo!"* ("Oh, what a shame, no light!") There is no lack of funny incidents. Many a reveler makes every effort to blow out another person's light, while his own has long since been extinguished without his being aware of it and everybody is laughing at him. There is a ceaseless glitter, glimmer, and sparkle, a real, mad carnival-time! The Italian enjoys himself in a fashion different from that of the people of the north. The sons of the beautiful peninsula rarely reach the stage of serious manhood; there is always something juvenile, something of the good and of the bad side of youth in them. Shall we pity or sympathize with the Italian for this? By no means, for he is perfectly at ease.

The plaint has grown louder and louder since the "seventies" that Rome externally has lost many peculiarities. The times and the manner of education are to be blamed for this; for it is their nature to do away with and obliterate distinguished characteristics—to bring everything to a level. Since the appearance of the Italian government in Rome and despite every encouragement from government quarters, this popular festival no longer thrives. The pleasures of a people can not be "made to order." Many a distinctive custom has been prohibited by the Italian police—the *pifferari* are not allowed to sing their Christmas songs any more; the pupils of the colleges are not allowed to appear in certain colors; and even the throwing of confetti is forbidden when a great lady of the Court, who wants to enjoy the fun, mingles with the crowd.

Before we take leave of Rome, let us look once more upon it and let us climb the surrounding heights, which afford such beautiful views. Several of these have been mentioned. In the forenoon it is Monte Pincio that offers the best view. In the days of ancient Rome this summit was a hill of gardens and it still possesses the most beautiful public gardens and walks of Rome. Splendid marble steps and broad drives lead to it from the Piazza del Popolo; and its streets and pathways are lined with sculptured monuments, ancient and modern, and with the finest and most exuberant growths of southern

plants, cypress, pine, cactus, and aloe. The hill rises in four terraces, like four stories, and from the viewpoints and platforms of the terraces we have charming outlooks. From the railing which runs along the upper edge the eye commands an extensive view: directly opposite are the Vatican, the Cathedral, and the Palace; at the foot of the hill lies the Piazza del Popolo, over which the obelisk, churches, and houses cast long shadows. Then we begin a task, at first laborious, but ever infinitely agreeable: we try to name all the domes and towers and whatever else rises above the sea of roofs, and we want to know the location of this or that monument. There is plenty to do on the Pincio, for the view includes the larger part of the city. The district of St. Mary Major, the Lateran, and part of the Aventine alone remain hidden. Toward the west and north the horizon is studded with hills, villas, and poetic groups of pines. Just as a glance at St. Peter's assures us we are in Rome, so the pine-tree with its green, fanlike top gives us the happy feeling of assurance that we are in Italy. Back of us, on the top of the hill, is a beautiful shaded park, and along the footpaths beneath us, sheltered by living laurel, are busts of famous and notorious Italians, the erection of which was begun in 1849 by the dictator Mazzini. Bright, sunny lawns are dotted with palms, acanthus, ricinus, pepper-trees, scaly aloe, and giant cactus. A fountain plays beneath dark-green, sturdy holm-oaks. The view of St. Peter's from the avenue is incomparable. Groups of trees enclose the finest domed structure in the world, the dome itself being bathed in sunshine and framed with the dense green of thick foliage and heavy branches—a wonderfully impressive picture! (Fig. 724.)

Fig. 728. Frascáti, from the Villa Aldobrandini

Toward evening is the best time to enjoy the view from the heights of the Janiculum. With golden splendor and rosy haze the setting sun touches the sides of the buildings and the monuments that face the hill. The view is broader and more inclusive than from the Pincio, a part only of the Vatican being hidden behind the northern slope of the hill. In all other directions the city unrolls before our eyes in the evening glory like a rich ribbon.

Montorio and the panorama seen from it we have previously described. All the other heights show essentially the same picture, but in a different frame; and as often as the point of view changes, just so often we observe new spires rising and new views. The glimpses of the city to be had between the lofty pines and cypresses and thick groups of trees adjoining the Villa Corsini are notably picturesque. The city from here looks like a big park cut by long lines of houses. St. Philip Neri, the Apostle of Rome, loved youth and was zealous in the saving of souls; and how well thought out and well

devised were his plans! A little to the north and not far from the Church and Monastery of *S. Onofrio,* are lawns provided with benches which in wide circles and semicircles cling to the steep slope. Here the great friend of youth was wont to gather the boys, to instruct them in religion and to arrange merry games for them; and a better place for such purposes could not have been chosen. The view from this amphitheatre over the city must have pressed an indelible charm on the mind of both child and young citizen. The oak, standing close by, was planted by a contemporary of the saint: the poet Tasso (Figs. 725 and 726). At odds with himself and with the world, Tasso sought rest and peace in the nearby monastery of the Hieronymites. Where the oak stands he, too, stood and gazed upon the only Rome; and gazing brought peace, perhaps, to his soul. Like everything truly beautiful on earth it also awakened in him a desire for the eternally beautiful in God. He writes that he had some one lead him to *S. Onofrio,* "in order to begin on these heights and in the society of the pious fathers his relations with Heaven." In 1595 he died in a quiet cell of the monastery. In 1842 the tree was shattered by a stroke of lightning; but the song which the poet chanted of Jerusalem Delivered still lives.

If you would see Rome, adorned like a bride, shining in the noonday sun, climb up to the Palatine or Aventine in the southwest of Rome and you will fulfil your wish without being blinded by the glare. Of all Rome's hills the Aventine (Fig. 727) is the most lonesome and most deserted; in the days of ancient Rome it was thickly populated and covered with temples and houses. Since the fifteenth century only three peaceful churches and monasteries crown its summit on the western side. At the extreme end, where it abruptly slopes toward the Tiber, is the unostentatious façade of *S. Maria Aventina.* Next to it is *S. Alessio.* In the fourth century the rich senator Euphemian lived here; and his son, Alexius, who had married a woman of noble blood, stole away from the marriage feast and went, a poor pilgrim, to the Orient; and upon his return lived for seventeen years as a beggar, unrecognized, beneath a flight of steps under his father's palace. The third, the largest and most beautiful church on the Aventine, is *S. Sabina,* a basilica dating from the first quarter of the fifteenth century. The adjoining monastery was the home of St. Dominic, and his cell and the fruitful orange-tree which he planted in the garden are still shown. As we have said, the beautiful College of *S. Anselmo* has recently joined these quiet guardians

Fig. 729. View from the Pincio toward Monte Mario

of the Aventine. From the gardens of the monasteries the view upon the immediate and remote surroundings is alike charming. It is characteristic of this view that our eye falls first upon massive ruins, the lofty broken arches and split vaults of the Imperial palaces on the Palatine and the stony bulk of the Colosseum. Beyond, the eye travels to modern Rome and far, far to its northwestern end, to the dome of St. Peter's, and then on to the hills that bound the horizon.

Fig. 730. S. Trinità dei Monti, with the Spanish Steps

To look down upon the Eternal City from its immediate neighborhood has all the charm of gazing into the eye of a dear friend; and a distant view has also its own peculiar attraction, like the longing for a dear, absent friend. The Alban Mountains are about four or five hours from Rome and stretch eastward in a wide circle, with their villas, towns, and villages all so beautifully situated: Frascati, Monte Compatri, Rocca di Papa, Grotta-ferrata, and Castel Gandolfo. A lonely monastery crowns the highest point of the mountain range, Monte Cavo; the lowlands gleam with the most exuberant greens—vineyards, olive gardens, chestnut groves, and holm-oaks follow in picturesque succession and the roads and paths are beautifully shaded. As far back as the days of the old Roman Republic the region where modern Frascati now is—especially the nearest mountain slope—was a favorite resort in the hot and unhealthy days of summer and autumn. Famous men, such as Sulla, Lucullus, Pompey, Cæsar, and Cicero, built their magnificent villas on splendid sites. And it is the same to-day; these country-seats are among the attractions of Frascati, which is still a favorite late-summer resort. The present city dates from the thirteenth century and just above it is the spot where, in Roman days, the fortified town of Tusculum rose on an isolated mountain-top. This Tusculum was destroyed toward the end of the twelfth century and extensive ruins indicate its former position. The amphitheater outside the gates, the outer town-walls, the market-place, and the citadel occupying the highest spot are still recognizable. The theater was excavated in 1839 and is least ruined of all—fifteen rows of seats built of peperino freestone rise in widening circles; the stage, thirty-three meters wide, the stairs, and the exits are partially preserved and are easily restored by the observer's imagination. Even when the stage was empty, the spectator enjoyed a magnificent spectacle—his eyes traveled over the immense plain down to the Sabine Mountains on the right, and to the sea on the left; and double rows of monuments indicated the great military roads and sepulchral streets

traversing the plains, to end in the heart of Rome. When the air is hazy or is saturated with the reddish mist of hot weather, Rome looks like a long, rosy strip. Its largest structures, St. Peter's, the Vatican, the Colosseum, the arches of the basilica of Maxentius and the Capitol are seen through this veil as blurred masses. But when the sky is clear and the air bright their lines grow firm and sharp, and the naked eye can easily make out the Quirinal's long rows of windows, the picturesque outline of *S. Maria Maggiore,* the high façade of the Lateran, with its statues, and the glittering tops of the tall church spires and domes. At this distance small buildings disappear and large ones seem to grow larger. Here the awesome mass of the Colosseum has its true and proper effect, and similarly the Vatican and the dome of St. Peter's. Everything else near them appears small and dwarfed. Rome's desolate situation in the midst of an arid plain is more keenly felt and seen up here than anywhere else, and one fully comprehends the chagrin of those Romans who, in former days, were forced to leave their city homes and settle on the flat lands near the Tiber.

Close to the Vatican Hill and just outside the city walls Monte Mario rises, the highest point of the Janiculum (Fig 729). Here the pilgrim from the north stood for the first time to greet the City of cities, and here he halted, on leaving, to turn back for a last look upon St. Peter's, upon the domes, cupolas, shrines, palaces, and the Campagna, down to a strip of the blue sea. After his eye had feasted on this beautiful view, after an indelible picture had been impressed upon his heart and soul, he turned his steps homeward and uttered something that sounded like the song about Jerusalem sung by the Children of Israel in exile:—"If I forget thee, O Jerusalem, let my right hand be forgotten. Let my tongue cleave to my jaws, if I do not remember thee; if I make not Jerusalem the beginning of my joy."

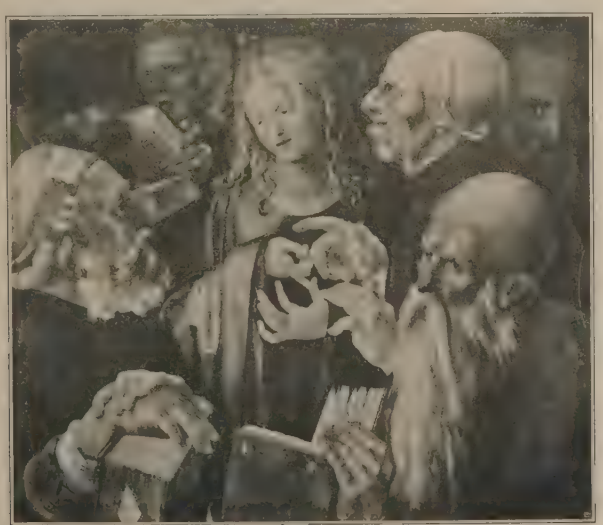


Fig. 731. Christ among the Doctors. By Albert Dürer. In the Barberini Gallery

# HISTORICAL REFERENCE TABLES

## I. THE SUCCESSION OF ROMAN PONTIFFS

| No. | Year of Election | Name |
|---|---|---|
| 1 | d.67 | St. Peter. |
| 2 | 67 | St. Linus. |
| 3 | 76 | St. Cletus. |
| 4 | 88 | St. Clement I. |
| 5 | 97 | St. Evaristus. |
| 6 | 105 | St. Alexander I. |
| 7 | 115 | St. Sixtus I. |
| 8 | 125 | St. Telesphorus. |
| 9 | 136 | St. Hyginus. |
| 10 | 140 | St. Pius I. |
| 11 | 155 | St. Anicetus. |
| 12 | 166 | St. Soter. |
| 13 | 175 | St. Eleutherius. |
| 14 | 189 | St. Victor I. |
| 15 | 199 | St. Zephyrinus. |
| 16 | 217 | St. Callixtus I. |
| 17 | 222 | St. Urban I. |
| 18 | 230 | St. Pontianus. |
| 19 | 235 | St. Anterus. |
| 20 | 236 | St. Fabianus. |
| 21 | 251 | St. Cornelius. |
| 22 | 253 | St. Lucius I. |
| 23 | 254 | St. Stephen I. |
| 24 | 257 | St. Sixtus II. |
| 25 | 259 | St. Dionysius. |
| 26 | 269 | St. Felix I. |
| 27 | 275 | St. Eutychianus. |
| 28 | 283 | St. Caius. |
| 29 | 296 | St. Marcellinus. |
| 30 | 308 | St. Marcellus I. |
| 31 | 309 | St. Eusebius. |
| 32 | 311 | St. Miltiades. |
| 33 | 314 | St. Sylvester I. |
| 34 | 336 | St. Marcus. |
| 35 | 337 | St. Julius I. |
| 36 | 352 | St. Liberius. |
| 37 | 366 | St. Damasus I. |
| 38 | 384 | St. Siricius. |
| 39 | 399 | St. Anastasius I. |
| 40 | 401 | St. Innocent I. |
| 41 | 417 | St. Zosimus. |
| 42 | 418 | St. Boniface I. |
| 43 | 422 | St. Celestine I. |
| 44 | 432 | St. Sixtus III. |
| 45 | 440 | St. Leo the Great. |
| 46 | 461 | St. Hilarius. |
| 47 | 468 | St. Simplicius. |
| 48 | 483 | St. Felix III. (II.) |
| 49 | 492 | St. Gelasius I. |
| 50 | 496 | St. Anastasius II. |
| 51 | 498 | St. Symmachus. |
| 52 | 514 | St. Hormisdas. |
| 53 | 523 | St. John I. |
| 54 | 526 | St. Felix IV. (III.) |
| 55 | 530 | Boniface II. |
| 56 | 533 | John II. |
| 57 | 535 | St. Agapetus I. |
| 58 | 536 | St. Silverius. |
| 59 | 537 | Vigilius. |
| 60 | 556 | Pelagius I. |
| 61 | 561 | John III. |
| 62 | 575 | Benedict I. |
| 63 | 579 | Pelagius II. |
| 64 | 590 | St. Gregory I. (the Great.) |
| 65 | 604 | Sabinianus. |
| 66 | 607 | Boniface III. |
| 67 | 608 | St. Boniface IV. |
| 68 | 615 | St. Deusdedit. |
| 69 | 619 | Boniface V. |
| 70 | 625 | Honorius I. |
| 71 | 640 | Severinus. |
| 72 | 640 | John IV. |
| 73 | 642 | Theodorus I. |
| 74 | 649 | St. Martin. |
| 75 | 654 | St. Eugene I. |
| 76 | 657 | St. Vitalianus. |
| 77 | 672 | Adeodatus. |
| 78 | 676 | Donus. |
| 79 | 678 | St. Agatho. |
| 80 | 682 | St. Leo II. |
| 81 | 684 | St. Benedict II. |
| 82 | 685 | John V. |
| 83 | 686 | Conon. |
| 84 | 687 | St. Sergius I. |
| 85 | 701 | John VI. |
| 86 | 705 | John VII. |
| 87 | 708 | Sisinnius. |
| 88 | 708 | Constantine I. |
| 89 | 715 | St. Gregory II. |
| 90 | 731 | St. Gregory III. |
| 91 | 741 | St. Zacharias. |
| 92 | 752 | Stephen II. |
| 93 | 752 | Stephen III. |
| 94 | 757 | St. Paul I. |
| 95 | 768 | Stephen IV. |
| 96 | 772 | Hadrian I. |
| 97 | 795 | St. Leo III. |
| 98 | 816 | Stephen V. |
| 99 | 817 | St. Paschal I. |
| 100 | 824 | Eugene II. |
| 101 | 827 | Valentinus. |
| 102 | 827 | Gregory IV. |
| 103 | 844 | Sergius II. |
| 104 | 847 | St. Leo IV. |
| 105 | 855 | Benedict III. |
| 106 | 858 | St. Nicholas I. |
| 107 | 867 | Hadrian II. |
| 108 | 872 | John VIII. |
| 109 | 882 | Marinus I. |
| 110 | 884 | Hadrian III. |
| 111 | 885 | Stephen VI. |
| 112 | 891 | Formosus. |
| 113 | 896 | Boniface VI. |
| 114 | 896 | Stephen VII. |
| 115 | 897 | Romanus. |
| 116 | 898 | Theodore II. |
| 117 | 898 | John IX. |
| 118 | 900 | Benedict IV. |
| 119 | 903 | Leo V. |
| 120 | 903 | Christophorus. |
| 121 | 904 | Sergius III. |
| 122 | 911 | Anastasius III. |
| 123 | 913 | Lando. |
| 124 | 914 | John X. |
| 125 | 928 | Leo VI. |
| 126 | 929 | Stephen VIII. |
| 127 | 931 | John XI. |
| 128 | 936 | Leo VII. |
| 129 | 939 | Stephen IX. |
| 130 | 942 | Marinus II. |
| 131 | 946 | Agapetus II. |
| 132 | 955 | John XII. |
| 133 | 964 | Leo VIII. |
| 134 | 964 | Benedict V. |
| 135 | 965 | John XIII. |
| 136 | 973 | Benedict VI. |
| 137 | 974 | Benedict VII. |
| 138 | 983 | John XIV. |
| 139 | 985 | John XV. |
| 140 | 996 | Gregory V. |
| 141 | 999 | Silvester II. |
| 142 | 1003 | John XVI. |
| 143 | 1003 | John XVII. |
| 144 | 1009 | Sergius IV. |
| 145 | 1012 | Benedict VIII. |
| 146 | 1024 | John XIX. |
| 147 | 1032 | Benedict IX. |
| 148 | 1045 | Gregory VI. |
| 149 | 1046 | Clement II. |
| 150 | 1048 | Damasus II. |
| 151 | 1049 | St. Leo IX. |
| 152 | 1055 | Victor II. |
| 153 | 1057 | Stephen X. |
| 154 | 1058 | Nicholas II. |
| 155 | 1061 | Alexander II. |
| 156 | 1073 | St. Gregory VII. |
| 157 | 1087 | St. Victor III. |
| 158 | 1088 | St. Urban II. |
| 159 | 1099 | Paschal II. |
| 160 | 1118 | Gelasius II. |
| 161 | 1119 | Callixtus II. |
| 162 | 1124 | Honorius II. |
| 163 | 1130 | Innocent II. |
| 164 | 1143 | Celestine II. |
| 165 | 1144 | Lucius II. |
| 166 | 1145 | St. Eugene III. |
| 167 | 1153 | Anastasius IV. |
| 168 | 1154 | Hadrian IV. |
| 169 | 1159 | Alexander III. |
| 170 | 1181 | Lucius III. |
| 171 | 1185 | Urban III. |
| 172 | 1187 | Gregory VIII. |
| 173 | 1187 | Clement III. |
| 174 | 1191 | Celestine III. |
| 175 | 1198 | Innocent III. (Dei Conti) |
| 176 | 1216 | Honorius III. (Savelli) |
| 177 | 1227 | Gregory IX. (Conti) |
| 178 | 1241 | Celestine IV. (Castigleone) |
| 179 | 1243 | Innocent IV. (Fiesco) |
| 180 | 1254 | Alexander IV. (Conti) |
| 181 | 1261 | Urban IV. (Pantalion) |
| 182 | 1265 | Clement IV. (Gros) |
| 183 | 1271 | St. Gregory X. (Visconti) |

| No. | Year of Election | Name |
|---|---|---|
| 184 | 1276 | St. Innocent V. (Champagny) |
| 185 | 1276 | Hadrian V. (Fiesco) |
| 186 | 1276 | John XXI. (Juliani) |
| 187 | 1277 | Nicholas III. (Orsini) |
| 188 | 1281 | Martin IV. (De Brie) |
| 189 | 1285 | Honorius IV. (Savelli) |
| 190 | 1288 | Nicholas IV. (Tino) |
| 191 | 1294 | St. Celestine V. (De Morone) |
| 192 | 1294 | Boniface VIII. (Gaetani) |
| 193 | 1303 | Benedict XI. (Boccasini) |
| 194 | 1305 | Clement V. (De Got) |
| 195 | 1316 | John XXII. (D'Euse) |
| 196 | 1334 | Benedict XII. (Fournier) |
| 197 | 1342 | Clement VI. (Roger) |
| 198 | 1352 | Innocent VI. (Aubert) |
| 199 | 1362 | St. Urban V. (Grimoard) |
| 200 | 1370 | Gregory XI. (Roger) |
| 201 | 1378 | Urban VI. (Prignano) |
| 202 | 1389 | Boniface IX. (Tomacelli) |
| 203 | 1404 | Innocent VII. (Migliorato) |
| 204 | 1406 | Gregory XII. (Correro) |
| 205 | 1417 | Martin V. (Colonna) |
| 206 | 1431 | Eugene IV. (Condulmaro) |
| 207 | 1447 | Nicholas V. (Parentucelli) |
| 208 | 1455 | Callixtus III. (Borgia) |
| 209 | 1458 | Pius II. (Piccolomini) |
| 210 | 1464 | Paul II. (Barbo) |
| 211 | 1471 | Sixtus IV. (Della Rovere) |
| 212 | 1484 | Innocent VIII.(Cibo) |
| 213 | 1492 | Alexander VI. (Borgia) |
| 214 | 1503 | Pius III. (Piccolomini) |
| 215 | 1503 | Julius II. (Della Rovere) |
| 216 | 1513 | Leo X. (Medici) |
| 217 | 1522 | Hadrian VI. (Dedel) |
| 218 | 1523 | Clement VII. (Medici) |
| 219 | 1534 | Paul III. (Farnese) |
| 220 | 1550 | Julius III. (Del Monte) |
| 221 | 1555 | Marcellus II. (Cervini) |
| 222 | 1555 | Paul IV. (Caraffa) |
| 223 | 1559 | Pius IV. (Medici) |
| 224 | 1566 | St. Pius V. (Ghisleri) |
| 225 | 1572 | Gregory XIII. (Buoncompagni) |
| 226 | 1585 | Sixtus V. (Peretti) |
| 227 | 1590 | Urban VII. (Castagna) |
| 228 | 1590 | Gregory XIV. (Sfondrato) |
| 229 | 1591 | Innocent IX. (Facchinetti) |
| 230 | 1592 | Clement VIII. (Aldobrandini) |
| 231 | 1605 | Leo XI. (Medici) |
| 232 | 1605 | Paul V. (Borghese) |
| 233 | 1621 | Gregory XV. (Ludovisi) |
| 234 | 1623 | Urban VIII. (Barberini) |
| 235 | 1644 | Innocent X. (Pamfili) |
| 236 | 1655 | Alexander VII. (Chigi) |
| 237 | 1667 | Clement IX. (Rospigliosi) |
| 238 | 1670 | Clement X. (Altieri) |
| 239 | 1676 | Innocent XI. (Odescalchi) |
| 240 | 1689 | Alexander VIII. (Ottoboni) |
| 241 | 1691 | Innocent XII. (Pignatelli) |
| 242 | 1700 | Clement XI. (Albani) |
| 243 | 1721 | Innocent XIII. (Conti) |
| 244 | 1724 | Benedict XIII. (Orsini) |
| 245 | 1730 | Clement XII. (Corsini) |
| 246 | 1740 | Benedict XIV. (Lambertini) |
| 247 | 1758 | Clement XIII. (Rezzonico) |
| 248 | 1769 | Clement XIV. (Ganganelli) |
| 249 | 1775 | Pius VI. (Braschi) |
| 250 | 1800 | Pius VII. (Chiaramonti) |
| 251 | 1823 | Leo XII. (Della Genga) |
| 252 | 1829 | Pius VIII. (Castiglione) |
| 253 | 1831 | Gregory XVI. (Cappellari) |
| 254 | 1846 | Pius IX. (Mastai-Ferretti) |
| 255 | 1878 | Leo XIII. (Pecci) |
| 256 | 1903 | Pius X. (Sarto) |
| 257 | 1914 | Benedict XV (Della Chiesa) |

If others mention more Popes, the difference is due to the fact that there are various views as to whether some Popes are to be counted or not; reasons pro and con may be given.

## II. THE SUCCESSION OF ROMAN EMPERORS

(To the End of the Western Roman Empire)

Cæsar Octavianus Augustus, 31 B. C.—14 A. D.
Tiberius, 14—37.
Caligula, 37—41.
C. Claudius I, 41—54.
Nero, 54—68.
Galba, Otho, Vitellius, 68—69.
Vespasian, 69—79.
Titus, 79—81.
Domitian, 81—96.
Nerva, 96—98.
Trajan, 98—117.
Hadrian, 117—138.
Antoninus Pius, 138—161.
M. Aurelius Antoninus, 161—180.
Commodus, 180—192.
Pertinax, 193.
Didius Julianus, 193.
Septimius Severus, 193—211.
Caracalla, 211—217.
Macrinus, 217—218.
Heliogabalus, 218—222.
Alexander Severus, 222—235.
Maximinus the Thracian, 235—238.
Gordian I and II, 238.
Pupienus and Balbinus, 238.
Gordian III, 238—244.
Philippus the Arabian, 244—249.
Decius, 249—251.
Gallus and Hostilian, 251—253.
Valerian, 253—260.
Gallienus, 260—268.
Claudius II, 268—270.
Aurelian, 270—275.
Tacitus, 275—276.
Probus, 276—282.
Carus, 282—283.
Carinus and Numerianus, 283—284.
Diocletian, 284—305, and Maximian, 286—305.
Constantius Chlorus, 305—306, and Galerius, 305—311. (Cæsars: Severus and Maximinus Daza, 305; Constantine, 306.)
Maximian and his son Maxentius, emperors in Rome, 306. Constantine, emperor in Gaul and Britain, 307. Licinius, emperor in Illyricum, 308—323. Maximinus, in Asia, 308—313.
Constantine, sole emperor of the entire Roman Empire, 323—337.
Constantine II, emperor in Gaul, 337—340. Constans, emperor in Italy, 337—350. Constantius, emperor in the Orient, 337—350.
Constantius, sole emperor of the entire Roman Empire, 350—361.
Julian the Apostate, 361—363.
Jovianus, 363—364.
Valentinian I, emperor in the Occident, 364—375; and his brother Valens, emperor in the Orient, 364—378.

BENEDICT XI. BOCCASINI 1303 1304
CLEMENT V. DE GOT 1305 1314
JOHN XXII. D'EUSE 1316 1334
BENEDICT XII. FOURNIER 1334 1342
CLEMENT VI. ROGER 1342 1352
INNOCENT VI. AUBERT 1352 1362
ST URBAN V. GRIMOARD 1362 1370
GREGORY XI. ROGER 1370 1378
URBAN VI. PRIGNANO 1378 1389
BONIFACE IX. TOMACELLI 1398 1404
INNOCENT VII. MIGLIORATO 1404 1406
GREGORY XII. CORRERO 1406 1409
MARTIN V COLONNA 1417 1431
EUGENE IV. CONDULMARO 1431 1447
NICHOLAS V. PARENTUCELLI 1447 1455
CALLISTUS III. BORGIA 1455 1458
PIUS II. PICCOLOMINI 1458 1464
PAUL II. BARBO 1464 1471
SIXTUS IV. DELLA ROVERE 1471 1484
INNOCENT VIII. CIBO 1484 1492
ALEXANDER VI. BORGIA 1492 1503
PIUS III. PICCOLOMINI 1503 1503
JULIUS II. DELLA ROVERE 1503 1513
LEO X MEDICI 1513 1521
HADRIAN VI. DEDEL 1522 1523
CLEMENT VII. MEDICI 1523 1534
PAUL III. FARNESE 1534 1549
JULIUS III. DEL MONTE 1550 1555
MARCELLUS II. CERVINI 1555 1555
PAUL IV. CARAFFA 1555 1559
PIUS IV. MEDICI 1559 1565
ST PIUS V. GHISLIERI 1566 1572
GREGORY XIII. BUONCOMPAGNI 1572 1585
SIXTUS V. PERETTI 1585 1590
URBAN VII. CASTAGNA 1590 1590
GREGORY XIV. SFONDRATO 1590 1591
INNOCENT IX. FACCHINETTI 1591 1591
CLEMENT VIII. ALDOBRANDINI 1592 1605
LEO XI. MEDICI 1605 1605
PAUL V. BORGHESE 1605 1621
GREGORY XV. LUDOVISI 1621 1623
URBAN VIII. BARBERINI 1623 1644
INNOCENT X. PAMFILI 1644 1655
ALEXANDER VII. CHIGI 1655 1667
CLEMENT IX. ROSPIGLIOSI 1667 1669
CLEMENT X. ALTIERI 1670 1676
INNOCENT XI. ODESCALCHI 1676 1689
ALEXANDER VIII. OTTOBONI 1689 1691
INNOCENT XII. PIGNATELLI 1691 1700
CLEMENT XI. ALBANI 1700 1721
INNOCENT XIII. CONTI 1721 1724
BENEDICT XIII. ORSINI 1724 1730
CLEMENT XII. CORSINI 1730 1740
BENEDICT XIV. LAMBERTINI 1740 1758
CLEMENT XIII. REZZONICO 1758 1769
CLEMENT XIV. GANGANELLI 1769 1774
PIUS VI. BRASCHI 1775 1799
PIUS VII. CHIARAMONTI 1800 1823
LEO XII DELLA GENGA 1823 1829
PIUS VIII. CASTIGLIONE 1829 1830
GREGORY XVI. CAPPELLARI 1831 1846
PIUS IX. MASTAI FERRETTI 1846 1878
LEO XIII. PECCI 1878 1903
PIUS X SARTO 1903
Gold
Silver
black
red
blue
green

THE COATS OF ARMS OF THE POPES, FROM BENEDICT XI TO PIUS X

Gratian, 375—383, and his brother Valentinian II, emperors in the Occident, 375—392.
Theodosius I (the Great), emperor in the Orient, 379—394, and sole emperor of the entire Roman Empire, 394—395.

**Western Roman Emperors.**

Honorius, 395—423.
Valentinian III, 425—455.
Avitus, 455—456.
Majorianus, 457—461.
Severus, 461—465.
Anthemius, 467—472.
Olybrius, 472.
Glycerius, 473.
Julius Nepos, 474.
Romulus Augustulus, the last emperor, 475—476.

**Eastern Roman Emperors.**

Arcadius, 395—408.
Theodosius II, the Younger, 408—450.
Marcian, 450—457.
Leo I, 457—474.
Leo II, 474, and his father Zeno (474—491).
Basiliscus, 476—477.

## III. THE TEN GREAT PERSECUTIONS OF THE CHRISTIANS

64 The first persecution of Christians under Emperor Nero. The execution of the apostles Peter and Paul 67.
94 The second persecution of Christians under Domitian. Titus Flavius Clemens the Martyr. St. Flavia Domitilla.
104 The third persecution under Trajan. St. Clement I. St. Ignatius of Antioch 104 or 107.
126 The fourth persecution under Hadrian and Marcus Aurelius. St. Justin Martyr. St. Cecilia (under Marcus Aurelius according to De Rossi).
202 The fifth persecution under Septimius Severus. SS. Perpetua and Felicitas.
236 The sixth persecution under Maximinus the Thracian, who tried to destroy especially the ecclesiastical superiors.
250 and 251 The seventh bloody persecution of Christians. St. Fabianus.
252 The eighth persecution under Gallus and Volusianus. The holy Popes Cornelius and Lucius.
257 The ninth persecution of Christians under Valerian. The Popes Stephen and Sixtus (Xystus). St. Laurence. SS. Chrysanthus and Daria.
In 303 the tenth persecution of Christians which, with brief interruptions, lasted for ten years, under Diocletian and Maximian, Galerius, and Maximinus.

## IV. THE MOST IMPORTANT DATES FROM THE ARCHITECTURAL AND ARTISTIC HISTORY OF ROME

753 B.C. The accepted year of the founding of Rome.
753—510, the legendary times of the kings: Romulus, Numa Pompilius, Tullus Hostilius (Curia Hostilia, the Tullian or Mamertine prison), Ancus Marcius, Tarquinius the older (the great cloaca, the temple on the Capitol, the great Circus), Servius Tullius (the Servian city-wall), Tarquinius Superbus.
510 The founding of the Republic.
390 Rome destroyed by the Gauls.
310 The Via Appia and the Aqua Appia.
296 The bronze statue, a she-wolf nourishing the twins.
271 The older Anian aqueduct.
212 Marcellus, the conqueror of Syracuse, brings Greek works of art to Rome. Lucius Stertinius builds the first triumphal gates.
184 Cato builds the first basilica.
146 The destruction of Corinth. From that time many Greek artists in Rome.
144 The Aqua Marcia.
100 Rise of architecture. Crassus, the orator, for the first time uses marble columns in the building of his house. The temples of the Fortuna Virilis and of Vesta.
60 The sepulcher of Cecilia Metella.
55 Pompey builds the first stone theatre. The famous Pasiteles in Rome (Zeus Otricoli?), the painter Timomachus.
50 The two rotating theatres of Curio.
49 Cæsar builds the Basilica Julia and the Forum Julium.
29 Augustus begins to build his Mausoleum. Restoration of 82 temples. New temple structures.
27 The Pantheon of Agrippa, his aqueducts and well-houses.
19 Aqua Virgo.
11 Dedication of the Theatre of Marcellus. The Egyptian obelisks in the Circus and on the Campus Martius.
6 A. D., Rebuilding of the temple of the Dioscuri on the Forum.
16 The Arch of Tiberius on the Capitol.
37—41, Caligula's structures: the Palace on the Palatine, the Bridge from the Palatine to the Capitol.
52 Aqua Claudia.
64 The burning of Rome by Nero. Nero's Golden House.
70—71, building of the temple of Peace (after the destruction of Jerusalem) and the Forum of Peace by Vespasian and Titus.
81 Dedication of the Flavian Amphitheatre or Colosseum.
82 Arch of Titus.
91—100, Pope Clement: S. Clemente.
94 Domitian's structures: Palace on the Palatine, the Forum of Nerva, the Stadium, Odeum, etc.
113 Forum and spiral column of Trajan.
130 the Structures of Hadrian: temples of Venus and Roma, Aelian Bridge, beginning of the Mausoleum.
141 Temple of Faustina on the Forum.
142—157 St. Pius I. Church in the house of Pudens on the Esquiline; S. Pudentiana.
183 Spiral column of Marcus Aurelius.
203 Triumphal arch of Septimius Severus.
216 The Antonine Baths of Caracalla.
218—223 St. Callixtus; beginning of the great Catacomb on the Via Appia; beginning of S. Maria in Trastevere.
247 Secular celebration, under Emperor Philippus, of the 1000th anniversary of the founding of Rome
271 Building of the Aurelian city wall.
303 The Thermæ of Diocletian.
309 Circus of Maxentius.
312 Constantine's victory near the Milvian Bridge. The Basilica of Maxentius dedicated by Constantine.
315 The church buildings of Constantine; the Basilica in the Lateran, St. Peter's in the Vatican, St. Paul's outside the Walls.
326 Arch of Constantine.
327 The building of S. Croce in Gerusalemme.
357 Obelisk erected in the Circus by Constantius.
366 St. Damasus, the restorer of the Catacombs.

391 Law of Theodosius the Great against the destruction of ancient public buildings.
404 The gladiatorial combats stopped by Honorius.
410 Capture of Rome by Alaric.
450 Building of S. Pietro in Vincoli by Eudoxia.
452 Leo the Great meets Attila.
455 Capture and plundering of Rome by Genseric.
476 End of the Roman world-empire.
500 Theodoric, king of the Eastern Goths, in Rome; his care for the monuments, aqueducts, and walls.
537 Siege of Rome by Vitiges.
546 and 549 Rome captured by Totila.
578 Rebuilding of S. Lorenzo fuori le Mura.
608 Erection of the column of Phocas on the Forum.
608 Boniface IV consecrates the Pantheon.
663 Emperor Constans II in Rome; removal of many statues and of the covering of the dome of the Pantheon.
700 (about) S. Maria in Ara Cœli.
756 Beginnings of the Ecclesiastical States.
757 Removal of relics from the Catacombs.
800 Charlemagne crowned Emperor in Rome.
846 The plundering of St. Peter's and St. Paul's by the Saracens.
848 Beginnings of the Leonine city.
1084 Destruction of Rome in the wars of Henry IV against Gregory VII. Robert Guiscard.
1138 Rebuilding of S. Maria in Trastevere and Tre Fontane.
1187 The equestrian statue of Marcus Aurelius near the Lateran, the so-called horse of Constantine.
1191 Cloisters in S. Lorenzo fuori le Mura.
1215 Hospice of the Holy Ghost in Sassia, courtyard of the monastery of St. Paul.
1225 et seq. The artist family of the Cosmati.
1257 The destruction of many monuments in the ruin of the castles of the nobility by Brancaleone.
1278 The Chapel of the Most Holy (Sancta Sanctorum) in the Patriarchium near the Lateran. Beginnings of S. Maria sopra Minerva.
1292 Mosaics in the choir of S. Maria Maggiore and in the Lateran.
1298 Giotto in Rome.
1303 Founding of the Roman University.
1305—1376 Residence of the Popes in Avignon.
1307 Burning of the church of the Lateran.
1327 Republican desires and uprisings in Rome.
1348 Building of the steps of S. Maria in Ara Cœli.
1379 Destruction of the Tomb of Hadrian.
1425 Renovation of the basilica in the Lateran.
1430 Destruction of Rome by Poggio Bracciolini.
1439 Building of S. Onofrio on the Janiculum.
1447—1455 Nicholas V. General intellectual activity: the enlargement of the Vatican; grand plans for building; foundation of the Vatican Library; Fra Angelico da Fiesole and Benozzo Gozzoli in Rome.
1450 Beginnings of the rebuilding of St. Peter's. Restoration of the Acqua Vergine.
1455 Palace of S. Marco.
1462 Bull against the burning of lime out of ancient statues. The Roman Academy. Increasing development of the science of Antiquity.
1475 Michael Angelo Buonarroti born, died 1564.
1502 Little temple of Bramante in St. Peter in Montorio.
1506 Finding of the Laocoön Group.
1508—1520 Raffaello Sanzio (Raphael) in Rome.
1514 Death of Bramante.
1517 Death of Julian da San Gallo.
1524 The frescoes of the Hall of Constantine: Giulio Romano.
1527 The Sack of Rome by the army of Bourbon.
1529 Taddeo Zuccaro and Andreo Sansovino born.
1534 Building of the Palazzo Farnese.
1534 Michael Angelo begins the Last Judgment.
1540 The Villa Medici on the Pincio.
1541 Law which under the penalty of death forbade the burning of lime out of old monuments.
1556—1629 Carlo Maderna.
1560 (about) The finding of the marble city-plan.
1568 Beginnings of the Church of Il Gesù.
1571—1636 Stephano Maderno.
1585 Sixtus V builds the palaces of the Vatican and the Lateran. Erection of the Obelisks; the Acqua Felice.
1590 Completion of the dome of St. Peter's.
1590 Guercino born.
1593 Antonio Bosio (died 1629) begins his investigations in the Catacombs.
1595 The Academy of St. Luke.
1598—1680 Bernini.
1599—1667 Borromini.
1600—1661 Andrea Sacchi.
1606 Acqua Paola.
1612 Completion of St. Peter's.
1625—1713 Carlo Maratta.
1632 The baldachin above the confession in St. Peter's.
1652 S. Agnese on the Piazza Navona.
1660 Bernini begins the Colonnades of St. Peter's.
1686 Beginnings of the Hospice of St. Michael.
1720—1726 Excavations in the Farnese gardens on the Palatine.
1734 Foundation of the Museum on the Capitol.
1735 Fontana di Trevi.
1736 Palazzo Corsini.
1743 Façade of S. Maria Maggiore.
1749 The Gallery of Paintings on the Capitol.
1755—1767 Winckelmann in Rome.
1772 Foundation of the Vatican Museum.
1776 The Vestry of St. Peter's begun.
1779 Canova in Rome: Death of Raphael Mengs.
1797 Treaty of Tolentino: Art-treasures taken away to Paris.
1804 Foundation of the Museo Chiaramonti.
1810 French excavations in the Forum, the Forum of Trajan, the temple of Venus and Roma, etc.
1811 Napoleon starts the Gardens on the Pincio.
1815 The return of a part of the art-treasures taken away.
1817—1822 Building of the Braccio Nuovo.
1819 Overbeck and his pupils and friends paint in the Casa Bartholdi and in the Villa Massimo.
1823 The Church of St. Paul destroyed by fire.
1824 Protection of the Colosseum by means of props.
1825 Excavation of the Circus of Maxentius. Excavations in the Forum.
1831—1846 Gregory XVI: Foundation of the Etruscan Museum, of the Museum for Sculptures, and the Christian Museum in the Lateran.
1846—1878 Pius IX: Excavations on the western summit of the Capitol. Restoration of S. Lorenzo fuori le Mura, of S. Maria in Trastevere, S. Agnese, the Mamertine Prison, etc. Excavations in the Catacombs; discovery of the lower church of S. Clemente; the excavation of the Via Appia.
1849—1894 Activity of the investigator of the Catacombs, John Baptist de Rossi.
1870 September 20, entrance of the army of united Italy; Rome is made the capital of Italy; most monasteries taken away for barracks, official residences, offices of administration, etc. Building of new streets, public buildings and monuments. Further excavations.
1878—1903 Leo XIII. Under him and his successor the building of new monasteries and churches in the suburbs and industrial quarters: S. Anselmo on the Aventine, San Antonio and generalate of the Franciscans, church and generalate of the Capuchins, of the Salesians, the churches of S. Gioacchino and those in the Testaccio Quarter.
1883—1887 Paintings by Ludwig Seitz in the Vatican and in S. Lorenzo.
1903—1914 Pius X. 1909 Opening of the new Pinacoteca in the Vatican.

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Scale 1:17600

500 m

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- Fountains
- Monuments
- Railroads
- Gardens and grounds
- Churches
- Non ecclesiast. buildings
- Street railways

*Abbreviations: d. = di, del, della, dei. Gal. = Gallery. L. T. = Lungo Tevere. Ob. = Obelisk. P. = Ponte, Porta. Pal. = Palazzo. PZ. = Piazza. S. = San, Santo, Santa, Santi. S. M. = Santa Maria. V. = Via. Va = Villa.*

Pianta Guida di Roma of the Ditta Ontaria, F. Sacchi Sons, Milan

Catacomb of St. Callixtus & Albano

Benziger Brothers, New York, Cincinnati, Chicago

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" Ignazio D 3
*71* " Isidoro E 2
" Lorenzo in Damaso (Pal. Cancelleria) C 3
*72* " " in Fonte F 3
" " fuori le Mura H 2.3
*73* " " in Lucina D 2
*74* " " in Miranda E 4
*75* " " in Panisperna E 3
*76* " Luca e Martina E 4
*77* " Luigi dei Francesi CD 3
*78* " Marcello D 3
*79* " Marco D 3
" Maria degli Angeli F 2
" " dell'Anima C 3
*80* " Maria in Aquiro D 3
" " in Aracoeli D 4
*81* " " Aventina D 5
*82* " " in Campitelli D 4
*83* " " della Concezione (Capuchin) E 2
*84* " " della Consolazione D 4
" " in Cosmedin D 4
*85* " " Dominica (Navicella) F 5
*86* " " delle Grazie B 2
*87* " " Egiziaca D 4
*88* " " di Loreto D 3
*89* " " Maddalena D 3
" " Maggiore F 3
" " Sopra Minerva D 3
*90* " " dei Miracoli D 1
*91* " " di Monserrato C 3
*92* " " in Monte Sto D 1
*93* " " dell'Orto CD 5
*94* " " della Pace C 3
" " della Pieta *138* A 3
" " del Popolo D 1
" " del Priorato (Maltese) *81* D 5
" " della Rotonda (Pantheon) D 3
*95* " " della Scala C 4
" " del Sole *18* D 4
" " in Traspontina (Borgo Nuovo) B 2
" " in Trastevere C 4
" " in Vallicella C 3
*96* S. Maria in Via D 3
*97* " " in Via Lata D 3
*98* " " d. Vittoria F 2
*99* " Martino ai Monti F 3
*100* S. " d. Svizzeri B 2
*101* " Michele B 3
*102* " Nereo ed Achilleo F 5
*103* " Nicola in Carcere D 4
*104* " Niccolo da Tolentino E 2
" Onofrio B 3
" Pancrazio AB 5
*105* " Patrizio E 2
" Pietro in Vaticano (St. Peter's) A 2
*106* S. Pietro e Marcellino F 4
" " in Montorio C 4
" " in Vincoli E 4
" Prassede F 3
" Prisca D 5
*107* " Pudenziana F 3
" Quattro Coronati (V. I. Querceti) F 4
*108* " Rocco D 2
" Saba E 6
" Sabina D 5
*109* " Salvatore in Lauro C 3
*110* Sancta Sanctorum G 4
*111* S. Sebastiano E 4
*112* " Silvestro in Capite D 2
*113* " " a Monte Cavallo E 3
" Sisto F 5
*114* " Spirito in Sassia B 3
*115* " Stefano del Cacco D 3
" " Rotondo F 5
*116* " Susanna E 2
*117* " Teodoro E 4
" Teresa (Carmelites) F 1
" Trinita dei Monti DE 2
*118* " " dei Pellegrini C 4
*119* " Vinzenzo ed Anastasio E 3
*120* " " de' Paoli D 4
" Vitale E 3
Scala Santa G 4.5
Sistine Chapel AB 2
**City Wall of Leo IV.** A 2
**City Wall of Urban VIII.** BC 5

**Clubs:**
Alliance of Mary (V. dell'Olmata 9) F 3
Cath. Association (V. dell'Anima 64) C 3
German Art Club (V. d. Semiar 113) D 3
German Artists' Guild (V. dell'Anima 64) C 3
German Cath. Reading Club (V. dell'Anima 64) C 3
International Art Club (V. Margutta 54) D 1.2
St. Vincent Conference (V. dell'Anima 64) C 3
Union of Our Lady (V. dell'Olmata 9) F 3

**Colleges** (See Institutes of Learning and Art)
**Custom House** F 2

**Consulates and Embassies:**
Austria-Hungary (V. Gregoriana 12) DE 2
Germany (V. due Macelli 102) DE 2
Switzerland (V. Firenze 48) EF 2
United States (Pz. S. Bernardo) F 2

**Consulates to the Vatican:**
Austria-Hungary (Pal. Venezia) *201* D 3
Bavaria D 2
Belgium (Corso Umberto I. 481) D 1.2.3
Prussia (Villa Bonaparte) *275* F 1.2
Russia *209* D 2
Spain *225* D 2

**Consulates to the Quirinal:**
Bavaria (Piazza Cairoli 3) *231* D 4
Belgium (Piazza delle Terme 68) F 2
France (Pal. Farnese) C 3
Germany (Pal. Caffarelli) D 4
Great Britain (V. Venti Settembre) F 2
*122* **Foundling Asylum** C 5

**Fountains:**
*123* Fontana dell'Acqua Felice (di Termini) F 2
*124* " dellAcqua Paola B 4
" d. Barcaccia *259* D 2
*125* " del Monte Cavallo E 3
" di Piazza Navona *44* C 3
" di Piazza S. Pietro B 2
*126* " del Ponte Sisto C 4
*127* " d. Tartarughe D 4
*128* " delle Terme F 2
*129* " di Trevi D 3
*130* " del Tritone E 2
*131* Quattro Fontane E 2

**Galleries:**
Barberini E 2
Borghese E 1
Colonna DE 3
Corsini (Nazionale) C 4
Doria-Pamfili D 3
Farnesina *277* C 4
Rospigliosi (Pal.) E 3
Vatican A 2
**Gasworks** DE 4

**Gates:**
Porta Ardeatina EF 6
" Asinaria G 5
" Cavalleggeri B 3
" Fabbrica AB 3
" S. Giovanni G 5
" Latina FG 6
" S. Lorenzo G 3
" Maggiore (Praenestina) H 4
" Mazzini E 1
" Metrovia F 5
" Nomentana FG 2
" Nuova (Viminale) G 2
" S. Pancrazio (Aurelia) B 4
" S. Paolo (Ostiense) D 6
" Pertusa A 2
" Pia F 1
" Pinciana E 1
" del Popolo (Flaminia) D 1
" Portese C 5
" Salaria F 1
" S. Sebastiano (Appia) F 6
*132* " S. Spirito B 3
*133* " Settimiana C 4
" Tiburtina G 3
**Ghetto** (former) D 4
*134* **Goethe's House** D 1

**Government Offices:**
Agriculture and Trade (Pal. Poli) D 2
Finance F 2
Foreign Affairs *204* E 3
*135* Justice and Worship D 2
Interior (Pal. Braschi) C 3
Marine *172* CD 3

*136* Post and Telegraph (Public Instruction) D 3
*137* Public Works D 2
War E 2

**Homes and Hospices, etc.:**
Bohemian *223* C 3
Converts *205* B 2
German National Establishment (S. Maria dell'Anima) C 3
*138* German, Camposanto A 3
Girls' Home (V. dell'Olmata 9) F 3
*139* Pilgrim House, St. Martha A 3
St. Joseph's Shelter *143* E 2
St. Michael (Poorhouse) D 5

**Hospitals:**
dell'Addolorata F 5
dei Fate-bene-Fratelli (on the Island of the Tiber) D 4
*142* S. Galla D 4
S. Gallicano C 4
" Giacomo degli Incurabili *65* D 2
" Giovanni FG 4
" Mar. della Consolazione *84* D 4
*140*, *141* Military Hospitals B 2, F 5, *51* F 3
Military Lazaretto F 5
Of the German Embassy (Pal. Caffarelli) D 4
*143* Of the Swiss Catholic Sisters of the Cross from Ingenbohl E 2
Polyclinic G 2
San Rocco *108* D 2
" Salvatore in Laterano F 4.5
Santo Spirito in Sassia *114* B 3
*144* Umberto I F 5

**Hotels:**
(First-class hotels are marked with an Asterisk *)

**At and near the Piazza di Spagna:**
*A* Allemagne D 2
*AN* Angleterre D 2
*AA* Anglo-American (with Board) D 2
*BA* Bavaria D 2
*B* Bethell (with Board) D 1
*E* *Europe D 2
*G* Geneve (German) D 2
*H* Hassler E 2
*L* Lavigne E 2
*L* *Londres D 2
*N* Nations D 2
*PI* Pincio E 2
*R* *Russie D 1
*SP* *Splendid Hotel (Bertolini's) D 2
*V* Victoria (German) E 2
Weser (V. Sistina 42) E 2

**In the center of the city:**
*BS* Beau-Sejour E 3
*CA* Capitol Hotel D 3
*C* Cavour (Hotel garni) D 3
*CE* Central (Hotel garni) D 3
*CP* Cesari Palumbo (Hotel garni) D 3
*CH* S. Chiara e Francia (Hotel garni) D 3
*C* Colonna (Hotel garni) D 2
*L* Laurati E 3
*M* Marini D 2
*M* Milan D 3
*MI* Minerva D 3
*MO* Modern Hotel D 3
*N* National D 3
*O* Orient (Hotel garni) D 3
*PH* Paix et Helvetia E 3
*S* Senato D 3
Zucca-Geyser (V. d. Quirinale 51) E 3

**In the Ludovisi Quarter:**
*BS* Beau-Site (German) E 2
*B* *Bristol E 2
*E* Eden Hotel E 2
*EX* *Excelsior E 2
*F* Flora (with Board) E 1
*G* Germania & Bellevue EF 2
*I* Imperial (German) E 2
*IT* Italie E 2
*M* Metropole et Ville E 2
*P* *Palace Hotel E 2
*PH* Park Hotel (Fischer's) (German) E 2
*R* *Regina E 2
*R* *Royal F 2
*SA* Savoy E 2
*S* Sud E 2
*SS* Suisse E 2
*W* Windsor E 2

**Near the R. R. Station:**
Brügner (Hotel garni) (V. Cavour 181) EF 3
*C* *Continental F 3
*G* Genova F 3
*GH* *Grand Hotel F 2
*L* Lago Maggiore F 3
*L* Liguria F 3
*M* Massimo d'Azeglio F 3
*M* Michel (with Board) F 2
*Q* *Quirinal F 2.3
*T* Torino F 3
*145* **Insane Asylum** B 3

**Institutes of Learning and Art:**
(Those marked with an Asterisk* are ecclesiastical institutions)

Academies:
*Arcadia *29* C 4
*Archeological (Pal. Cancelleria) C 3
*Of the Immaculate Conception *228* D 3
S. Cecilia *147* D 2

Art Academies:
American (V. Nomentana 66) FG 1
*d. Nobili Ecclesiastici *149* D 3
*d, Nuovi Lincei (Pal. Cancelleria) C 3
English (V. Margutta 53) D 1.2
French (Villa Medici) D 1.2
*Liturgical *148* D 3
*of Science (Pal. Corsini) C 4
*of the Catholic Faith (Pal. Cancelleria) C 3
*S. Luca *74* E 4
*Spanish (S. Pietro in Mont.) C 4
*S. Thomas Aquinas *150* D 3
*Theological *52* C 3
*Tiberina (V. Coronari 28) C 3
*Society of Priests of the Holy Apostle Paul *94* C 3
*of the Virtuosi at the Pantheon D 3

Institutes:
Anatomical *164* F 3
Archeological:
American (V. Vincenza 5) FG 2
British (Pal. Odescalchi) D 3
German *165* D 4
*Biblical (V. Pomp. Magno 21) C 1
Chemical E 3
Historical:
Austrian (V. Croce 74) D 2
Prussian *166* D 3
Physical *167* EF 3
*Pio IX. *168* D 5
Surgical C 4

Colleges:
*American, North *151* D 3
*American, South *160* C 2
*Angelico E 3
*Armenian *104* E 2
*Belgian *153* E 3, *154* D 3
*Bohemian *155* E 2
*Canadian *256* E 3
*Capuchin (V. SS. Quattro 19) F 4
*Capranica (Pal.) D 3
*English *157* C 3
*German E 2
*Greek *158* D 2
*Irish *159* E 3
*Maria Immacolata (V. Mascherone 55) C 3
*Maronite (Porta Pinciana 31) E 1
Military *288* B 3
*Norbertino (V. Monte Tarp. 54) D 4
*Polish *161* E 2
Polytechnic (S. Pietro in Vincoli) E 4
*Portuguese (Banco S. Spirito) C 3
*Propaganda *252* D 2
*Roman (Gregorian University) *170* D 3
*Ruthenian *162* E 3
*S. Alessio Falconieri *104* E 2
*S. Anselmo D 5
*S. Antonio da Padova G 4
*S. Bonaventura *228* D 3
*S. Francesco (V. S. Teodoro 42) DE 4
*S. Isidoro *71* E 2
*S. Monica (V. S. Ufficio 1) AB 3
*Scottish *163* E 2
*Spanish *194* C 3
*Teutonic (S. Mar. in Camposanto) *138* A 3
*Teutonic (S. Mar. dell'Anima) C 3

Seminaries:
*French *169* D 3
*Gregorian University *170* D 3
*Leonine (V. Pomp. Magno 21) C 1
*Lombardine (V. Gioacch. Belli 31) C 2
SS. Ambrogio & Cario (V. Gioacch. Belli 31) C 2
*SS. Peter & Paul (Corso d'Italia 36) EF 1
*Vatican (Piazza d. Sagrestia) A 3
*University Sapienza *171* CD 3

**Libraries:**
Alessandrina *171* CD 3
*172* Angelica CD 3
*173* Casanatense D 3
Chigiana (Pal. Chigi) D 3
Corsini (Pal. Corsini) C 4
Lancisiana *114* B 3

*174* Vallicelliana C 3
*175* Vaticana A 2
Vittorio Emanuele *191* D 3
**Mamertine Prison** *23* E 4
**Market** G 4
*176* **Military Bakery** G 3
**Mint** A 2
**Monuments:**
Cairoli D 1
Carlo Alberto E 3
Cavour C 2
Dogali F 4
Garibaldi B 2
*180* Giordano Bruno C 3
Goethe E 1
*177* Column of S. Lorenzo H 2
Column of the Immaculate Conception *241* D 2
Column of Marcus Aurelius *232* D 4
*178* Column of Victory F 1
*179* Column of the Virgin F 3
Metastasio *39* D 2
Minghetti *214* C 3
*181* Pietro Cossa D 3
Sella F 2
*182* Spaventa F 2
*183* Thorwaldsen E 2
Victor Emmanuel D 3
*184* Victor Hugo D 1
*185* **Mosaic Factory** (Vatican) B 2
**Museums:**
*186* Antiquarium E 4
*187* Baracco C 3
Borghese E 1
*188* Capitol D 4
*189* dei Gessi D 5
*191* Ecclesiastical D 3
German Camposanto *138* A 3
Industrial E 2
Lateran G 5
National F 2
Propaganda *252* D 2
Torlonia C 4
Vatican AB 2
**Nero's Tower** *192* E 3
**Obelisks** B 2, C 3, D 1, D 2, D 3, E 3, F 3, F 5, G 5
*193* **Observatory** (in Vatican) A 2.3
**Palaces:**
Albani E 2
*194* Altemps C 3
Altieri D 3
*195* Antonelli E 3
*196* Assicurazione Venezia D 3
Barberini E 2
*197* Bernini D 2
*198* Bolognetti D 3
*199* Boncompagni E 2
Borghese D 2
Braschi C 3
Caffarelli D 4
Cancelleria C 3
*200* Capranica CD 3, D 3
*201* Cardelli D 2, D 4
Cenci D 4
Chigi D 3
*202* Cicciaporci C 3
Colonna DE 3
*203* Conservatori D 4
*204* Consulta E 3
*205* Convertendi B 2
Corsini C 4
*206* Dataria E 3
Doria D 3
Falconieri (L. T. Tebaldi) C 3
Farnese C 2.3
*207* Fiano D 2
*208* Field-Brancaccio F 3
Gabrielli C 3
*209* Galitzin D 2
Giraud-Torlonia B 2
*210* Governo Vecchio C 3
*211* Hüffer E 3
Justice C 2
*212* Lancellotti C 3, C 3
Lateran G 5
Madama (Senate) CD 3
*213* Marignoli D 2
*214* Massimi alle Colonne C 3
*215* Massimo-Rignano D 4
Mattei D 3.4
Monte Citorio D 3
*216* Niccolini C 3
Odescalchi D 3
Orsini D 4
*217* Pamfili-Doria C 3
dei Penitenzieri B 2
Poli D 2
*218* Rondanini D 1
Rospigliosi E 3
Ruspoli D 2
*219* Sacchetti C 3
*220* Salviati D 3, B 3
Sant'Uffizio B 3
*221* Sciarra-Colonna D 3
*222* Senatorial D 4
*223* Sforza-Cesarini C 3
Simonetti D 3
Sora C 3
Spada C 4
*225* Spagna D 2
*226* Torlonia D 2
Venezia D 3
*227* Vidoni D 3
**Pensions**
(See Boarding Establishments)
**Piazzas:**
*228* Piazza SS. Apostoli D 3
*229* " d'Ara Coeli D 4
" Barberini E 2
" S. Bernardo F 2
" Bocca della Verita *18* D 4
*230* " Borghese D 2
*231* " Cairoli D 4
*232* " d. Campidoglio D 4
" Campo d. Fiori C 3
" Cavour C 2
*233* " Cenci D 4
*234* " dei Cerchi D 4
*235* " d. Chiesa Nuova C 3
" d. Cinquecento F 2
" Cola di Rienzo C 2
" Colonna D 3
" Consolazione D 4
" S. Croce in Gerusalemme H 4
" Dante G 4
" dell'Esquilino F 3
" Farnese C 3
*236* " Fienili E 4
" Galeno G 1
" S. Giovanni in Laterano G 4.5
*237* " S. Gregorio dell'-Indipendenza F 2
*238* " d. Industria CD 5
" d'Italia CD 4
" della Liberta C 1
" Manfredo Fanti *25* F 3
*239* " Magnanapoli E 3
" S. M. Maggiore F 3
*240* " Mastai C 4
*241* " Mignanelli D 2
*242* Piazza Montanara D 4
" Monte Cavallo (d. Quirinale) E 3
" Monte Citorio D 3
" della Navicella F 5
" Navona (Circo Agonale) C 3
*243* " del Paradiso C 3
" Pasquino *217* C 3
*244* " Gugli. Pepe G 3
*245* " Pia BC 2
*246* " di Pietra D 3
" S. Pietro B 2
" S. Pietro in Vincoli E 4
" Pinciana EF 1
" del Popolo D 1
" di Porta Pia F 1
" di Porta Portese CD 5
" di Porta S. Giovanni G 5
" del Quirinale E 3
" d. Quiriti *67* BC 1
" della Regina G 1
" d. Risorgimento B 2
*247* " Rotonda D 3
*248* " della Ruota C 3
" Rusticucci B 2
" della Sagrestia A 3
*249* " Sallustiana F 2
" di Spagna D 2
" delle Terme F 2
" dei Tribunali C 2
" Trinita d. Monti D 2
" dell'Unita B 2
" Venezia D 3
" Vittorio Emanuele G 3.4
*136* **Post and Telegraph Offices** D 3
*250* **Power House** G 2
*251* **Prefecture** DE 3
**Prison** BC 3
*252* **Propaganda** D 2
**Quirinal** (Royal Residence) E 3
**Railroad Stations:**
Central (chief) Station F 2.3
Stazione S. Pietro AB 3
" Porta San Lorenzo G 3
" Trastevere C 5
" Tuscolana H 5
**Religious Orders and Congregations:**
Association of the Sacred Word (V. Toscana 12) E 1.2
Assumptionists (Piazza Aracoeli 11) D 4
Augustinians (V. S. Uffizio 1) AB 3
Benedictines (S. Anselmo) D 5
Brothers of Charity (S. Bartolomeo 39) D 4
Brothers of St. Vincent de Paul (V. Palestro 26) FG 2
Brothers of the Christian Schools (V. San Sebast. 3) D 2
Camaldoli (S. Gregorio) E 5
Canons of the Immaculate Conception (V. 30 Aprile) B 4.5
Capuchins (V. Boncompagni 71) EF 1.2
Carmelites (Calced) *254* B 2
" (Discalced) (Corso d'Italia 39) EF 1
Carthusians (V. Palestro 39) FG 2
Cistercians *54* F 2
Dominicans (V. S. Vitale 15) E 3
Fathers of the Holy Ghost (V. S. Chiara 42) D 3
Fathers of the Sacred Heart of Jesus (V. d. Sapienza 32) C 3

Franciscans (S. Antonio di Padova) G 4
Franciscan Sisters (V. Giusti 12-14) F 4
Jesuits (Colleg. Germanicum) E 2
Ladies of the Sacred Heart (S. Trinita d. Monti DE 2 and Villa Lante) B 4
Lazarists (Missionaries) (V. della Missione 2) D 2.3
Little Sisters of the Poor (Piazza S. Pietro in Vincoli 6) E 4
Marianists (Viale Manzoni 5) G 4
Marists (V. Cernaia 14) F 2
Mercedarians *42* E 4
Minorites (Conventuals) (SS. Apostoli) D 3
Missionaries of the Company of Mary (V. Dogali 40) F 1.2
Oblates of the Immaculate Conception (V. S. Pietro in Vincoli) E 4
Olivetans *61* E 4
Pallottini (Pious Society of Missions) (V. Petinari 64) C 4
Passionists *70* E 5
Piarists (Coll. Calasanzio) (V. Toscana 12) E 1.2
Premonstratensians (V. Monte Tarpeo 54) D 4
Priests of the Sacred Heart of Jesus (V. del Tritone 184) DE 2
Priests of the Holy Cross (V. Cappuccini 19) E 2
Priests of the Blessed Sacrament (V. Pozzetto 160) D 2
Redemptorists (Liguorians) *47* F 3
Salesians of Don Bosco (V. d. Minerva 51) D 3
Salesian Sisters *282* E 4
Salvatorians (Borgo vecchio 165) B 2
Salvatorian Sisters (V. S. Onofrio 11) B 3
Servants of the Sick (V. Sallustiana) E F 2
Servites *96* D 3
Sisters of the Perpetual Adoration (Corpus Dom.) G 1
Sisters of the Good Shepherd (V. S. Giov. in Laterano 13) F 4
Sisters of the Holy Cross *143* E 2
Sisters of the Sorrowful Heart of Mary (Borgo S. Spirito 41) B 2.3
Sisters of Divine Providence (V. Galvani 51) CD 6
Sisters of Notre Dame de Sion (V. della Mercede 11) D 2
Sisters of St. Elizabeth (V. dell Olmata 9) F 3
Sodality of St. Peter Claver (V. d. Olmata 16) F 3
Somaschi *248* C 3
Sons of the Immaculate Heart of Mary (V. Lungara 18) C 3.4
Sulpicians *256* E 3
Trappists (V. S. Giov. in Laterano 95) F 4
Vincentian Sisters (V. Salara 2) D 4.5
White Fathers (V. degli Artisti 22) E 2

**Rooms of Saints:**
Aloysius (S. Ignazio) D 3
Ambrose *257* D 4
Benedict (Abbot) (Piscinula i. Trastevere)
Benedict Labre (V. Crociferi 20) D 3
(V. d. Serpenti) E 3
Brigitta *258* C 3
Camillus of Lellis *89* D 3
Catherine of Siena (S. Mar. s. Minerva) D 3
Dominic (S. Sabina) D 5
Francis of Assisi *63* C 5
Frances of Rome *215* D 4
Ignatius Loyola (V. Aracoeli 1) D 3
John Berchmans (S. Ignazio) D 3
John of Matha (S. Tom. i. Formis) *2* F 5
John and Paul *70* E 5
John Baptist de Rossi (S. M. i. Cosmedin) D 4
Joseph Calasanctius (S. Pantaleo) *214* C 3
Philip Neri *68* C 3
(Chiesa Nuova) C 3
(S. Girolamo) *248* C 3
Pius V. (S. Sabina) D 5
Stanislaus Kostka *48* E 3
**Ruins** (See Antique Buildings)
**Scala Santa** G 4.5
**Seminaries** (See Institutes)
*259* **Spanish Steps** D 2
**Springs** (See Fountains)
**Squares** (See Piazzas)
**Stock Exchange** *170* D 3
**Streets:**
Borgo Angelico B 2
" S. Angelo B 2
" S. Michele B 2
" Nuovo B 2
Borgo Pio B 2
" S. Spirito B 2.3
" Vecchio B 2
" Vittorio B 2
Corso d'Italia EF 1
" di Porta Pinciana EF 1
" Umberto I D 1.2.3
" Vittorio Emanuele CD 3
Lungotevere Alberteschi D 4.5
" Anguillara D 4
" Augusta CD 1.2
" Campo Marzio CD 2
" Castello C 2
" Cenci D 4
" Farnesina C 3.4
" dei Fiorentini B 2.3
" Flaminio C 1
" Gianicolo BC 3
" Mellini C 2
" Pierleoni D 4
" Prati C 2
" Ripa D 5
" Sangallo C 3
" Sanzio C 4
" in Sassia B 3
" Tebaldi C 3
" Testaccio CD 5
" Tordinona C 2.3
" Vallati C 4
" Vaticano BC 2
Passeggiata Margherita B 3.4
" del Pincio D 1
" di Ripetta D 2
Via Abruzzi E 1.2

Via Adda EF 1
" Adige F 1
" S. Agata dei Goti E 3
" Albani F 1
" Alberico II B 2
" Aleardi Aleardo G 4
" Alessandria FG 1
" Alessandrina E 3.4
" Alfieri FG 4
" Alibert D 2
" Ancona F 1
" Anicia CD 4.5
" dell'Anima C 3
" S. Anna D 3
" Annia F 4
" degli Annibaldi E 4
" SS. Apostoli D 3
" Appia Antica F 6
" Appia Nuova GH 5.6
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" Bocca d. Verita D 4
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" Cerchi DE 4.5
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